

Minority Participation in an Islamic Negara

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The ethnic Chinese in Brunei - like others elsewhere - are predominantly non-Muslims. There are, of course, many Chinese people who have converted to Islam², but the term 'Chinese' in this paper specifically refers to the majority of the Brunei Chinese community who are non-Muslims, since the objective is to examine the relationship between non-Muslims and the Muslim-majority state, and not the ethnic Chinese people per se. Furthermore, since the Chinese are the biggest non-Muslim racial group in Brunei, an examination of their relationship with the majority Muslim state would be more pertinent. This paper begins by highlighting the historical links between Brunei and its ethnic Chinese population, to provide the relational basis for the ethnic Chinese's extensive participation in Brunei's current socio-political and economic environments. On the other hand, the official history of Brunei describes the country as having accepted Islam after its first Sultan, Awang Alak Betatar, embraced Islam and subsequently changed his name to Sultan Muhammad in 1363. According to this date,³ Brunei has been a Muslim state for the past 650 years. At the same time, Chinese traders had travelled to, and traded with, the countries of Southeast Asia for centuries prior. Indeed, Chinese presence in Brunei has been recorded well before the advent of Islam in Southeast Asia and links between the Brunei Sultanate and China are well-known.⁴ How those relations between the ethnic Chinese and their Muslim fellow

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² From 2010 to 2014, there were 74, 63, 58, 80 and 78 ethnic Chinese who converted to Islam respectively. This made up 11.5%, 11.7%, 12.3%, 14.9% and 13% of the total converts in Brunei. The largest converts in Brunei were the Iban and Dusun ethnic groups followed by the Chinese (*Brunei Statistical Yearbook 2014*).

³ There is a dispute over the exact date of Brunei's Islamisation. See D. S. Chen, *A Brunei Sultan of the Early Fourteenth Century: A Study of an Arabic Gravestone*, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 23 (1), 1992: 1-13

⁴ Brunei was known as Poli to Boni in the Song and Ming Dynasties records until 1530. Tributes were sent and Boni kings and Chinese envoys visited both countries. A King of Boni passed away in China in 1408 was given a special burial by the Chinese Emperor. The existence of many tombstones with Muslim names suggests that Chinese Muslims had travelled and stayed in Brunei as far back as 900 years ago. The tombstone of the Maharaja of Brunei was carved and transported from Quanzhou, China to Brunei dated around AD1301. Another Chinese Muslim, Mr Pu who died in Brunei had his granite tombstone dated AD1264. Such an early date of Muslim arrival to Brunei could suggest that Islam was spread from China rather than Java or Malacca.

countrymen are constructed will be evaluated within the context of the Islamic concept of *dhimmah*.

Non-Muslims in an Islamic Negara

Non-Muslims living in the Muslim state fall into two categories: the *dhimmi* and the *musta'min*.¹ The *musta'min* are non-Muslims who has been guaranteed safety² during their temporary stay in Muslim lands, such as tourists or visitors on work-related purposes, and they do not stay in the country for more than a year.³ Of interest to this paper are, of course, the *dhimmi*. It is a term derived from the word *dhimmah*, which means commitment,⁴ covenant, guarantee, trust, loyalty or sincerity,⁵ or pledge,⁶ given by the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ and honoured by his Companions when they ruled over non-Muslims.⁷ Muslims are bound to protect the non-Muslims living under their rule: protecting their lives, their religion, their properties and their customs. In return, the *dhimmis* must be loyal, respectful and obey the rules and regulations of the state. This mutual pledge is similar to the concept of social contract between the ruler and the people; however, here it is between the Prophet of Islam ﷺ and the *dhimmis*, and to be honoured by Muslims for the preservation of peaceful co-existence. It is based on this so-called 'social contract' that this paper will examine the situation in Brunei.

A Declining Minority

It is important to point out that the Chinese community in Brunei are mainly composed of five sub-groups: the Hokkiens, Cantonese Hakkas, Hainese, Teochus and Henghua, accounting for about 10% of Brunei's total population (see Table 1) with Taoists, Buddhist and Christians being their major religions.

Population Census	Chinese	Total Population	%	Birth Rate	Average National Growth Rate

¹ M. H. Kamali, *Citizenship and Accountability of Government: An Islamic Perspective*. Cambridge, UK: The Islamic Texts Society, 2011: 45

² Ibid., p.110

³ They are not expected to pay the *jizyah* if they are in the area for less than a year. Reference: Kamali, 2011

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Muhammad Ali Al-Hashimi, *The Ideal Muslim Society: As Defined in the Qur'an and Sunnah*, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: International Islamic Publishing House, 2007

⁶ A. R. I. Doi, *Non-Muslims Under Shariah (Islamic Law)*. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: A.S. Noordeen, 1990

⁷ Ibid.

1960	21,795	83,877	26.0	-	-
1971	31,925	136,256	23.4	2.1	4.4
1981	39,461	192,832	20.5	0.3	3.5
1991	40,621	260,482	15.6	0.3	3.0
2001	37,056	332,844	11.1	(0.9)	2.5
2011	40,534	393,372	10.3	0.9	1.7

Table 1. Total Population of Brunei Darussalam: The Chinese¹

The Chinese community comprised about 26% of Brunei's total population in 1960 and by 2011, 10%. The introduction of the Nationality Act in 1962 did not provide the newly migrant Chinese with citizenship, and again after the early 1980s, where many of the Chinese immigrated to other countries resulted in the significant decline of the Chinese population². In 1991, half of the Chinese population were residents on work permits and eventually left the country upon the expiry of their working visas.³ In addition, low birth rate is also another reason for continued decline of the Chinese population in Brunei as shown in Table 1 above. The overall population of Brunei is also on decline, where the average national growth rate declined to 1.7% in 2011 compared to the highs of 4.4% growth in the 1970s. Nevertheless, the number of non-Muslims in Brunei, both *dhimmi*s and *must'amins*, is still considerable. In order to maintain socio-political order, the relations of both communities need to be underpinned by the socio-ethical values of justice and equity. There are several verses in the Quran that exhort Muslims to be fair and just to others, regardless of their religious differences.⁴ Despite their obvious theological differences, the socio-political relations between Muslim and non-Muslims can be described as 'political administration',⁵ where *dhimmi*s have a right to live in peaceful co-existence with their Muslims counterparts, and their lives and security are protected by the state.

The Rights of the Dhimmi: Protection of Life

There are numerous narrations from the hadith that warn Muslims from behaving unjustly towards the non-Muslims. Among them: "Whoever persecuted a *dhimmi* or usurp his right or took work from him beyond his capacity, or took something from him with evil intentions. I shall be a complainant against him on the day of

¹ S. T. Niew, "Brunei," In *The Encyclopaedia of the Chinese Overseas*, ed. Lynn Pan, Singapore: Chinese Heritage Centre, 2006

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Surah Al-Baqarah: 62; Surah Al-Maidah: 8; Surah Al-Maidah: 42; Al-Mumtahanah: 8-9

⁵ Doi, *Non-Muslims Under Shariah*

Resurrection”¹ and “Whoever hurts a *dhimmi*, ... I shall ask for his right on the Day of Resurrection”.² Furthermore it was also reported that Prophet Muhammad ﷺ also said, “Whoever kills a covenanted man (*dhimmi*) shall not receive the odour of Paradise”.³ The third Rightly-Guided Caliph, Umar ibn al-Khattab, after being stabbed by a non-Muslim said on his deathbed:

“I exhort my successor regarding the treatment to be meted out to the covenanted people by the Messenger of Allah ﷺ. They should receive the fullest execution of their covenant, and their life and property should be defended even if it requires to go to war (with oppressors) and they should not be taxed beyond their capacity”.⁴

It is in this Prophetic spirit that the Brunei Negara upholds the rights of the *dhimmi*s, by allowing the Chinese to live in peaceful co-existence with the Bruneian Malays and the Chinese never once revolted against the government.

Protection of Property

According to a hadith, “Their property is like our property and their blood is like our blood”.⁵ The right of non-Muslims citizens to property in Brunei has been respected and the Chinese are allowed to own land and other properties. Indeed, the intention of the Chinese who came to Brunei since the early centuries had always been due ‘economic opportunities.’⁶ If their economic right had not been protected, then such opportunities would not exist. As James MacArthur, the first British Resident, observed in 1904:

“...there are probably 500 Chinese in the State. Most of them are registered as British Subjects.... Their numbers would hardly justify their separate mention in this report if it were not for the fact that almost all the trade and practically all the revenue of the country are in their hands... The principal traders of the country were Chinese...”

¹ Abu Daud and Baihaqi

² At-Tabarani

³ *Mishkat al-Masabih*

⁴ Iman Abu Yusuf

⁵ *Mishkat al-Masabih*

⁶ P. L. Tan, “A History of Chinese Settlement in Brunei” in *Essays on Modern Brunei History*, ed. Tan Pek Leng et al., Universiti Brunei Darussalam Publication, 1992

By the 1980s, during the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Chung Hwa Middle School, the Chief Wazir noted that

‘... The Chinese are hard workers and able to stand on their own feet and they’re in the high level of business, therefore they should not hesitate to help and should treat it as their responsibility to help Malay businessman’

Although agriculture, retail and employment in the oil and gas industries were the most important industries that the Chinese were engaged in since the middle of the last century, by the early 21st century, the new generation Chinese has shunned the retail market and concentrated more on professional white-collar work such as in finance, property and other professional managerial and commercial services.

Protection of Culture and Religion

The Chinese in Brunei also enjoy religious freedoms as granted by the 1959 Constitution. There are Chinese Taoist temples in all four districts, and there are Christian churches, Protestant and Catholic, in the capital, Bandar Seri Begawan, in Seria and Kuala Belait as well. The first recorded Chinese temple in Brunei was built in 1918, on a land donated by Dato Temenggong Cheok Boon Siok, said to be the richest man in Bandar Seri Begawan - then Brunei Town - at the cost of \$8,075.50.¹ It was an expensive temple compared to the Sultan’s coronation then, which was only \$6,393. The Hall of Flying Clouds temple survived allied bombings but due to the expansion of the Customs Building in the 1950s, it was moved to its current site; donated by the Brunei Government plus \$45,000 for re-building.²

Non-Muslim Bruneians also enjoy the same privileges enjoyed by all citizens, regardless of race. Free education, healthcare, old age pensions, orphan’s fund as well as subsidised goods in terms of the national housing schemes are also given to Chinese citizens. The Chinese are also permitted to establish their own schools with Mandarin as the medium of instruction as well as publication of Chinese newspapers and mandarin radio channel. Currently, there are eight Chinese schools in all four districts³ and the oldest is Chung Hwa Middle School (CHMS) in

¹ C. Brown, “Notes on the First Chinese Temple of Brunei Town 1981-1960,” in *From Buxfast to Borneo*, ed. Victor T. King and AVM Horton, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Sarawak Literary Society, 1995

² Ibid.

³ Chung Hua Middle School Kuala Belait (established 1931), Chung Ching Middle School Seria (established 1938), Chung Hwa Kiudang (established 1951), Chung Lian School, Sungai Liang (established 1953), Chung Hwa Tutong (established 1937) and Pai Yuek (established 1950), Temburong and Chung Hwa Labi (established 1966). There are 7 mission schools in Brunei. St Andrew’s School, established in 1956, was an old favourite of elites during 1980s, St. John Kuala Belait (established 1930), St

Bandar Seri Begawan¹. The Brunei Government financially supported the school from 1957 to 1969 through subsidies and paid for the teacher's salaries and administrative staff. Chinese culture is also given due respect by the Brunei Government. Chinese New Year is a national holiday, as well as Christmas. The Chinese New Year is also celebrated at the national level, where the Chinese community host members of the Royal Family at the International Convention Centre; a tradition established in 2006. The Chinese also have their own registrar for marriages, appointed by the Sultan; currently there are two registrars of Chinese marriages: one for the Brunei-Muara and Temburong Districts, and the other serves both Tutong and Belait Districts.² The Chinese are also provided cemeteries as well as cremation facilities for their deceased, even though Islam strictly forbids cremation.

Perhaps more significant towards preserving the ethnic Chinese identity, is the retention of Chinese names, unlike the policies of assimilation in Indonesia,³ Thailand,⁴ and the Philippines,⁵ where the Chinese there are strongly encouraged to assume local names due to anti-communist sentiments during the 1960s. Till this day, there are still visible racial tensions in both in Indonesia⁶ and Malaysia⁷, although less obvious in Thailand⁸ and the Philippines⁹. In fact, many ethnic Chinese serve in the Royal Brunei Police Force. Although they are not permitted to join the military, the civilian side of defence have seen more Chinese employed. In 2007, out of the 18 recipients of the prestigious Ministry of Defence Supreme Commander's Scholarships, five were Chinese Bruneians, who were awarded to study bio-medical engineering, aeronautical engineering, and chemical

Georges school (established in 1938), St. James School (established 1939), St. Michael's School, Seria (1946), St. Angela's School (1945) and St. Margaret's School (established 1955).

¹ It was established by Pehin Kapitan Cina Ong Boon Pang, initially as York Choi School in 1918, but was renamed Chung Hwa School four years later. In 1972, Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin graced Chung Hwa's 50th anniversary, and in 2002, Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah attended the 80th Anniversary of Chung Hwa School's establishment.

² Currently held by Mr. Lim Han Chiong, the youngest registrar of Chinese marriages for Brunei-Muara and Temburong and Pehin Bendahari Cina Ong Siew Siong (Tutong and Belait Districts).

³ Chinese New Year is celebrated as a national holiday in 2003 after President Megawati Sukarnoputri came to power. In July 2006, Indonesia passed a law whereby anyone born in Indonesia automatically becomes a citizen of the country. During President Suharto's rule (1976-1998), only ethnic Chinese who changed their names to Indonesian sound names could be considered for full citizenship application.

⁴ Former Thai Prime Ministers who had Chinese ancestry were Thaksin Shinawatra, his sister, Yingluck Shinawatra, Abhisit Vejjajiva, Chuan Leekpai, Chavalit Yongchaiyudh and Banharn Silpaarcha, among others.

⁵ President Corazon Aquino, the current President's mother, was an ethnic Chinese.

⁶ C. Franciska, "New Voting Power of Chinese Indonesians," *BBC Indonesia*, July 2, 2014; J. Cochrane, "An Ethnic Chinese Christian Breaking Barriers in Indonesia," *The New York Times*, November 22, 2014

⁷ G. Lopez, "Low Yat Riot in Malaysia – Racial or Something Else," *Forbes Asia*, July 17, 2015; S. L. Boo, "Racial Problems Worsening, Analysts Say After Anti-Chinese Slurs at 'Red Shirt' Rally," *The Malay Mail Online*, September 17, 2015

⁸ In 1915, King Vajiravudh (Rama VI) coined the term 'Jews of the East' on the Chinese, thereafter the Chinese minorities were forced to change their names to Thai sounding names and Chinese schools and languages were forbidden.

⁹ V. Cabreza, "Is 'Intsik' A Racial Slur? Chinese Filipino Prof in US says It's Not," *Inquirer.Net*, January 31, 2014

engineering¹. In 2015, two ethnic Chinese students were recipients of the same award out of three students given.²

Political Participation

Historically, the lack of non-Muslim participation in the affairs of state was due to threats from other non-Muslims who wanted to undermine the new religion, hence Muslims were asked to be cautious and not befriend them.³ However, once the conflicts ended, Muslim rulers allowed non-Muslims to serve in the country's administration. Caliph Umar ibn al-Khattab, for instance, appointed Sabi Qaysariyyah to administer financial matters. The Shafi'e jurist, al-Mawardi,⁴ allowed *dhimmi*s to hold the position of state minister, but not the post of prime minister or as the head of religion. Nevertheless, despite the provision allowed by Islam, Bruneian Chinese have largely been apolitical. Hickling notes that the Chinese:⁵

'... [C]omes to Brunei upon its own terms in order to make money, and politics is a profitless business.'

During the 1962 rebellion, where 2,000 to 6,000 people were arrested, Harun Majid pointed out, "there was absolutely no Chinese participation".⁶ In fact, of the four police officers killed during the rebellion, one was Chinese.⁷ Despite their ostensibly political apathy, certain prominent Chinese were appointed as representatives of their community. Donald Brown recorded three *Kapitan Cina*, or Chinese Captains, appointed by the Sultan since 1869 to head the Chinese community, while a fourth was appointed in 1885.⁸ These traditional life peerages continue to be held by distinguished members of the Brunei Chinese community (see Appendix 1 and 2). An ethnic Chinese Bruneian was also appointed to the Privy Council, Pehin Datu Temenggong Lim Cheng Choo, who was a member of Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddien III's delegation to London to discuss the promulgation

¹ W. A. Gapar, "18 Students Get Ministry of Defence Scholarship," *The Brunei Times*, March 2, 2007

² R. Kamit, "MinDef Signs 4 Scholarship Students." *The Brunei Times*, May 29, 2015

³ Doi, *Non-Muslims Under Shariah*

⁴ M. H. Kamali, *Citizenship and Accountability of Government: An Islamic Perspective*. Cambridge, UK: The Islamic Texts Society, 2011

⁵ R.H. Hickling, *Memorandum Upon Brunei Constitutional History and Practice*. In B.A Hussainmiya and Nicholas Tarling's *Brunei: Traditions of Monarchic Culture and History*. Brunei Press, Gadong, Brunei: Yayasan Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah, 1955: 3

⁶ Abdul Harun Majid, *Rebellion in Brunei: The 1962 Revolt, Imperialism, Confrontation and Oil*, London, UK: IB Tauris, 2007, pg. 98

⁷ Constable 175 Chien Tong Seng. The others were Sergeant 20 Pengiran Ali bin Pengiran Ghani, Constable 179 Selasa bin Othman and Constable 465 Mohammad Hj Tahir.

⁸ D. Brown, *Brunei: The Structure and History of A Bornean Malay Sultanate*, Monograph of the Brunei Museum Journal, Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam: Brunei Museum, 1970

of Brunei's 1959 Constitution. On September 29th, 1959, Pehin Lim was the only Chinese among the 16 signatories to Brunei's Constitution as well as the subsequent 1979 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation that led to Brunei's independence five years later.¹ Today, Pehin Lim Jock Seng² is Minister at the Prime Minister's Office, second Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade and a member of the Privy Council since 2003.

Perhaps, indicative advancement of Malay-Chinese relations, Pehin Lim has the added honour of having been conferred the life peerage, *Pehin Orang Kaya Pekerma Dewa*, a 'mainstream' title not granted to non-Malays before this³. Pehin Lim, however, is not Brunei's first Chinese 'cabinet minister'. In 1921, Hickling reported a certain Kapitan Cina who was in the State Council that served as the country's executive branch of Government. From 1955 to 1958 after the end of World War Two, Mr. George Newn Ah Foot sat in the State Council. The Executive Council that replaced the State Council after the promulgation of 1959 constitution saw Pehin Bendahari Cina Kornia Diraja Hong Kok Tin⁴ as a member before he became the Assistant Minister of Medical and Health from 1965 to 1970. Ethnic Chinese were also represented in the Brunei Legislative Council. Mr George Newn Ah Foot, Mr Othman Chua Kwang Soon, Mr. Hong Kok Tin, Mr Yap Chung Teck and Mr Chong Seng Toh were the names reported as members of the Council. Since the revival of Legislative Council in 2004 - after a 20-year hiatus - Pehin Kapitan Laila Diraja Goh King Chin represented the Chinese community, where he raised numerous important issues related to the welfare of Brunei Chinese community.⁵ Datin Paduka Hjh Adina Othman Chua, an ethnic Chinese Muslim, was the first woman to be appointed a deputy minister, at the Ministry of Culture Youth and Sports from 2010 to 2015. In the judiciary, a High Court Judge and Judicial Commissioner, is an ethnic Chinese, Dato Paduka Steven Chong. Brunei practices dual system, the civil court as well as Shari'ah court. The Shari'ah court until recently only deals with Muslim family matters. In October 2011, even though the Sultan of Brunei called for the implementation of the Shari'ah Law, he also insisted

¹ Niew, "Brunei"

² Full title of Pehin Orang Kaya Pekerma Dewa in 2004. He was appointed as Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1986, Second Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2005 and Second Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade in 2015.

³ Traditionally, non-Malays peers were only limited to the 'Manteri Dagang' or 'trade ministers' category. Pehin Orang Kaya Pekerma Dewa title is part of 32 traditional Ministers title.

⁴ He was given the title of Pehin Bendahari Cina Kornia Diraja in May 1960.

⁵ The issues brought up by Pehin Goh were among others, allowing husbands of permanent residents to stay in the country, review of permanent residency criteria, financial support of Chinese schools, land ownership and increasing days of lion dance performance during Chinese New Year (currently cut to three days) to help finance Chinese schools.

that both "... Civil courts and the Shari'ah courts can run parallel... this is the uniqueness of Brunei..."¹

The relations between the Chinese, as *dhimmi*s, and the Islamic Negara would not be complete without discussing *jizyah*. *Jizyah* is a poll tax levied on non-Muslims to help pay for the protection provided to them. If the state failed to protect the *dhimmi*s, the state would return the *jizyah*.² Historically, the *jizyah* was only levied on able-bodied males, not the poor, elderly, women, children or priests. In times of war, if the *dhimmi*s fought for the Muslim state, they too would be exempted from paying the *jizyah*. All these rights were in the spirit of the Prophetic hadith, "Whoever oppresses a non-Muslim subject or taxes him beyond his capacity, then I shall be the opposite party to him in litigation".³ In Bruneian context, the Government does not impose the *jizyah* on non-Muslims since the state is financially able to support its population with the wealth Brunei enjoys from oil and gas, and other economic activities.

Conclusion

Islam is a religion of peace and tolerance. It encourages Muslims to be respectful to non-Muslims, and what Negara Brunei Darussalam has demonstrated is the upholding of the spirit of Islamic values, those of tolerance, respect and engagement or participation with its non-Muslim minorities and this mutual respect has resulted in the continuous peace and prosperity that the country has enjoyed to this day. Given that the non-Muslims are living in Muslim lands, it is expected that they respect the laws of the country that they are residing in. They should not insult Islam, the Qur'an or its Prophet ﷺ. They should not propagate the beliefs or ideas that go against the Islamic teaching.⁴

The discussion thus far shows that Brunei has adhered to the principles set by the Qur'an and Prophet Muhammad ﷺ's *Sunnah* in its treatment of the *ahle dhimmi*s, the ethnic Chinese minority. The Chinese are given protection under Brunei rule, exemption from paying the *jizyah* because the state does not need the tax, and

¹ I. S. Yaakub, "Islamic Criminal Law: Don't Delay," *The Brunei Times*, October 11, 2011

² There have been instances where the *jizyah* has been waived for non-Muslims such as when Caliph Umar made an agreement with the Christian Jarajima Turkish tribe, allowing them to keep their religion and at the same time, allowing to aid the Muslims military aid against the Romans when required. With that, Caliph Umar abolished *jizyah* on the tribe. Similarly, the Christians residents of Jerusalem were not imposed *jizyah* when Caliph Umar took over the city. Unlike Zakat, which is an obligation for all able-bodied Muslims to pay yearly, *jizyah* is not, and history has shown that *jizyah* has been exempted from being imposed on the *dimma*h by Muslim rulers. See Doi, 1990.

³ Imam Abu Yusuf

⁴ Muhammad Ali Al-Hashimi, *The Ideal Muslim Society: As Defined in the Qur'an and Sunnah*, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: International Islamic Publishing House, 2007

similar benefits to their Muslim counterparts in terms of free education, healthcare and access to subsidised housing and food items, while their culture and religion are preserved. They are not allowed to join the army, although they are permitted to be in the civilian side of the army. They are allowed to help protect the country by being involved in its security, such as in the police force, as well as other administrative aspects of the country. Their holidays are celebrated as a national holiday and their places of worship are protected. Bruneians' Chinese are grateful for being able to live in the country in a peaceful manner and have never been involved in armed rebellion or politics that are harmful to the state. Indeed, the Chinese Bruneian have respected the Muslims and the government therefore; the government has allowed the non-Muslims to participate fully as citizens in an Islamic state in a peaceful manner. Despite the negative media coverage Brunei had after the announcement of the *Hudud*,¹ the non-Muslims in Brunei have been protected by the government as promised by Prophet Muhammad ﷺ. Brunei has carried out the *dhimmah* contract justly and with fairness when dealing with the non-Muslim minorities in the country.

¹ Crimes of theft, robbery, adultery, false accusation of adultery, drinking intoxicants and apostasy.

APPENDIX 1

The Honour System for Non-Malays in Brunei Darussalam

Manteri Dagang - Non-Malay Pehin Manteris

- Pehin Orang Kaya Petinggi Maha Kornia Diraja
- Pehin Datu Laila Setiawan
- Pehin Datu Derma Setia
- Pehin Datu Saudagar Derma Laila
- Pehin Orang Kaya Laila Kanun Diraja
- Pehin Orang Kaya Khazanah Negara Laila Diraja
- Pehin Orang Kaya Tabib Laila Diraja
- Pehin Datu Pahlawan Diraja
- Pehin Datu Permakawi Diraja
- Pehin Orang Kaya Datu Setia Diraja
- Pehin Datu Laila Didekan
- Pehin Datu Tabib Laila Lutanan Diraja
- Pehin Datu Tabib Laia Adunan Diraja
- Pehin Datu Tambanglayaran
- Pehin Orang Kaya Datu Tabib Laila Setia
- Pehin Datu Amar Setia Diraja
- Pehin Datu Temanggong
- Pehin Datu Bendahari China Bandar, Bandar Seri Begawan
- Pehin Datu Saudagar
- Pehin Orang Kaya Datu Tabib Indera Setia
- Pehin Kapitan China Kornia Diraja
- Pehin Kapitan Lela Diraja
- Pehin Bendahari China Kornia Diraja
- Pehin Bendahari China

Source: Department of Adat Istiadat Negara, Brunei.

APPENDIX 2:

Current Holder of Peer Titles of Non-Malay Descent

Title	Current Holder
Pehin Orang Kaya Pekerma Dewa	Lim Jock Seng (c.2004)
Pehin Datuk Temmengong	Lim Teck Hoo (c.1996) Lim Cheng Choo (c.1951) Cheok Boon Cheok (c.1910s)
Pehin Datu Bendahari Cina	Khoo Ban Hock (c.1982); revoked 1987
Pehin Datu Saudagar	Lim Thian Hoo (c.1982)
Pehin Kapitan Kornia Diraja	Lau Ah Kok (c.2004) Pang Boon Ting (c.1996) Lim Teck Hoo (c.1958) Ong Boon Pang (c.1932)
Pehin Kapitan Lela Diraja	Goh King Chin (c.2004) Lim See King (c.1975)
Pehin Bendahari Cina Kornia Diraja	Ong Siew Siong (c.1996) Ng Teck Hock (c.1996) Hong Kok Tin (c.1960)
*Kapitan Derma Raja	Boon Peng (c. 1910s)