POWER PROJECTION AND COUNTER-TERRORISM: STRATEGIES FOR SMALL STATES LIKE BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

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Recommended Citation
DOI: 10.7454/jts.v5i2.1064
Available at: https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/jts/vol5/iss2/2

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Abstract:
This study delves into the intricacies of power projection strategies and counter-terrorism measures, emphasizing their relevance to small states, with a specific focus on Brunei Darussalam. Using a dual matrix model, the research categorizes various strategies based on risk-reward parameters, offering a structured insight into potential approaches these states can employ against potential aggressors. The counter-terrorism matrix is the initial focal point, recognizing the contemporary significance of terror threats and their unique challenges for small nations. Subsequently, the power projection matrix offers a broader view of defense tactics beyond counter-terrorism. By synthesizing information from primary academic sources, the study aims to provide a holistic understanding of how smaller states can navigate the complexities of modern defense and security. The findings underscore the importance of strategic alignment between power projection and counter-terrorism, promoting a dynamic defense paradigm tailored to the nuanced needs of small states.

Keywords: Brunei Darussalam, Counter-Terrorism, Power Projection, Security Studies, Small States

Abstrak:
Studi ini menggali kedalam kompleksitas strategi proyeksi kekuatan dan langkah-langkah kontra-terorisme, dengan menekankan relevansinya terhadap negara-negara kecil, dengan fokus khusus pada Brunei Darussalam. Menggunakan model matriks ganda, penelitian ini mengategorikan berbagai strategi berdasarkan parameter risiko-imbalan, memberikan wawasan terstruktur tentang

Kata Kunci: Brunei Darussalam, Kontra-Terorisme, Proyeksi Kekuatan, Studi Keamanan, Negara-Negara Kecil

INTRODUCTION
Brunei Darussalam, despite its modest size and resources, has played a commendable role in the international arena in ensuring peace and security. This research delves into how Brunei Darussalam can bolster its counter-terrorism measures, drawing from its inherent diplomatic strategies and adapting them to combat modern security threats. While the term "small power" is debated in international relations, it's evident that such states often face unique challenges in counter-terrorism due to limited resources and international influence (Pouliot, 2016; Lee et al., 2023). This paper presents frameworks to examine Brunei Darussalam's potential in fortifying its counter-terrorism initiatives.

The research offers a thorough examination of Brunei Darussalam's current security measures, its role in counter-terrorism, and potential areas of improvement. It establishes an understanding of the link between traditional state security measures and counter-terrorism endeavors. Crucially, this paper could inform Brunei Darussalam's counter-terrorism strategies within its Security Strategy 2035, part of the Wawasan 2035 vision (Wawasan Brunei, n.d.). However, it's pertinent to note that while insights derived may have broader implications, this study primarily centers on Brunei Darussalam, assuming strategies are specially curated for its unique geopolitical and socio-economic context.

METHODS
The primary objective of this research was to cultivate a deep comprehension of power projection strategies, with a specific emphasis on small states and their relation to counter-terrorism. To achieve this aim, a two-pronged methodology was deployed: an extensive literature review followed by the formulation of two matrices.

The literature review sought insights from a wealth of scholarly work spanning topics of power projection, defense postures of smaller states, and nuanced counter-terrorism strategies. To encompass a holistic view, both primary and secondary sources were meticulously consulted. Notable primary
sources included seminal works by scholars like James D Fearon (1997), McFate (2019), and Hei Chau (2011). The secondary sources comprised a diverse range of reputable news articles, comprehensive reports from think tanks, and authoritative government publications. The selection criteria for these materials hinged on their relevance to the research questions and their temporal relevance. Each chosen piece was then subjected to a rigorous review to distill key themes, pivotal findings, and the diverse strategies these works proposed in the context of power projection and counter-terrorism.

The research embarked on the creation of two matrices. The first, the Counter-terrorism Matrix, emerged from insights on counter-terrorism measures. It aimed to bridge the realms of power projection and specialized counter-terrorism strategies. The second, the Power Projection Matrix, was an offspring of the insights gleaned from combining the literature to the analysis. It sought to categorize varied strategies into discernable risk-reward quadrants, furnishing a systematic overview of potential deterrent tactics that smaller states, exemplified by Brunei Darussalam, could contemplate. The crafting of these matrices was methodical. It commenced with enumerating all discerned strategies from the literature. Each strategy underwent a thorough evaluation based on parameters like requisite resource allocation, immediacy of its potential impact, feasibility over prolonged periods, and prospective outcomes or ramifications. Following this assessment, each strategy found its place in the relevant quadrant of the matrices.

**LITERATURE, RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

**Counter-terrorism matrix**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Low reward</th>
<th>High reward</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low risk</strong></td>
<td>- Investment into military</td>
<td>- Interdependence</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Military defense</td>
<td>- Alliance</td>
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<td>specialization</td>
<td>- National service</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>High risk</strong></td>
<td>- Doing nothing</td>
<td>- Patron – Client alliance</td>
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**Investment into military and military defense specialization**

In the intricate sphere of international security, a state's prowess is often determined not just by the size but by the qualitative competence of its military. For resource-rich nations with limited military manpower, like Brunei Darussalam, the strategic imperative shifts towards honing the capabilities of the existing forces rather than merely expanding them. This becomes especially salient given Brunei's demographic composition, with a population of approximately 429,999, where a vast expansion of military personnel might offset its socio-economic balance.

The geography of Brunei, endowed with an expansive forest cover accounting for
roughly 81% of its total area (CBD, 2008), offers a strategic lever. Harnessing this topographical advantage, the country could potentially adopt guerrilla warfare—a doctrine that has historically enabled numerically lesser forces to deter, and at times even subdue, larger conventional armies by leveraging the terrain and engaging in asymmetric confrontations (Arreguin-Toft, 2005). The success of such tactics is often rooted in environments such as thick forests, swamps, and jungles, and importantly, the implicit support of the local populace. Factors, it's worth noting, that Brunei possesses in abundance (Hayat, 2021).

Yet, while military strategies provide one avenue of defense enhancement, technological advancement stands as another pivotal axis. The allure of cutting-edge weaponry, particularly missile systems, might seem enticing. However, their introduction into the nation's arsenal could inadvertently spark regional security apprehensions, as underscored by Jervis (1978). Thus, for Brunei Darussalam, a more measured approach might be prudent. This would involve investments in conventional weaponry, such as tanks and rifles, and parallel enhancements in communication systems, surveillance mechanisms, and cyber defense capabilities which could be used as a form of deterrence as well (Ali & Lee, 2022).

It's pertinent to highlight that the effectiveness of Brunei's military investments is not solely contingent on the sheer volume of assets acquired. Given its substantial GDP per capita (standing at approximately $27,466, according to World Bank data from 2021), financial constraints aren't the primary concern. Instead, the intrinsic limitations stem from its modest population and concomitant military size. These constraints mean that while the nation's defense investments might only provide a limited form of deterrence, they nonetheless fortify Brunei's overall defense posture. This nuanced approach, marked by its low-risk, low-reward characteristic, positions Brunei Darussalam adeptly as it seeks to safeguard its status quo amidst the fluctuating currents of international geopolitics.

Investing in military defense specialization, particularly in the context of counter-terrorism, presents a nuanced approach. The benefits and limitations of this strategy in relation to counter-terrorism are as follows:

**Benefits:**

1. **Focused Counter-Terrorism Units:** Defense specialization can lead to the development of elite counter-terrorism units, such as SWAT teams or specialized military units, trained specifically to handle terrorist threats. These units are adept at neutralizing threats efficiently, reducing the risk of terrorist attacks succeeding.

2. **Intelligence Gathering and Surveillance:** A defense-oriented approach places emphasis on surveillance, intelligence gathering, and cyber capabilities. This means a nation is better equipped to detect and thwart potential terrorist plots before they are executed.

3. **Secure Borders:** Emphasis on defense can lead to better border
security measures, making it difficult for terrorists to cross into the country or for weapons and illicit funds to be smuggled across borders.

4. Community Relations: A defense-centric approach often focuses on building strong relations with local communities. This can lead to better intelligence as locals become more willing to report suspicious activities, reducing the risk of successful terrorist plots.

5. International Collaboration: Specialized defensive forces often collaborate with international counterparts for training, joint exercises, and intelligence sharing. This international nexus can be invaluable in counter-terrorism efforts as terrorism often has transnational roots.

Limitations:

1. Limited Offensive Capabilities: Relying heavily on defense might mean that a nation is not equipped or willing to take preemptive actions against terrorist cells or training camps outside its borders.

2. Reactive Stance: A purely defensive approach might sometimes mean waiting for a threat to materialize before acting. This can be detrimental in the fast-paced world of counter-terrorism, where preemptive intelligence operations can be crucial.

3. Potential Complacency: If a country perceives its defense as impregnable, it might become complacent, overlooking emerging threats or new methods of terrorist attacks.

4. Dependence on External Intelligence: With limited offensive operations, a country might overly rely on intelligence shared by other nations, which could be influenced by those nations' interests.

In the realm of counter-terrorism, a balanced approach that combines defensive specialization with selective offensive capabilities might be more effective. While investing in military defense specialization ensures robust protection against potential threats, it might lack the proactive measures needed to counteract the evolving nature of terrorism.

Interdependence

The dynamics of interdependence, with its intricate nexus of mutual reliance among global actors, plays a pivotal role in the contemporary international landscape (Coate, Griffin & Elliot-Gower, 2015). It suggests that the repercussions of one nation's decisions can cascade across borders, establishing a series of interconnected ramifications. The benefits of interdependence can be seen through various examples via the Belt and Road Initiative with China which brings in Economic performance even during the pandemic among various improvements as well as increase motivation for economic development (Sims et al., 2023; Demeure & Lee, 2023; Lee & Sims, 2023). A nuanced understanding of this principle can also be seen as instrumental in counter-terrorism.
strategies, especially in the context of nations like Brunei Darussalam.

Dale C. Copeland's "Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations" underscores how economic interdependence can deter hostilities between states (Copeland, 1996). This economic synergy, when translated to the realm of counter-terrorism, can be perceived as an impetus for nations to collaborate, share intelligence, and fortify their combined efforts against terror outfits. The rationale is simple: no country would wish to disrupt lucrative trade relations and mutual benefits by harboring or indirectly supporting entities that pose threats to its trade partners.

Brunei Darussalam's economic tapestry, woven with threads of numerous trade agreements, embodies its global integration (Brunei Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.). While this global engagement poses minimal risks, it offers significant rewards. But beyond the economic dividend, it fosters an environment of trust and collaboration, vital for concerted counter-terrorism efforts. The bonds created through trade can lead to shared intelligence, joint military exercises, and coordinated responses to terrorist threats.

However, economic interdependence also has its vulnerabilities. As highlighted by Crescenzi (2003), evolving economic landscapes can strain existing trade partnerships. Furthermore, dominant nations can wield the weapon of economic coercion, imposing trade embargoes or tariffs to extract compliance (Zhang, 2019). Terrorist organizations, astute in their understanding of these dynamics, can exploit such fissures, sowing discord among nations and hampering unified counter-terrorism measures.

Brunei Darussalam, thus, stands at a crossroads where its strategic engagement in economic and political interdependence can be leveraged to buttress its counter-terrorism initiatives. Strengthening trade partnerships can lead to enhanced intelligence-sharing, technological transfers, and cooperative security measures against potential threats. Another benefit of partnerships is can also be seen through knowledge sharing which could benefit a country economically as well. A good example of this is through lessons from China’s Special Economic Zone where by having a solid trade partnership, willingness of sharing knowledge from one state to another would potentially increase exponentially (Ouyang et al., 2023). By solidifying its position within such interdependent frameworks, Brunei Darussalam can tap into a reservoir of resources and expertise to counteract extremist narratives, disrupt terrorist financing, and foster regional stability.

The augmentation of political interdependence can further bolster Brunei’s counter-terrorism endeavors. Engagement in international forums, treaties, and alliances can facilitate the exchange of best practices, collaborative strategies, and unified narratives against extremism. Such alliances not only amplify Brunei’s voice on the global stage but also consolidate international support in its counter-terrorism measures. This could be seen in the environmental
cooperation between China, Japan and Korea (Yuan & Lee, 2023).

In summation, the multifaceted tapestry of interdependence, when astutely navigated, can significantly augment Brunei Darussalam's counter-terrorism arsenal. By intertwining its economic and political strategies within this framework and fostering global collaborations, Brunei can carve a robust pathway toward a safer, terror-free future. Expanding the strategic depth of this framework, Brunei Darussalam can further harness the benefits of interdependence through other facets, such as cultural and technological engagements.

Cultural interdependence, for instance, can serve as an invaluable soft power tool in counter-terrorism efforts. By promoting cultural exchanges, facilitating academic collaborations, and sponsoring multi-cultural events, Brunei can contribute to fostering a more inclusive, tolerant, and globally-aware society. Such initiatives can help in debunking extremist ideologies, building interfaith bridges, and promoting mutual respect among diverse groups. A society that is open to understanding and valuing different cultures is often more resilient to radical ideologies and narratives.

Moreover, technology, being an indispensable tool in today's interconnected world, can be a linchpin in the global fight against terrorism. Enhanced technological interdependence can provide avenues for real-time intelligence-sharing, cutting-edge surveillance, data analysis, and coordinated cyber operations to thwart online radicalization attempts. For instance, shared databases on known terrorists, their movements, financing networks, and communication channels can significantly enhance the preemptive and reactive capabilities of states.

Brunei Darussalam, with its strong economic foundation, can consider investing in technology hubs and research institutions focusing on counter-terrorism. Collaborative research and development projects with other nations can lead to innovations that help in detecting, preventing, and mitigating terrorist threats. Such technological collaborations can also help in countering cyber threats, given that the digital realm has become a significant battleground in modern counter-terrorism efforts.

Furthermore, by fostering educational interdependence, Brunei can collaborate with international institutions to develop curricula that educate the youth about the dangers of radicalization, emphasizing critical thinking, tolerance, and global citizenship. Exchange programs can also offer Bruneian students exposure to diverse global perspectives, thereby building a generation less susceptible to extremist narratives.

In the evolving landscape of global terrorism, where threats are continually morphing and adapting, no nation can afford to stand alone. A shared problem necessitates shared solutions. By embracing and deepening various facets of interdependence—economic, political, cultural, technological, and educational—Brunei Darussalam can not only enhance its domestic security apparatus.
but also contribute significantly to global counter-terrorism efforts.

In conclusion, Brunei Darussalam's journey toward a fortified counter-terrorism stance, underpinned by the myriad advantages of interdependence, embodies a model for other nations. By embracing a holistic approach, intertwining economic gains with shared security goals, and leveraging collective strengths, the world can present a united front against the specter of terrorism. As global challenges demand global solutions, the roadmap for Brunei and the international community lies in the synergies of interdependence.

Interdependence, especially in the context of international relations, plays a significant role in counter-terrorism efforts, reinforcing its standing as a "low risk, high reward" strategy.

1. **Shared Intelligence and Information**: Interdependence fosters trust among nations, leading to more robust intelligence-sharing mechanisms. This shared intelligence is crucial for preempting and preventing terrorist activities, as timely information can help states thwart potential attacks.

2. **Unified Approach to Counter-terrorism**: Countries that are economically and politically interdependent are more likely to adopt a unified approach to tackle terrorism. This means joint actions, collaborative strategies, and shared resources to combat extremist ideologies and organizations.

3. **Reducing the Roots of Terrorism**: Economic interdependence, in particular, can lead to increased prosperity and reduced poverty in partnering nations. By addressing socioeconomic disparities, nations can effectively reduce the factors that often lead to radicalization, such as unemployment or lack of access to education.

4. **Diplomatic Leverage**: Interdependent relationships provide nations with diplomatic leverage, enabling them to pressure or incentivize states that might be harboring terrorists or not doing enough to combat extremist ideologies within their borders.

5. **Coordinated Border and Transportation Controls**: Interdependent nations often work together to enhance security checks at borders, airports, and other transit points. Coordinated efforts make it harder for terrorists to move across countries or transport weapons and other resources.

6. **Joint Training and Capacity Building**: Interdependent states can collaborate in training counter-terrorism units, sharing best practices, and building the capacities of law enforcement agencies.

7. **Countering Terrorist Financing**: Interdependence in the financial sector can lead to the establishment of shared norms and regulations that prevent money laundering and the financing of terrorism. Nations can collaborate to monitor and freeze
assets of individuals and groups involved in extremist activities.

However, the link to counter-terrorism also brings certain risks inherent to interdependence:

1. **Exploitation of Open Channels**: Terrorist groups can exploit the open channels that come with increased interdependence, moving across borders or using globalized financial systems for their benefit.

2. **Potential Backlash**: Collaborative counter-terrorism efforts can sometimes lead to perceptions of external interference, potentially exacerbating local tensions or being used as propaganda by extremist groups.

3. **Differing Definitions of Terrorism**: What one nation sees as a legitimate freedom-fighting group, another might view as a terrorist organization. Such disparities can cause strains in interdependent relationships.

Despite these potential pitfalls, when interdependence is managed judiciously, its application to counter-terrorism strategies can yield significant rewards. The combined strengths and resources of interdependent states, when focused on eradicating terrorism, can be a force multiplier in creating a safer, more secure global environment.

**Alliance**

Historically, alliances have been cornerstones for states, offering a buffer to safeguard their interests, especially for nations such as Brunei Darussalam that might not have the mammoth military and economic presence of global powers. As Bergsmann (2001) asserted, military alliances, rooted in mutual assistance during security threats, act as essential deterrents. In the context of Brunei Darussalam, alliances serve dual purposes: they provide a protective layer against conventional threats and signal its diplomatic depth.

Yet, in an era marked by the intricate threat of terrorism, alliances' significance transcends traditional military cooperation. Terrorism, a transnational menace, requires a collective, multifaceted alliance approach, incorporating intelligence sharing, joint counter-terrorism operations, and technological partnerships. Kupchan and Kupchan (1995) emphasize the strength of collective security wherein states collaborate to maintain global stability, pushing back against aggression. In the world of counter-terrorism, this concept translates to a global, shared responsibility to neutralize and deter terrorist threats.

Morrow (2000) rightly pointed out that some alliances may falter, especially when the costs appear daunting. However, the shared imperative to combat terrorism—given its borderless nature—calls for unwavering international cooperation. For every act of terror, be it in New York, Paris, or Jakarta, there’s a reinforced universal recognition of the shared threat and the need for collective response.

While Brunei Darussalam is a member of several international entities, such as ASEAN and the United Nations, leveraging these
memberships into potent counter-terrorism alliances becomes paramount. This means not just joint military endeavors, but a synchronized approach involving shared intelligence, cyber-surveillance to combat online radicalization, and specialized counter-terrorism training. Lessons from ASEAN conflict management could also potentially be used to understand various conflict management policies (Yuan & Lee, 2023).

There's the valid concern, as highlighted earlier, of smaller states potentially getting overshadowed within alliance dynamics. But counter-terrorism alliances offer a different scenario. The universal vulnerability to terrorism ensures a mutual respect and recognition of shared interests, irrespective of a nation's size or influence.

Brunei Darussalam, in formulating its alliance strategy, should champion multi-dimensional partnerships. Beyond the military, alliances must bridge diplomatic endeavors, technological synergies, cultural dialogues, and shared economic ventures. Kupchan and Kupchan's (1995) idea of collective security can be seen in this broader context; a collaborative ecosystem that not only repels immediate threats but also proactively curtails environments conducive for extremist ideologies.

To conclude, alliances, especially in the face of challenges like terrorism, are indispensable. For smaller states like Brunei Darussalam, a well-strategized alliance not only assures traditional security but also provides a collective shield against modern, pervasive threats. Through cohesive and strategic partnerships, nations can together build a safer, unified global order, where terrorism's divisive strategies find no room to thrive.

The characterization of alliances, particularly in the realm of counter-terrorism, as a "low risk, high reward" strategy is grounded in several facets of international relations and the evolving nature of global threats:

1. **Shared Burden**: In counter-terrorism alliances, the responsibility of countering threats is distributed among member states. No single state bears the entire brunt, making it more manageable and cost-effective for each participating country, including smaller ones like Brunei Darussalam.

2. **Enhanced Capabilities**: Alliances often lead to shared intelligence, technologies, and methodologies. This pooling of resources amplifies the capability of each member state beyond what it could achieve individually. For smaller states, this means gaining access to intelligence and resources they might not have had on their own.

3. **Deterrence**: The unified stance of an alliance sends a strong message to potential adversaries. The collective power of several states, unified against terrorism, acts as a powerful deterrent against both state and non-state actors considering hostile actions.

4. **Flexibility**: While the primary aim may be counter-terrorism, the frameworks set up for such alliances...
often allow for adaptability to other emerging threats. This means that the foundational work of setting up the alliance can serve multiple purposes over time.

5. **Diplomatic Benefits**: Such alliances often foster deeper diplomatic ties among member states, leading to benefits in other areas like trade, cultural exchanges, and mutual aid during crises outside of terrorism.

6. **Stability and Predictability**: Being part of an alliance reduces the uncertainty in international relations. Knowing that there are defined allies and established protocols can lead to a more stable and predictable international environment.

7. **Mitigated Blowback**: Joint actions mean that no single state is singled out for retaliation. The risk is spread among alliance members, making it more challenging for adversaries to retaliate against any single member.

8. **Economical Prowess**: Counter-terrorism operations can be expensive. But shared financial burdens, combined resources, and collaborative funding in alliances can lead to more cost-effective operations.

9. **Cultural and Social Exchange**: Often, the roots of terrorism lie in ideological and cultural rifts. Alliances, by fostering cultural and social exchanges, can play a pivotal role in creating intercultural understanding, thus addressing some root causes of extremism.

The "risk" in such alliances is relatively lower because the collective strength, shared responsibility, and pooling of resources mean that no single country is overexposed. The costs of not entering such an alliance, especially given the transnational nature of modern terrorism, can be much higher. Conversely, the potential rewards, from enhanced security to deeper diplomatic ties and shared intelligence, are substantial. Thus, for states like Brunei Darussalam, engaging in counter-terrorism alliances can be seen as a prudent, low-risk, and high-reward strategy in the complex tapestry of global geopolitics.

**National Service**

Mandatory military service, popularly referred to as national service in countries such as Korea and Vietnam, has been a cornerstone of defense strategies, especially beneficial for smaller nations with limited manpower, like Brunei Darussalam. Based on evidence from the Population Review (2021), the implementation of national service can be a transformative solution, turning an entire populace into a formidable reserve force. For Brunei Darussalam, a nation grappling with limited military size due to its population constraints, such an approach offers a dual advantage. Firstly, it would build a vast reservoir of trained citizens ready to respond during national emergencies. Secondly, the costs associated with maintaining a professional standing army would reduce in the long run, as the majority of the defense responsibility would shift to these reservists.

Beyond the tangible military benefits, national service plays an incisive role in
counter-terrorism efforts. Those who undergo this training receive more than just military skills; they develop a heightened sense of awareness and vigilance. A populace aware of the basics of defense and counter-terrorism can act as an early warning system, detecting and reporting suspicious activities. This grassroots level of intelligence gathering becomes invaluable, especially in preempting terror plots before they reach fruition. Furthermore, national service fosters unity and shared purpose among the citizenry. This solidarity builds a resilient societal framework, less susceptible to extremist ideologies, making it harder for radical elements to find a foothold.

The knowledge that a nation's population is trained and ready to defend its homeland serves as a potent deterrent to external threats and potential terrorists. For extremist groups looking to target nations they perceive as "soft targets," the presence of a trained populace presents a significant risk of failure. Should a terror incident occur, the immediate aftermath often defines its impact. Here, a trained citizenry can make all the difference, ensuring an organized and immediate response in the crucial moments before specialized forces arrive. For Brunei Darussalam, leveraging its resources to implement national service not only solidifies its defense posture but sends a clear message to potential aggressors about its preparedness, embodying the essence of a low-risk, high-reward strategy. The adoption of mandatory national service, especially for countries with limited manpower resources like Brunei Darussalam, can be viewed as a "low risk, high reward" strategy for several reasons:

1. **Resource Efficiency:**
   - **Low Risk:** Instead of continuously investing vast sums into professional standing armies, which can be economically burdensome, national service allows for the training of a large reserve force with relatively lower costs. This avoids the potential fiscal drain associated with a permanent military establishment.
   - **High Reward:** In return, the nation gains a sizeable defense force at a fraction of the cost. The trained citizenry can swiftly augment the regular armed forces in times of need.

2. **National Cohesion and Unity:**
   - **Low Risk:** The process of undergoing training together and serving the nation cultivates a sense of unity and shared purpose among citizens from various backgrounds. This shared experience minimizes societal divisions.
   - **High Reward:** A united populace stands as a bulwark against external propaganda, insidious ideologies, and attempts to create internal discord. In the context of counter-terrorism, this unity can make it difficult for extremist ideologies to take root, reducing the chances of home-grown terrorism.

3. **Grassroots Vigilance:**
   - **Low Risk:** Introducing the general populace to basic defense and counter-terrorism principles doesn't require extensive, specialized training, nor does it risk leaking critical state secrets.
   - **High Reward:** However, this basic training produces citizens who are more aware of their surroundings and can serve as the nation's eyes and ears. This broadens the
intelligence net, catching threats that might otherwise slip through.

4. Psychological Deterrence:
Low Risk: Training a populace in defense does not directly provoke or threaten other nations, maintaining peaceful international relations unlike the situation in Rohingya (Yuan & Lee, 2023).
High Reward: On the flip side, potential aggressors or extremist elements now face a whole population that's trained and ready to respond. The mere knowledge that a significant portion of citizens can mobilize in defense acts as a deterrent, making adversaries think twice before initiating any hostile actions.

5. Building Resilience and Quick Response:
Low Risk: Having trained citizens dispersed throughout the nation does not pose a risk in itself, as the training primarily focuses on defense.
High Reward: In the aftermath of a terror incident, the immediate response can significantly affect outcomes. Trained citizens can offer first aid, help in evacuations, and provide critical intel to arriving forces, potentially saving lives and reducing chaos.

In summary, mandatory national service ensures that a nation is better prepared for threats, both external and internal, without incurring significant costs or risks. The multiple layers of benefits—economic, societal, intelligence-based, and psychological—emphasize its high-reward nature.

Doing nothing

Adopting a passive stance towards counter-terrorism can be perceived as a high-risk, low-reward strategy. By choosing inaction, states inadvertently expose their vulnerabilities to extremist elements, which can interpret this lack of preparedness as an invitation for attack. This is especially concerning for resource-rich nations like Brunei Darussalam, which might attract attention not just for its wealth but also as a potential symbolic target.

The risk is magnified when one considers the ripple effect of a successful terrorist act. Beyond the immediate loss of lives and property, the subsequent social, economic, and political ramifications can be profound and enduring. Trust in governance can erode, foreign investments might wane, and social cohesion can be strained, as communities grapple with fear and suspicion.

The rewards for such inaction are minimal, if any. While there might be temporary financial savings from not investing in counter-terrorism measures or avoiding international entanglements related to global counter-terrorism efforts, these are dwarfed by the potential losses from a single major attack. Furthermore, a passive approach does nothing to address the underlying factors that might make a country a target, meaning the threat remains and might even grow over time.

In essence, in the ever-evolving landscape of global security threats, inaction is a gamble with stakes too high. The costs of being unprepared in the face of terrorism far outweigh any perceived short-term benefits.
Patron – Client Alliance
The patron-client dynamic, fundamentally, is a bond between two states where the dominant "patron" holds considerable sway over the "client", though the latter often maintains an appearance of autonomy (Hunt, 2002). Historically, Robert D. Hunt (2002) drew parallels to the Roman patron-client system, where clients enjoyed protection and trade benefits from Rome. However, this relationship also highlighted vulnerabilities; the Roman emperor's control meant the client's autonomy was always in question, dependent on the patron's needs.

Today, in the age of global terrorism, this relationship has a renewed significance. States with limited counter-terrorism capabilities or intelligence networks might seek patronage from nations with established counter-terrorism infrastructure. An illustrative example is the British influence over the Malay states, which morphed into modern Malaysia (Sundara Raja, 2021). While there was infrastructure and economic development, the British also provided security, a boon in turbulent times. Yet, the dynamics were complex; dissent against British strategies, possibly including counter-terrorism measures, was often met with accusations of treachery, causing local unrest (Jin Bee, 2021). This underscores the challenges in a patron-client relationship, where local nuances can clash with overarching security goals.

In the broader academic context, this relationship is analogous to dependency and modernization theories. Joseph Love's (1980) dependency theory posits that resources, including intelligence and counter-terrorism expertise, might flow from "periphery" to "core" states. Such a dynamic might mean the client state becomes overly reliant on the patron for security, leaving it vulnerable if that support wanes. On the other hand, modernization theory suggests states can advance by adopting novel strategies, including in counter-terrorism (Reyes, 2001). This could mean a client state, under the guidance of a patron, develops its own robust counter-terrorism mechanisms. Yet, a dilemma arises: is the patron's guidance always in the best interest of the client, especially in the complex and sensitive realm of counter-terrorism?

In conclusion, the patron-client relationship offers a nuanced lens through which to view counter-terrorism strategies. Aligning with global powers can offer significant security advantages, but it's a balance. The trade-off between immediate security and long-term autonomy, especially in matters as sensitive as counter-terrorism, remains a central debate in international relations.

The patron-client relationship in the realm of counter-terrorism is viewed as both a high-risk and high-reward strategy for several reasons:

**High Reward:**

1. **Enhanced Security Capabilities:** Client states gain access to the advanced counter-terrorism expertise, resources, and technologies of the patron state. This provides them with capabilities they might not have been
able to develop independently in a short time frame.

2. **Intelligence Sharing:** The collaboration often involves intelligence sharing, which means the client state gets a better understanding of potential threats and can act on them more swiftly.

3. **Economic and Diplomatic Benefits:** Apart from security, client states may also receive economic aid, trade benefits, and diplomatic support in international forums. These peripheral benefits can bolster the state’s overall stability, indirectly strengthening its counter-terrorism efforts.

4. **Deterrence:** The mere alignment with a powerful patron state can act as a deterrent to terrorist organizations. The backing of a significant power means any attack would have larger geopolitical implications, potentially deterring some adversaries.

**High Risk:**

1. **Loss of Autonomy:** Client states often find their policies, including those unrelated to security, influenced or directed by the patron. This loss of sovereignty can be contentious domestically and may even fuel the very extremism the state aims to counteract.

2. **Over-reliance:** Over time, the client state might become overly dependent on the patron for its security. If the patron withdraws support or if there’s a change in the geopolitical landscape, the client state may find itself vulnerable.

3. **Local Resentment:** The presence or influence of a foreign power can sometimes be met with local resentment. This could be exploited by extremist factions to recruit and radicalize individuals against both the local government and the patron state.

4. **Political Complications:** Aligning closely with a patron state might strain relationships with neighboring or rival countries. These strained relationships could be leveraged by terrorist organizations.

5. **Mismatch of Interests:** Over time, the interests of the patron and client state might diverge. If the patron’s focus shifts or if its strategy is misaligned with the ground realities of the client state, it can lead to security vulnerabilities.

In essence, while the patron-client relationship in counter-terrorism offers immediate and tangible security benefits, it comes with strings attached. The intertwining of interests, the potential for over-reliance, and the political complexities make it a strategy fraught with both significant advantages and challenges.

**Power projection**

Power projection, in the realm of counter-terrorism, refers to the capability of a state to exert its influence and display its anti-terrorism stance both domestically and internationally. For smaller states facing formidable terrorist threats, power projection becomes crucial in demonstrating their resolve and capability in combating
extremism. This paper delves into the strategies small states can employ to project their power in the sphere of counter-terrorism, not merely as a defensive measure but as a proactive deterrent against potential threats.

**Power projection matrix**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low risk</th>
<th>High reward</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low reward</td>
<td>- Hire mercenaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Mobilization of reserve forces</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High risk</td>
<td>- Doing nothing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**Hire mercenaries**

Hiring mercenaries can be a viable option for smaller states combating terrorism, provided they have the necessary funds. In the context of Brunei Darussalam, the rich resource base of the state makes this a low risk, low reward strategy. Mercenaries offer immediate expertise in combat, intelligence, and counter-terrorism operations, making them effective tools against non-state actors and terrorist organizations.

While using mercenaries for counter-terrorism operations offers immediate expertise, it is inherently temporary. Maintaining a large contingent of mercenaries for prolonged periods can be challenging both logistically and financially. However, their high level of training, especially those with specialized experience in counter-terrorism, provides a formidable deterrent against potential threats (McFate, 2019).

In modern counter-terrorism contexts, mercenaries have been employed for specific operations, like securing key infrastructure, VIP protection, and even intelligence collection in terrorism-prone regions such as the Middle East. Their deployment not only acts as a deterrent but also fills operational gaps in national security structures (McFate, 2019; Bibi & Lee, 2023; Demeure & Lee, 2023). However, using mercenaries as a long-term solution can be unsustainable, especially when dealing with an evolving terror threat. Their deployment needs constant recalibration based on threat perception, operational objectives, and budgetary considerations.

Engaging mercenaries in counter-terrorism has both monetary implications and a potential impact on the national security policy. Their expertise provides immediate operational capability boosts, especially if a state is looking to augment its forces or fill specific operational gaps. Publicizing the engagement of a significant number of
mercenaries can also serve as a deterrent, signaling to adversaries the state's intent and resolve. However, the inherent nature of mercenary forces — their loyalty tied to contracts rather than national allegiance — makes them a less reliable option in the long term, echoing concerns raised historically about their use (Machiavelli et al, 1938). In conclusion, while mercenaries can be an effective short-term solution in counter-terrorism strategies, states need to weigh the benefits against the potential risks and long-term implications.

Using mercenaries in counter-terrorism operations can be classified as a low risk, low reward strategy for several reasons:

1. **Immediate Expertise**: Mercenaries often come with specialized training and experience, which means that the hiring state does not need to spend time and resources on training them. This reduces the immediate risks associated with operational readiness and capability gaps.

2. **Financial Flexibility**: Rather than investing in long-term military infrastructure or training programs, states can allocate specific budgets for the hiring of mercenaries based on current needs. This is particularly beneficial for smaller states or those with fluctuating security needs.

3. **Limited Commitment**: Employing mercenaries means a state is not committing its national troops. This can reduce potential political fallout or public opposition that might arise from casualties or controversial operations.

4. **Control over Deployment**: Mercenaries can be deployed specifically for particular operations or periods, giving states greater control over the scale and duration of their involvement.

However, the rewards are limited:

1. **Temporary Solution**: Mercenaries offer a short-term fix. Once the contract is up, the state might find itself without the necessary security apparatus unless it continually renews the contract or finds alternative solutions.

2. **Loyalty Concerns**: Mercenaries’ primary loyalty is to their contract and payment, not to the state. This might result in reduced dedication or potential issues if a higher bidder comes along.

3. **Public Perception**: Depending on the state, the use of mercenaries might not be well-received by the public or international community, limiting the positive PR that might come from successful operations.

4. **Limited Strategic Impact**: While mercenaries can effectively execute tactical missions, relying on them might not lead to long-term strategic gains against terrorist networks. Their operations might suppress immediate threats, but without an integrated, long-term strategy, the root causes of terrorism might persist.

In essence, while hiring mercenaries for counter-terrorism operations can reduce immediate risks and offer tactical advantages, it doesn't necessarily promise significant
strategic gains or a long-term solution to the problem of terrorism.

**Bilateral military exercises**

In the realm of counter-terrorism, bilateral military exercises emerge as a nuanced strategy for power projection. Engaging in such exercises serves dual purposes: they not only amplify the military capacity of states but also act as an overt signal of the unyielding alliances against transnational terrorist threats. Hei Chau (2011) underscores this by suggesting that these exercises operate as a form of "advertising", indicating that established allies stand in solidarity to fend off and respond to external attacks, particularly from non-state actors.

Kuo & Blakenship's (2021) comprehensive analysis on "Deterrence and Restraint: Do joint military exercises escalate conflict?" provides a balanced view of this strategy. On one hand, their findings reveal that joint military exercises, when framed correctly, have the potential to minimize the escalation of conflict, making them a powerful deterrent against terrorist threats. This aligns with the broader perspective that demonstrating international collaboration and resolve can dissuade terrorist entities. Conversely, the study also underscores potential pitfalls: such exercises might inadvertently heighten tensions, especially if perceived as overly aggressive or provocative by the entities they aim to deter. This is particularly poignant in scenarios where the perceived show of strength emboldens a state, perhaps leading to preemptive or overly aggressive counter-terrorism measures.

From a strategic standpoint, bilateral military exercises, especially in the context of counter-terrorism, can be categorized as a low-risk, high-reward endeavor. While there exists the inherent risk of escalation, as Kuo & Blakenship (2021) elucidate, the tangible benefits—such as fostering alliances during crises, power projection, and the resultant deterrence—are considerable. Notably, small states can significantly benefit, leveraging these exercises to demonstrate their resolve and capability, while simultaneously ensuring that potential adversaries recognize the cost of confrontation. Yet, as with all strategies in the intricate landscape of counter-terrorism, a calibrated and informed approach is pivotal.

Bilateral military exercises, especially in the context of counter-terrorism, are considered a low-risk, high-reward strategy for several reasons:

1. **Strengthening Alliances:** Engaging in joint exercises solidifies alliances and demonstrates a unified front against terrorism. This collaboration often leads to the sharing of intelligence, resources, and best practices, boosting the overall efficacy of counter-terrorism measures.

2. **Deterrence:** The visual and operational spectacle of combined military exercises serves as a strong deterrent. Terrorist organizations, often with limited resources compared to state actors, might reconsider their plans when faced
with a combined, coordinated, and visibly unified opposition.

3. **Skill Enhancement:** These exercises enable participating forces to benefit from each other's expertise, tactics, and technology. This cross-training is crucial for counter-terrorism operations which often require specialized skills.

4. **Cost-Efficient:** While there are costs associated with conducting joint exercises, they are relatively low when compared to the potential costs of a full-blown counter-terrorism operation post an attack. Plus, costs are often shared among participating nations, reducing the financial burden on any single country.

5. **Public Relations and Soft Power:** Successfully executed exercises can generate positive media coverage, bolstering public confidence and international reputation. The show of unity, resolve, and readiness can have a positive psychological effect on the populace and create a sense of security.

6. **Flexibility:** Joint exercises allow for simulation of various scenarios, from hostage situations to large scale attacks. This prepares the forces for a wide range of potential threats, making them more adaptable.

However, the associated risks, though deemed low in this context, are not absent. As noted from the study by Kuo & Blakenship (2021), there's potential for escalation, especially if the exercises are perceived as provocative. They could be seen as a show of aggression rather than defense, potentially causing a backlash. Additionally, there's the risk of revealing tactical strategies, miscommunications or misunderstandings between allied forces, or creating domestic concerns about sovereignty or foreign influence.

Despite these potential pitfalls, the overall balance of probabilities places bilateral military exercises in the low-risk, high-reward category when applied to the domain of counter-terrorism.

**Mobilization of reserve forces**

Within the context of counter-terrorism, the mobilization of reserve forces assumes paramount importance, contingent upon the existence of such forces. As delineated in the counter-terrorism matrix, the implementation of national service can serve as an avenue for states to amass a substantial contingent of reserve personnel.

This reserve, when mobilized, furnishes states with an expedited capability to project power, particularly in counter-terrorism operations. When equipped and activated, these reserves provide a nimble response to emerging threats, making it a strategy that offers significant rewards with limited risk, assuming the presence of an already established reserve infrastructure.

Yet, in the absence of such a reserve apparatus, the urgency to rapidly train and deploy forces emerges. While expedited basic combat training, typically spanning approximately nine weeks, can quickly augment a state's defense capabilities, it
poses certain challenges (Beng, 2020). Hastened training sessions, while providing immediate manpower, might compromise the quality and preparedness of the forces, thereby escalating the associated risks. Thus, while the intent to transform civilians into combat-ready troops in a short timeframe signals a state's commitment to security, the associated financial and operational costs, combined with potential casualties due to possible inadequate training, render this approach as a high-risk, high-reward strategy in the realm of counter-terrorism.

The strategy of mobilizing reserve forces in the context of counter-terrorism is deemed a "low-risk high-reward" strategy for several reasons:

1. **Existing Infrastructure**: If a state already has reserve forces, it implies there is an established system for their training, mobilization, and deployment. Thus, activating them doesn't require extensive new investment or infrastructure.
2. **Rapid Response**: Reserve forces can be quickly mobilized in the face of imminent threats, allowing a state to respond promptly to emerging terrorist threats or activities.
3. **Deterrent Effect**: The mere presence of a sizable reserve force, ready to be deployed, can act as a deterrent to potential terrorist activities. The knowledge that a state can quickly bolster its active forces might dissuade potential threats.
4. **Cost-Efficiency**: Compared to the continuous cost of maintaining a large active-duty force, reserve forces are generally more cost-effective. They represent a force multiplier without the continuous financial burden.
5. **Versatility**: Reserve forces often comprise individuals from diverse backgrounds, bringing a range of skills and expertise which can be invaluable in counter-terrorism operations.
6. **Minimal Disruption**: Activating reserve forces usually causes less disruption to society and the economy compared to conscripting or recruiting new forces. Most reserves are trained to be mobilized and can integrate into active-duty roles with minimal friction.

However, it's worth noting that while mobilizing reserve forces has its advantages, its success largely depends on the quality of training, readiness, and the integration capability of these forces with active units. When done correctly, the strategy offers substantial rewards with minimal associated risks.

**Doing nothing**

In the context of counter-terrorism, adopting a passive approach during a period of heightened threat or after an act of terrorism can be highly perilous. Such inaction is perceived as a high-risk, low-reward strategy. The inherent risks of non-response are multifaceted. Firstly, it can embolden terrorist entities, interpreting the lack of response as a sign of vulnerability or indecisiveness. Secondly, from an internal perspective, inaction can significantly erode public confidence in the state's ability to
provide security, leading to potential socio-political unrest. The potential reward, perhaps rooted in the hope that refraining from aggressive countermeasures might de-escalate tensions or dissuade further acts of terror, is often outweighed by the potential risks. Thus, while there might be situations where restraint can serve strategic objectives, complete inaction, especially in the face of clear and present threats, is generally not advised in counter-terrorism paradigms.

Signal intent that war would be costly (Threats)
In the realm of counter-terrorism, signaling intentions and emphasizing the high costs of any terrorist activity can be a crucial strategy. Drawing from Fearon's (1997) discussion on signaling foreign policy interests, especially the concepts of tying hands and sinking costs, it becomes evident that creating perceived costs for potential adversaries can serve as a form of deterrence. Such signaling strategies can be particularly effective when the intent is to convey the state's commitment and capability to counter any form of terrorism aggressively.

However, the intricate balance involved in this strategy underscores its classification as high-risk, high-reward. Should the strategy succeed, the intended deterrence can prevent terrorist acts. Conversely, if misinterpreted or dismissed, the strategy could unintentionally embolden the terrorists, leading to escalated actions. It is, therefore, essential that threats, in this context, be utilized judiciously and preferably as a last-resort measure. The effectiveness of such a strategy, as Fearon (1997) elucidates, often hinges upon the preconditions and the credibility of the signaling state.

To optimize the use of such a signaling strategy in counter-terrorism, states must ensure a comprehensive intelligence apparatus. Accurate intelligence regarding terrorist entities' intent, capabilities, and the extent of their commitment is paramount. This intelligence facilitates a better understanding of how to position and communicate threats, ensuring they are both credible and convincing. Reinforcing the state's commitment to resisting terrorist activities to the very end further amplifies the perceived costs to potential adversaries, thereby enhancing the strategy's potential efficacy.

Signaling that an act of terrorism would result in high costs (often referred to as making threats or signaling intent) is a high-risk, high-reward strategy for several reasons:

1. **Credibility of Commitment:** For the signaling to be effective, the state must have a credible commitment to act on its threats. If terrorists believe the state might not follow through, the threat can be dismissed, thereby undermining the state's credibility in future engagements.

2. **Potential Escalation:** If a terrorist group decides to challenge the state's threat, this could lead to escalation. An escalation could mean a larger attack, targeting more sensitive areas, or employing more destructive methods. Thus, while the state aims to deter the group, it could inadvertently provoke it.
3. **Reputational Stakes**: Once a state signals a high cost, it's also staking its reputation on that claim. Failing to follow through, or if the threat is perceived as empty, not only undermines its immediate counter-terrorism efforts but can also embolden other potential adversaries.

4. **Collateral Damage and Unintended Consequences**: Acting on threats, especially in a proactive manner, can lead to collateral damage. This can be in terms of unintended civilian casualties, economic repercussions, or political fallout. Such consequences can turn public opinion, both domestically and internationally, against the state.

5. **Reward in Successful Deterrence**: If the signaling works as intended, it can deter terrorist activities without the state having to take any kinetic action. This is the "reward" side of the equation. The state could achieve its objectives of safeguarding its citizens and interests without engaging in potentially costly counter-terrorism operations.

6. **Strengthening Intelligence and Diplomatic Channels**: Successfully deterring terrorist activities through signaling can strengthen intelligence networks and diplomatic backchannels. Other states and entities might be more inclined to share intelligence or cooperate with a state they perceive as strong and decisive.

7. **Cost-Effective**: When done right, signaling is more cost-effective than actual military operations. It can achieve the same goals—deterrence, in this case—without the associated costs of mobilization, operations, or post-operation consequences.

Given these complexities, it's evident that signaling intent in counter-terrorism is a delicate balancing act. The potential rewards are significant, but so are the risk.

**CONCLUSION**

The Power Projection Matrix and the Counter-Terrorism Strategy Matrix serve as vital frameworks for informing and guiding Brunei Darussalam's defense posture. In an increasingly complex security landscape, where threats range from traditional state aggressors to non-state actors and terrorism networks, a nuanced understanding of strategic choices is indispensable.

For a nation like Brunei, with its unique geopolitical position and socio-economic circumstances, these matrices offer a tailored roadmap. The Power Projection Matrix delineates a spectrum of strategies, from low to high risk, and their anticipated rewards, facilitating informed decisions based on Brunei's capacities and the nature of the threat. Whether it's through hiring mercenaries, engaging in bilateral military exercises, or signaling intent, each choice's risk-reward evaluation becomes clearer.

Equally significant is the Counter-Terrorism Strategy Matrix, reflecting the pressing need to address asymmetrical threats that modern nation-states increasingly face. As Brunei seeks to ensure its sovereignty and protect its citizens, understanding the varied tools at its
disposal—be it soft power initiatives, intelligence sharing, or direct military intervention—is essential.

Together, these matrices not only provide a comprehensive toolkit for Brunei but also symbolize a shift from reactive defense measures to a proactive, holistic approach. By integrating the insights from these frameworks, Brunei can effectively navigate the multifaceted challenges of the 21st century, ensuring its territorial integrity and the safety of its populace. In essence, these matrices represent a leap forward in strategic defense thinking, catering to both conventional and unconventional threats, and positioning Brunei Darussalam as a vigilant and adaptive state in a volatile regional and global environment.

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