

Article

## The Use of Multitrack Diplomacy in The Liberation Of 10 Indonesian Ship Crew From The Abu Sayyaf Group 2016

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### ABSTRACT

Indonesia was again shocked by the events of ship hijacking and hostage-taking of 10 Indonesian ship crew by the Abu Sayyaf separatist group in the Southern Philippines. This is not the first time for Indonesia where its citizens are held hostage by separatists, but the success of the Indonesian government in releasing hostages from Abu Sayyaf's group is interesting to discuss because 10 Indonesian ship crew members who were hostages were able to be released less than 3 months after the hijacking, without ransom and without firing contact. So the question arises as to how Indonesia's diplomacy strategy is in the release of 10 Indonesian ship crew from the Abu Sayyaf group? In answering the above questions, the writer used the concept of diplomacy, multi-track diplomacy, and peacemaking. The results of this study are the diplomacy strategy used by Indonesia is Total Diplomacy where in addition to running the Track One Diplomacy also runs Track Two Diplomacy involving non-governmental elements unofficially that are non-governmental and professional actors also civilian population.

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### ABSTRAK

Indonesia kembali dikejutkan dengan peristiwa pembajakan kapal dan penyeranaan 10 awak kapal Indonesia oleh kelompok separatis Abu Sayyaf di Filipina Selatan. Hal ini bukan pertama kalinya bagi Indonesia dimana warga negara ditawan oleh kelompok separatis, namun keberhasilan dari pemerintah Indonesia dalam membebaskan sandera dari kelompok Abu Sayyaf adalah hal yang menarik untuk didiskusikan karena 10 awak kapal Indonesia tersebut bisa dibebaskan kurang dari 3 bulan setelah pembajakan tanpa adanya uang tebusan kontak bersenjata. Pertanyaan yang muncul adalah bagaimana strategi diplomasi Indonesia dalam membebaskan 10 awak kapal Indonesia dari kelompok Abu Sayaf. Dalam menjawab pertanyaan tersebut penulis menggunakan konsep diplomasi, diplomasi multi-track dan *peacemaking*. Hasil dari penelitian ini adalah strategi diplomasi yang digunakan oleh Indonesia adalah total diplomasi dimana dilakukan track one diplomacy sekaligus dengan track two diplomacy yang melibatkan elemen-elemen non pemerintahan seperti aktor profesional dan masyarakat sipil

## Introduction

Indonesia was again shocked by the events of ship hijacking and hostage-taking of Indonesian crew members. On March 26, 2016, two Indonesian-flagged ships were hijacked by the Abu Sayyaf group while sailing from Sungai Puting, South Kalimantan to Batangas, southern Philippines. The two hijacked vessels were Brahma 12 and Anand 12 barges carrying 10 Indonesian ship crew members. In the hostage-taking of 10 Indonesian ship crew members, the hijackers of the Abu Sayyaf group expressed demands to release 10 Indonesian citizens on condition that the ransom was 50 million pesos with a deadline of March 31, 2016.<sup>1</sup>

The existence of the Abu Sayyaf separatist movement group is a fragment of the conflicting Moro fighters in the Southern Philippines. The Southern Philippines is a region that is constantly experiencing conflict. The conflict in Philippine was closely related to the competition of Islamic and Christian religious missions post-13<sup>th</sup> century. The state's discrimination against Muslim minority groups becomes more pronounced when they refer to them as Moro, it is identical to the Islamic group that used to occupy Spain. Starting from this, the conflict continued to rage. Religion and ethnic identity even occupy an important part of the conflict. Rebellion by Minority Muslim groups in Mindanao, Southern Philippines, for example, is more due to being treated unfairly in economic and political life, although there are elements of religion that play a role.

People in the Abu Sayyaf group were former members of the Moro Muslim Liberation Front (MNLF) who were

dissatisfied with the methods taken by their seniors at the MNLF so that in their small groups of young people formed new groups and received sympathy from their supporters. The aim of the Abu Sayyaf group is clearly fighting for minority groups in the Philippines using violence. This separatist action was challenged by the Philippine government. The country's government and military often deployed troops with complete war machines to suppress the movement of these groups, which led to weapons contracts.

Although it started from a domestic conflict in the Philippines, recently the group has widened its network to Malaysia and Indonesia. The Abu Sayyaf group is thought to be responsible for a series of acts of hostage-taking, violence, and murder especially foreign nationals and a series of criminal acts of terrorism and other criminal acts. The name of the Abu Sayyaf group, which has been classified in the Foreign Terrorist Organizations, again emerged after recently hijacking two ships with 10 Indonesian ship crew carrying 7,000 tons of coal departing from Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan, to the Philippines on March 15.<sup>2</sup>

The Indonesian government in seeking the release of 10 Indonesian ship crew members prioritizes a humanitarian approach, religious closeness becomes a priority through persuasive efforts, negotiations, diplomacy, before deciding to take steps in military operations as a last resort. Until May 12, 2016, 10 Indonesian ship crew were released without ransom or firing contact.

This is not the first time for Indonesia where its citizens are held hostage by separatists, but the success of the Indonesian government in releasing

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<sup>1</sup> Simanjuntak, Rico Afrido. (2016). Bajak Kapal RI, Kelompok Abu Sayyaf Kesulitan Dana. Accessed on April 2016 from <http://nasional.sindonews.com/read/1096507/14/bajak-kapal-ri-kelompok-abu-sayyaf-kesulitan-dana-1459225888>

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<sup>2</sup> Satria Hadi, Mahardika et.al. (2016) Markas Abu Sayyaf Diserbu, 18 Tewas, Bagaimana Nasib 10 WNI?. Accessed on April 2016 from <https://m.tempo.co/read/news/2016/04/11/078761438/markas-abu-sayyaf-diserbu-18-tewas-bagaimana-nasib-10-wni>

hostages from Abu Sayyaf's group is interesting to discuss because 10 Indonesian ship crew members who were hostages were able to be released less than 3 months after the hijacking, without ransom and without weapons contact. So the question arises as to how Indonesia's diplomacy strategy is in the release of 10 Indonesian ship crew from the Abu Sayyaf group?

There is no research that discusses Indonesia's diplomacy strategy through multitrack diplomacy in the case of ship hijacking and hostage-taking by Abu Sayaff Group. Here are some of previous research. First research by Indah Pratikasari and Sri Muryantini titled The Efforts Of Embassy Of The Republic Of Indonesia In Manila in The Liberation Of Indonesians From Abu Sayyaf Group. This paper discusses about the efforts of the embassy of the republic of indonesia in manila in the release of indonesian ship crew who were held hostage by the abu sayyaf group during 2016. The autor use the negotiation strategy to explain the steps of negotiation process which as part of the diplomatic functions. This paper concludes that the policies made and carried out by the indonesian government and the indonesian embassy in manila in performing its role as indonesian government representative in the philippines to release the indonesian ship crew who were taken hostage by the abu sayyaf group in the south philippines region. An intensive negotiation process is needed with the philippine government and also with the abu sayyaf using the negotiation strategy in order to achieve a win-win solution without using weapons or ransom.

The second paper titled State Responsibility To Indonesian Citizens Hostaged By AbuSayyaf Group In Philippines According To International Law Perspective by Early Wulandari, Agus Pramono and Nuswantoro Dwi Warno.

This research use normative juridical approach in analyzing and describe the responsibility of the Republic of Indonesia to the Indoensian citizen who were held hostage by the Abu Sayyaf Group in the Philippines. The results of this research showed that the Philippines had made efforts to release Indonesian citizens who were held hostage by the Abu Sayyaf Group through repressive efforts and cooperation. Indonesia also had made efforts exemption of Indonesian citizen that have been done in a coordinated manner with other ministries or institutions and approaches to the elements of non governmental engaged in southern Philippines . In the framework of state responsibility, Indonesia and the Philippines have full responsibility for its implementation.

The first paper used negotiation strategy as concept, while this paper use multitrack diplomacy as concept to analyze how Indonesia use diplomacy strategy in the release of 10 Indonesian ship crew from the Abu Sayyaf group. The second paper use international law perspective while this paper use diplomatic perspective.

## Research Methods

This scientific article used descriptive writing method or library research. Data collection is more focused on information or studies obtained from books, electronic newspapers, and publications from relevant agencies that are relevant to events in this scientific article such as the Indonesian Foreign Ministry and the Philippine government. In addition, the data obtained came from internet media as information support for analysis purposes.

The framework used to analyze the problems in this scientific article is the concept of diplomacy, multi-track diplomacy, and peacemaking. In these concepts, it is explained that the state in

achieving its national interests through diplomacy.

Diplomacy is an important political activity and requires good resources and expertise. The aim is to enable the State to secure its foreign policy without using violence, war, propaganda or law.<sup>3</sup> Diplomacy, in theory, is the practice of implementing relations between countries through official representatives. Diplomacy according to R. P. Barston is the management of relations between countries or relations between countries with other international relations actors. As for a definition related to the method, diplomacy represents political, economic and military pressure on countries involved in diplomatic activities, which are formulated in the exchange of requests and concessions between negotiators.

Diplomacy is also an operational technique to achieve national interests outside the jurisdiction of a country.<sup>4</sup> While another understanding stated that diplomacy is closely linked to relations between countries, is the art of prioritizing the interests of a country through negotiations in peaceful ways if possible in dealing with other countries<sup>5</sup>. Azeta Cungu and Tanya Alfredson defined diplomacy strategies as a plan or method used to achieve foreign policy.<sup>6</sup>

For any country, the purpose of diplomacy is safeguarding political freedom and its territorial integrity. This can be achieved by strengthening relations with friendly countries, maintaining close relations with countries that are aligned and

neutralizing hostile countries.<sup>7</sup> Some experts conclude, the element of diplomacy, namely negotiations carried out to achieve national interests with diplomatic actions taken to safeguard and advance national interests as far as possible can be carried out by means of peace, maintaining peace without destroying national interests is the goal of diplomacy.

To achieve the objectives of national interest, diplomacy is not only carried out between countries but also between countries with other international relations subjects, not only carried out by the state but also all subjects of international relations. This is reflected in the concept of multi-track diplomacy. The concept of multi-track diplomacy appears as a system of peacemaking.<sup>8</sup>

Multi-track diplomacy is a concept developed and put into practice by Louise Diamond and [John W. McDonald](#), co-founders of the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy. The concept is an expansion of the original distinction made by Joseph Montville in 1982, between track one (official, governmental action) and track two (unofficial, nongovernmental action) approaches to conflict resolution. In multi-track diplomacy, the implementation of diplomacy is carried out through nine tracks<sup>9</sup>, including:

1. Government  
Track one or First Track Diplomacy, namely diplomatic efforts carried out based on official government interactions.
2. Professional conflict resolution  
Where on this path, a professional non-government is able to realize peace

<sup>3</sup> Berridge, G.R.2002. *Diplomacy Theory and Practice*.New York: Palgrave.

<sup>4</sup> Olton Roy and Jack C. Plano. 1999. *Kamus Hubungan Internasional*. Translated by Wawan Juanda. Jakarta: Putra A. Bardhin CV. The second printed edition, p. 201

<sup>5</sup> Roy, S.L. 1991. *Diplomasi*. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers. p.5

<sup>6</sup> (Alfredson, Tanya dan Cungu, Azeta.2008.*Negotiation Theory and Practice*.Food and Agriculture Organization of The United Nation. p.6

<sup>7</sup> Roy, S.L. 1991. *Diplomasi*. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.

<sup>8</sup> Diamond, Louise and John McDonald.1996. *Multi-Track Diplomacy, A System Approach to Peace*. USA: Kumarian Press.p.12

<sup>9</sup> Diamond, Louise and John McDonald.. *Multi-Track Diplomacy, A System Approach to Peace*. pp.26-108

through conflict resolution to analyze, prevent, resolve, and accommodate international conflicts by means of communication, understanding, and building good relations in dealing with problems together. Actors here certainly have great potential to create peace in a way without any intervention from the government

3. Business

Where in creating peace, this path uses trade which can also bring benefits. Business becomes a potential land for achieving peacebuilding through economic aspects. Not only that, the relationship of international friendship and understanding through informal communication can also support various activities in realizing peace. An example is a cooperation between Indonesia and China in a free trade agreement. Through the agreement, it can create a symbiosis of mutualism between the two countries so that the potential for conflict in both countries can be avoided through cooperation.

4. Private citizen

The fourth track is private citizens. In this track, the achievement of peace is carried out by private or personal citizens who contribute to development and peace activities. This pathway is usually carried out with diplomacy carried out by a citizen through exchange programs, private voluntary organizations, NGOs and various interest groups. Usually, activities on this path are not visible to the public and only through understanding the achievement of peace can be done. For example, student exchange programs offered by certain institutions with the mission of completing a social project that is beneficial not only to the country but also to the destination country

5. Research, training, and education

On this path, it emphasizes the learning process as a manifestation of the creation of peace. The study covered research related to educational institutions both schools and universities and think tanks, namely research, analysis and study programs, as well as research centers of special interest groups. Think tanks, in this case, have a lot of activities such as research and analysis of situations and some conflicts related to case studies. In addition, activities carried out through seminars and workshops are used to explore a problem. Issues that exist in the education community are also about how to get justice without the need for violence. For example, scholarship programs offered by certain institutions as training to improve critical thinking depend on the programs taken according to their interests and talents

6. Activism

This path emphasizes activism in terms of human rights, the environment, social and economic justice, and advocacy for special interests regarding certain policies taken by the government. The activism was manifested in the form of protest, education, advocacy, rules, support, and supervision

7. Religious

In this path, the activities carried out are oriented towards peace by spiritual and religious communities and anti-violence. Usually, these movements refer to pacifism, namely the belief that conflict resolution by peaceful means is the most correct and a sanctuary is a place that is considered sacred and able to protect someone. An example is a social activity in the form of a campaign or discussion by a religious community

8. Funding

This is related to the realization of peace through funding by certain communities that able to provide financial support for various activities carried out by other channels. An example is the Ford Foundation, which is a foundation that is engaged in education and research where it concentrates on issues of security and public policy

9. Public opinion/communication

In this path, the implementation of peace is carried out through information which utilizes existing media both through print media, electronics and others. The dissemination of information carried out through certain media can be a means of education for example through historical documentaries or the need for information that can be accessed quickly through print or internet.

The eight path starting from professional conflict resolution; business; private citizens; research, training and education; activism; religious; funding; and public opinion/communication an be referred to as the Track Two Diplomacy approaches, namely diplomatic efforts carried out by non-governmental elements unofficially. This effort must pave the way for negotiation and approval in the framework of first track diplomacy by utilizing important information from the actors of the *Track Two Diplomacy*. This is needed in order to achieve success in carrying out foreign policy missions. Track Two Diplomacy in its implementation involves various actors with different backgrounds, according to their respective fields, for example, business people or professionals, ordinary citizens, academics (researchers, educators), NGOs, religious institutions and finance, and the ninth path is mass media. The mass media is considered to have a very strategic function because it plays a role as a unifier of all actors of public

diplomacy through the communication activities made by it. The *Track Two Diplomacy* is carried out by involving People-to-People Diplomacy to pave the way for negotiations and agreements in order to support the track's diplomacy.

Table 1. The track I and Track II Diplomacy

	Track I	Track II
Actor	Official representative, government, organization Multinational, Elite, opponent leader	Unofficial representatives, NGOs, local and regional leaders, Grassroots groups
Method	Positive and negative incentives, mediation, political support and economy	Two-way discussions, educational workshops, Grassroots reconciliation
Conflict arena	Present in all areas but more emphasis on Peacemaking and Peacekeeping when an official actor decides to stop the dispute, peace is possible and there are steps to negotiate in the agreement.	Present in all areas but more involved in conflict prevention and peacebuilding when local and regional actors detect danger signs related to violence and can immediately support the technique of personal reconciliation between opposing parties.

Multi-track diplomacy is part of peacemaking, so it is worth explaining the meaning of peacemaking here. Peacemaking in relation to multi-track diplomacy has a more general meaning. Peacemaking means not only a series of actions to achieve peace between opposing parties but also a series of actions to prevent, manage and resolve conflict; for reconciliation; to explore various issues related to general peace and more specific

types of conflicts; to educate and research these issues; to build direct theory and practice; to influence policy; to provide information; to facilitate dialogue; negotiation and mediation, and all of these actions are based and aimed at building better relations between the State and the community.<sup>10</sup> The concept of peacemaking in this paper is to see how Indonesia's chosen diplomatic strategy in liberation efforts 10 Indonesian ship crew who are prisoners are intended to realize peacemaking by achieving conflict resolution, facilitating dialogue, negotiation and mediation in achieving the ultimate goal of releasing hostages without using violence.

This concept of diplomacy, multi-track diplomacy and peacemaking will be used to analyze how the diplomatic strategy used by Indonesia in achieving its national interests, in this case, is to save 10 Indonesian ship crew who become prisoners.

## Result and Discussion

### Abu Sayyaf Group in International Relations

The Abu Sayyaf group is a militant group that was founded in the early 1990s<sup>11</sup> and operates in the Southern Philippines. This religious-based militant group strives to establish an independent Islamic state in Western Mindanao and the Sulu area, where the southern Philippines is the region with the highest Muslim population<sup>12</sup>. The Southern Philippines is a region that is constantly experiencing conflict. The conflict stems from the competition of

Islamic and Christian mission/post 13<sup>th</sup> century. The state's discrimination against Muslim minority groups becomes more pronounced when they refer to them as Moro, it means identical to the Islamic group that used to occupy Spain. This is where the conflict continues to rage. Religion and ethnic identity even occupy an important part of the conflict. Rebellion by Minority Muslim groups in Mindanao, Southern Philippines, for example, is more due to being treated unfairly in economic and political life, although the most crucial thing is concerning religion. The conflict in the Philippines continued after Spain came to power then switched power to America, Japan and until the Philippines proclaimed itself an independent country on July 4, 1946. The conflict in the Philippines began with colonization carried out by Arabs and later by Christians, which is the second difference the religion, until now still competing for the attention of the indigenous population. Islamic Arabs shifted to the South of the Philippines when Christians occupied the North of the Philippines. The South, which was initially dominated by Muslims, was disturbed by the presence of Christianity to this area. During Marcus's reign, the initial conflict occurred as a result of murder at Corregidor. Philippine Muslim volunteers, trained in guerrilla tactics by an official force, were killed at the behest of the army commander. They refused to be sent to Sabah to conduct military information. Because this event formed the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), the MNLF was a very influential movement in promoting Moro Muslim freedom. The other two groups are the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and most recently the Abu Sayyaf which was formed in 1989<sup>13</sup>. The three groups of the movement

<sup>10</sup> Diamond, Louise and John McDonald. 1996. Multi-Track Diplomacy, A System Approach to Peace. USA: Kumarian Press. p13.

<sup>11</sup> Sholahuddin, "NII sampai Ji, Salafy Jihadisme di Indonesia". (, 2011), Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu. p.25

<sup>12</sup> Manalo, Eusoquito P. (2004). The Philippine Response to Terrorism: The Abu Sayyaf Group," Thesis: Noval Postgraduate School. p.32.

<sup>13</sup> Anonim. 2016. Bapak Pedang Lupa Indonesia. Accessed on May 2016 from

have the same goal of wanting to establish an Islamic theocracy in Southern Philippines and economic development in their region.

The first Abu Sayyaf group emerged in 1989 under the leadership of Abdurajak Janjalani. Abdurajak Janjalani is a former MNLF member who did not approve of the peace process between the MNLF and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines through the Tripoli Agreement<sup>14</sup>. In the Tripoli Agreement, it was not agreed on independence but agreed on the existence of a special autonomous region for Moro residents in the Southern Philippines<sup>15</sup>. This caused the purpose of the establishment of an Islamic state to be sacrificed by the MNLF. This caused Abdurajak Janjalani and his followers to leave the MNLF membership.

Before leaving the MNLF, Abdurajak Janjalani and his followers formed the Mujahideen Commando Freedom Fighters (MCFF) in 1989 and in 1991 formally separated themselves from the MNLF. MCFF or known as the Janjalani Group, this group developed into what we know as the Abu Sayyaf group Abdurajak Janjalani using the nickname "Abu Sayyaf" to honor the leader of the Afghan Mujahideen forces, Abdul Rasul Sayyaf where he had joined the Mujahideen forces led by Abdul Rasul Sayyaf in Afghanistan when against the Soviet Union.<sup>16</sup>

<http://www.republika.co.id/berita/koran/teraju/16/04/18/o5u41p1-bapak-pedang-lupa-Indonesia>

<sup>14</sup> Wahjudi, Garnijanto Bambang. 2003 "Kerjasama Regional ASEAN Menghadapi Isu Terorisme Internasional (Penanganan Aksi Teroisme Internasional di Filipinai Bagian Selatan Oleh ASEAN Tahun 2000 dan 2001)", Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia.p85.

<sup>15</sup> Atkinson, Garrett. 2012. *Abu Sayyaf: The Father of the Swordsman*", A review of the rise of an Islamic insurgency in the southern Philippines. p6.

<sup>16</sup> Atkinson, Garrett. 2012. *Abu Sayyaf: The Father of the Swordsman*", A review of the rise of an Islamic insurgency in the southern Philippines. p.7.

The group under the leadership of Janjalani runs a state formation namely the Islamic Theocratic State of Mindanao (MIS) and includes religious beliefs that cry out intolerance with the aim of spreading Islam through Jihad<sup>17</sup>, where all Filipino Christians are targeted. In the search for its object, this group has determined its ideology firmly and the operational agenda is bound to a merging business purpose that forces the domination of Islam in the world through armed resistance<sup>18</sup>.

The Janjalani group, or MCFF, became known as the Abu Sayyaf group in August 1991 when they carried out a bombing of "M/V Doulos", a Christian missionary ship anchored in Zamboanga, Southern Philippines<sup>19</sup>. Between 1991 and 1998, this militant group began to expand and develop its capabilities, judging by its movement the group was neat in carrying out a series of small attacks on foreign nationals. In the first few years, the Abu Sayyaf group committed kidnappings of local residents, and their level of ability increased due to a large number of their members being recruited from groups that were not in line with the struggles of MNLF or MILF<sup>20</sup>.

Currently, the Abu Sayyaf Group, led by Khadafi Janjalani, is known to be a very radical Islamic separatist group in the Southern Philippines. They carried out various acts of violence, such as bombings, kidnappings, killings and extortion in seeking to establish an Islamic state<sup>21</sup>. The

<sup>17</sup> Hasbullah, Moeflich. (2003) "Asia Tenggara konsentrasi Baru Kebangkitan Islam. Bandung: Fokusmedia.p.242

<sup>18</sup> Manalo, Eusoquito P. (2004). The Philippine Response to Terrorism: The Abu Sayyaf Group," Thesis: Noval Postgraduate School.p32.

<sup>19</sup> (Atkinson, Garrett. *Abu Sayyaf: The Father of the Swordsman*"p.7

<sup>20</sup> Manalo, Eusoquito P. The Philippine Response to Terrorism: The Abu Sayyaf Group.p.35

<sup>21</sup> Council of Foreign Relations. (2009. ) Abu Sayyaf Group (the Philippines, Islamist separatists). Accessed on April 2016 from



Abu Sayyaf group in the Philippines has deeply troubled Filipinos with bombings, kidnappings, and execution of hostages. The Abu Sayyaf group is classified in the Foreign Terrorist Organizations by the United States government.<sup>22</sup>

According to Charles W Kigley Jr. and Eugene R Wirtkopf, terrorism is a use of the threat of violence, a battle method or a strategy to achieve certain goals, which are intended to create a state of fear on the part of the victim<sup>23</sup>. Ranstop argues that religious fanaticism is a major motive of terrorism, and expressly stated by the diversity of beliefs, such as Islam, Judaism, Christianity, and other beliefs, often take acts of terrorism. He argues that religious terrorism is a type of political violence motivated by a sense of spiritual crisis and a reaction to social and political change<sup>24</sup>.

According to Ronald Gottersman, there are two types of terrorist organizations, namely domestic and international. Terrorists from domestic type organizations carry out their activities only in the country where they live. Whereas terrorists from international type organizations attack their enemies anywhere and anytime. While Atif M Mir distinguishes the scope of movements in two parts, namely domestic terrorism and International Terrorism. Domestic

<http://www.cfr.org/philippines/abu-sayyafgroup-Philippines-islamist-separatists/p9235>

<sup>22</sup> Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTOs) are foreign organizations referred to by the Foreign Minister in accordance with Clause 219 of the Immigration and Citizenship Act (INA), as amended. The FTO plays an important role in the fight against terrorism and is an effective way to limit support for terrorist activities and pressure groups to quit the terrorism business. US State Department. 2003. "Patterns of Global Terrorism 2003. Accessed on April 2016 at <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm>

<sup>23</sup> Kegley, Jr., Charles and Eugene R. Wittkopf,. 2001. World Politics: Trend and Transformation. Bedford: St. Martins, p.222

<sup>24</sup> Manalo, Eusoquito P. (2004). The Philippine Response to Terrorism: The Abu Sayyaf Group," Thesis: Noval Postgraduate School. p.31.

Terrorism is a terrorist movement carried out within the territorial boundaries of a country and carried out by individuals or groups with specific political, economic or religious objectives. International terrorism is a terrorist movement that is associated with attacks on third-party arrangements (Third Party Target) in territories or foreign territories and can also be supported and sponsored by a State.<sup>25</sup> So, in domestic terrorism, there is no foreign element, both victims and trans-national terrorism, or what is called international terrorism, which involves foreign elements, both involving (in part) the perpetrators and some victims, even though the incident is in the region certain territorial countries. Domestic Terrorism and International Terrorism can only be distinguished, but often both cannot be separated

The Abu Sayyaf group is a terrorist based in the Philippines and operates within the territory of the Philippines, but in carrying out its actions this group often involves foreign elements. In the case of Brahma 12 hijacking and Anand 12 barges in Philippine territorial, there were foreign elements, the victims were 10 Indonesian ship crew who were hostages. So the Abu Sayyaf Group could be categorized as an international terrorist group.

In the development of International Relations studies, terrorist groups are International relations actors who are included in non-state actors. In general, the presence of international terrorism dilators lies behind goals that are ethnic, political, religious and racial. According to Kegley<sup>26</sup>, there are other non-state actors who fight in international relations: ethnonational

<sup>25</sup> Wahjudi, Garnijanto Bambang. 2003 "Kerjasama Regional ASEAN Menghadapi Isu Terorisme Internasional (Penanganan Aksi Teroisme Internasional di Filipinai Bagian Selatan Oleh ASEAN Tahun 2000 dan 2001)", Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia.p.81

<sup>26</sup> Kegley, Jr., Charles and Eugene R. Wittkopf,. 2001. World Politics: Trend and Transformation. Bedford: St. Martins,

groups, religious movements, and terrorists. Ethno-national groups are human associations that place their national identity ahead of state identity. Ethno-national groups feel that ethnic, regional, ethnic, and language similarities are very important, and they have the potential to have ethnocentrism. Thus, ethnonational groups are very likely to carry out separatist rebellions because the state is considered no longer important to them.

Religious movements assume that their beliefs or religions must be shared by the whole world.<sup>27</sup> Religious movements assume that their religious identity is far more important than others, so they will retain their identities as much as possible so they are not rivaled by others, including the state. If the state is considered to have the potential to damage their religious identity, religious movements can carry out separatist movements to save their religious identity.

Terrorist groups are one of the actors besides the government whose activities are troubling the international community and creating chaos in the country.<sup>28</sup> Terrorist groups have one characteristic, which often uses violence and threats to convey their intentions. Terrorist groups often conflict with the state.

When looking at these non-state actors, the Abu Sayyaf group is a terrorist group based on religious movements. Until now the existence of the Abu Sayyaf Group remained in the Philippines, trying to establish an Islamic state was their ideal. The number of Christians who live on the island of South Mindanao and resulted in the removal of Muslims from this island to the coastal areas of the island. Because they felt they had been marginalized by the Abu

Sayyaf Group, they tried to liberate this area by opposing Christians by terrorizing them by committing violence.

International terrorism organizations do not aim or aspire to form a new state or new government but rather how to create chaos and uncontrolled conditions of a government that is the target so that the government submits and surrenders to its idealism. To achieve its goal of establishing an Islamic state in the southern Philippines, the Abu Sayyaf group resisted by means of violence. The Abu Sayyaf group carried out bombings, kidnappings, and execution of hostages. This group carried out acts of terror by carrying out bombings in areas of the Philippines, hijacking foreign vessels, kidnapping and taking hostages of foreign nationals including Indonesian citizens.

### **The Multitrack Diplomacy in Indonesia's Pro-People Diplomacy**

Skill in diplomacy is the main requirement of a diplomat involved in international politics, which is basically used to reach an agreement, compromise, and resolve problems where the government's goals are mutually conflicting. Talking about diplomatic activities will definitely lead to diplomats and foreign ministries. Because the State created this department to deal with matters relating to other countries. But along with the times, the scope of issues, actors, and the agenda of diplomacy in international relations is increasingly complex and growing. The task of diplomacy is no longer the task of the government but can be done by the private sector / non-government.

Traditional diplomacy that only involves the role of the government (first track diplomacy) in carrying out diplomatic missions, will not be effective in order to convey diplomatic messages to a country. Therefore, public diplomacy activities involving public participation are needed in

<sup>27</sup> Kegley, Jr., Charles and Eugene R. Wittkopf., 2001. *World Politics: Trend and Transformation*. Bedford: St. Martins,

<sup>28</sup> Kegley, Jr., Charles and Eugene R. Wittkopf., *World Politics: Trend and Transformation*.

order to complement traditional diplomatic activities. The idea of open diplomacy and total diplomacy is an alternative that is used to answer challenges and opportunities in bilateral and multilateral cooperation that support Indonesia's current foreign policy. The involvement of non-state actors in diplomatic activities carried out and developed by non-governmental elements commonly referred to as the *Track Two Diplomacy* involving non-governmental people as diplomacy is non-governmental organizations (NGOs), educator figures, University institutions, religious leaders, businesspeople, and individuals.

In achieving its national interests, Indonesia has had a Grand Strategy in diplomacy called "Pro-People Diplomacy", or also known as "Down to Earth Diplomacy". The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia (MoFA) in 2015-2019 strategic plan stated that Pro-People Diplomacy consisting of "diplomacy for the people and don to earth diplomacy" in the sense of increasing foreign performance, will increase the amount of funds needed, and increase its benefits by the people.<sup>29</sup> In the 2015-2019 period, Indonesian diplomacy will highlight its character as a maritime nation, Indonesian diplomacy will be connected with the interests of the people (diplomacy for the people), Indonesian diplomacy will be down to earth, and Indonesian diplomacy will be carried out decisively and with dignity.

The achievement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Strategic Goals and the success of foreign policy implementation as a whole are strongly influenced by domestic and foreign conditions. Therefore, the role, involvement and synergy of all components of stakeholders and the use of all lines of strength (multi-track diplomacy)

must be carried out in order to improve the achievement of the performance of Indonesia's foreign policy<sup>30</sup>. The implementation of this strategic plan is through an operational program in the form of a Total Diplomacy policy.

A total diplomacy is a tool and method used in diplomacy by involving all stakeholders. From the point of implementation of diplomacy, the ability to anticipate the possibility of threats, challenges, and disturbances and take advantage of all opportunities as part of the struggle to achieve the National Interest target, which is referred to as Total Diplomacy. Total diplomacy has a dual purpose, namely first: to mobilize all national forces and second: that the implementation of diplomacy must reflect the aspirations of the community as part of the National Interest.<sup>31</sup>

The Abu Sayyaf group is a non-state actor and diplomacy can be used not only among fellow countries but also with non-state actors. The results of the analysis conducted by the author indicate that Indonesia's diplomacy strategy in the release of ten Indonesian ship crew from the Abu Sayyaf group is to use multi-track diplomacy, also called total diplomacy under the Indonesian government, but involving all elements of the nation

The diplomacy strategy undertaken by Indonesia is:

- *Track One Diplomacy*

In the first track, this was carried out by the government. Although the implementation of the total diplomacy strategy involved many parties, it was still led by the government. In this track one, the ranks involved from the government are the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the TNI and the National Police where police officers

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<sup>29</sup> The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia . 2015. Rencana Strategis tahun 2015-2019. Jakarta: Kementerian Luar Negeri. P.i

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid. p 57

<sup>31</sup> Emilia, Ranny. 2013. Praktek Diplomasasi. Jakarta: Baduose Media. p.284

are in the Philippines and have been coordinating so far.

Since the Abu Sayyaf group announced that it is responsible for ship hijacking and hostage-taking where 10 of them are Indonesian citizens, Indonesian Foreign Minister Retno Marsudi then flew to the Philippines on April 1-2, 2016 and coordinated with the Philippines. From meetings with key parties in Manila, there were 4 points taken home, namely: First, intensifying communication and coordination with the Philippine government to release Indonesian hostages. Second, reiterating the importance of the safety of the 10 Indonesian citizens. Third, convey appreciation for the cooperation that has so far been given by the Philippine authorities in the context of coordinating the release of hostages. And fourth, communicate with other relevant parties.

In an effort to release the hostages, the TNI also carried out intelligence operations under the coordination of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This team was led by retired Major General Kivlan Zen. The team has 7 people and is part of the intelligence operations of the Indonesian Army Strategic Intelligence Agency. This team collaborated with Philippine Intelligence and included PT. Patria Maritime Lines Ship owner company. According to Kivlan on March 27, 2016, the shipowner's company sent a number of teams to negotiate. Kivlan went down to the Philippines because he had contact with a number of Moro figures. He was once a member of the peacekeeping force to guard the ceasefire between the Philippine government and the MNLF rebels led by Nur Misuari in 1995-1996.<sup>32</sup>

TNI readiness can further strengthen the roles of diplomacy carried out by the Foreign Ministry. During the negotiation process, the insistence on using

military force continued to echo. TNI troops have also been prepared around the Kalimantan region awaiting orders to carry out military forces. Indonesia also had the opportunity to offer the Philippines to seek permission to use military force to release 10 Indonesian ship crew. The offer was made by the Indonesian Minister of Defense Ryamizard Ryacudu. But the request was rejected by the Philippines because, in the Philippine constitution, military forces (other countries) were not permitted in the Philippines without an agreement. But the Philippine Minister of Foreign Affairs and the commander of the Philippine armed forces clearly made a commitment to resolve this problem and continue to communicate with the Indonesian Foreign Ministry.

- *Track Two Diplomacy*

Foreign Minister, Retno Marsudi stated that the efforts to release 10 Indonesian citizens held by the Abu Sayyaf group involved many parties, not only the government to the government but also other informal networks.<sup>33</sup> In addition to the team on track one, there are also other teams engaged in the effort to release ten Indonesian citizens who are held hostage, namely:

1. Yayasan Sukma (Sukma Foundation) formed by Surya Paloh

The Sukma Foundation sent a team consisting of retired Major General Supriadin, Ahmad Baedowi, Samsu Rizal Panggabean, and Desi Fitriani, Metro TV journalist. Supriadin is a former commander of the military regional command of Iskandar, a young Acehnese and now a member of the House of Representatives from the Nasdem Party faction. Ahmad Baedowi is the director of

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<sup>32</sup> Tempo. 2016. Berebut Panggung Pembebasan Sandera. 9-16 Mei 2016. Jakarta : Tempo, p.31

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<sup>33</sup> Shemi, Helmi . 2016 Tetap Pakai Diplomasi Total, Pemerintah Kembali Fokus pada 4 Sandera. Accessed on April 2016 from <http://www.arah.com/article/2768/menlu-retno-pembebasan-sandera-gunakan-dua-acuan-utama.html>

community education. While Samsu Rizal is a lecturer in the Department of International Relations and Master of Peace and conflict resolution at Gajah Mada University.<sup>34</sup> In its movement to do diplomacy with the Abu Sayyaf group, the Sukma team also involved 2 NGOs which were community empowerment and anti-violence NGOs in Mindanau, Southern Philippines. Sukma's team also coordinated with the Indonesian government through Edi Mulya who was Minister of Embassy Counselors in the Philippines.

The Sukma team conducted diplomacy using educational, cultural and religious approaches to key informal people in the Philippines. By cooperating with the informal figure, the Sukma Foundation team made a negotiation map by means of kinship at 3 points, namely: Sulu, Zamboanga, and Manila. A number of their information and contacts were involved. In his attempt to negotiate Baedowi received the first telephone call and spoke with Al-Habsi. Al-Habsi gave his telephone to Julian Philips crew of the Brahma ship 12. In the conversation, Julian said a ransom of 50 million pesos had to be received on Monday, April 18, 2016. If money was not handed over, Al-Habsi would execute 1 in 10 hostages. Sukma's team continued to move to the Philippines and met with Informal figures in Sulu. After being helped by several informal figures, Al-Habsi also compromised the deadline he delivered. Baedowi and Desi met this figure in the southern city of Jolo, Sulu.

## 2. The team formed by Vice President Jusuf Kalla

Jusuf Kalla assigned Hamid Awaludin to take care of the hostages. Hamid is the Chairperson of the Foreign Relations Division of the Central Indonesian Red Cross. Hamid uses a network of International Red Cross and Philippine Red

Cross. Outside the formal path, Hamid sent an Informal envoy. He appointed someone who had a network with the Moro group. The team formed by Jusuf Kalla monitored the movements of the hostages including the condition of his health. According to Hamid, it is important to ascertain the condition and position of the hostages while still in the hands of the hostage takers.<sup>35</sup>

The diplomacy carried out by the Sukma team and Jusuf Kalla's formation team showed the involvement of non-government actors as part of total diplomacy. Where the two teams involved non-governmental parties and professional people who were experts in their fields which were representations of track 2 and the involvement of private citizens who were representations of track four. Not only involves professionals, diplomacy carried out by a citizen through private voluntary organizations, NGOs and various interest groups. Actors here have great potential to create peace in a way without intervention from the government.

The advantage of this track is that it can show the issues faced clearly and be able to find alternative and improvised ways to solve problems that may not be reached by the government<sup>36</sup> and the freedom to conduct any positive activities with the aim of peace without government intervention.<sup>37</sup>

But the weakness is that achieving consensus takes a long time and is not bound by law because of the limited legitimacy possessed by a non-government actor and tends to be individualistic and

<sup>34</sup> Tempo. 2016. Berebut Panggung Pembebasan Sandera. 9-16 Mei 2016. Jakarta : Tempo, p.30

<sup>35</sup> Tempo. 2016. Berebut Panggung Pembebasan Sandera. 9-16 Mei 2016. Jakarta : Tempo. p.32

<sup>36</sup> Diamond, Louise and John McDonald.1996. Multi-Track Diplomacy, A System Approach to Peace. USA: Kumarian Press. p.52

<sup>37</sup> Diamond, Louise and John McDonald. Multi-Track Diplomacy, A System Approach to Peace. p.60

subjective in responding to something because it only looks at the personal side. not from the results of discussion or mutual agreement<sup>38</sup> because the two teams moved individually although still coordinating with the government to achieve the goal of peacemaking.

Activities on both lines are not visible to the public and only through understanding the achievement of peace can be done. This shows that diplomacy carried out with the Abu Sayyaf group was also carried out with a closed diplomacy method. Closed diplomacy is done to prevent diplomatic efforts from failing in the early stages of premature eyebrows given the possibility of rejection by various parties outside the government, or even objections by other countries. If later the results are ready, the results of this diplomacy will be announced openly.

Multitrack diplomacy that involve Track One and the track two show that this liberation effort involves many parties, all elements of the nation. Total diplomacy is not only focused on the government to government diplomacy but also involves informal networks such as non-government professionals and private citizens, all of which are opened for one purpose. In the strategy of total diplomacy, two references are used by the government, namely, the safety of hostages and opening the communication with as many parties. Safety of Indonesian citizens is a top priority and the Indonesian government opens communication with many parties. The process of releasing the hostages through a long process with a situation in a very dynamic field with a very high level of compilation.

## Conclusion

To release 10 Indonesian ship crew who were held hostage by the Abu Sayyaf group, the Indonesian government used diplomatic channels and not a path of violence. The strategy chosen is Total Diplomacy which is the embodiment of multi-track diplomacy. Track one and track two approaches showed that this liberation effort involves many parties and all people of the nation. Total diplomacy is not only focused on government-to-government diplomacy (track one), namely the Foreign Ministry, TNI and Polri, but also involves informal networks such as professional non-government ; private citizens such as the foundation major retired generals Supriadin, Ahmad Baedowi, Samsu Rizal Panggabean, and Desi Fitriani journalist Metro TV ; and also involved 2 NGOs which were community empowerment and anti-violence NGOs in Mindanau, Southern Philippines; and a team formed by Vice President Jusuf Kalla who assigned Hamid Awaludin.

In its implementation, various parties in the track two diplomacy continue to coordinate with the government, and the government remains the leader in this diplomacy, all of which are carried out for one purpose of peacemaking, namely, to repatriate hostages safely.

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<sup>38</sup> Diamond, Louise and John McDonald.1996. Multi-Track Diplomacy, A System Approach to Peace. USA: Kumarian Press. p.60

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