

Soal politik luar negeri, sejak awal kemerdekaannya, Indonesia memiliki doktrin khas yang senantiasa menjadi pedoman bagi tiap-tiap usaha perjuangan kepentingan negara di tingkat global, yaitu doktrin “bebas-aktif”. Namun sejarah mencatat bahwa belum pernah ada formulasi komprehensif atas doktrin “bebas-aktif”. Penerjemahannya di ranah konkret tidak pernah berangkat dari sebuah definisi yang pasti dan tergantung semangat masing-masing era serta aktor-aktor politik domestik. Salah satu aktor domestik yang berperan dalam formulasi bebas-aktif ialah Partai Komunis Indonesia pada era Demokrasi Terpimpin. Pada saat itu, PKI cukup berpengaruh dalam menentukan arah politik luar negeri Indonesia karena beberapa hal: pertama, karena kedekatannya dengan Presiden Soekarno sebagai pusat kekuasaan saat itu. Kedua, PKI merupakan aktor besar dengan tingkat kohesivitas tinggi yang mampu mengorganisasi diri dengan begitu baik sehingga konsisten terus dalam tiap kampanye politik yang dilakukannya. Selain itu, PKI, sebagai sebuah partai komunis, juga memiliki ketertarikan inheren terhadap politik internasional dibandingkan aktor-aktor domestik lain di Indonesia saat itu. Melalui studi kasus, dapat dilihat bahwa partai ini mengubah strategi dari yang cenderung lebih defensif dalam sengketa Irian Barat selama kurun 1959-1962 menjadi lebih ofensif dalam Konfrontasi Indonesia-Malaysia selama periode 1963-1965.

Kata kunci: PKI, Sukarno, Demokrasi Terpimpin, Bebas-Aktif, Konfrontasi, Irian Barat, Angkatan Darat.

Since its independence, Indonesia has adopted the so-called “free and active” foreign policy as an ideological prism to conduct every political manoeuvre abroad. Nevertheless, the lack of clear and precise elucidation on what constitutes “bebas-aktif” has made the doctrine to be a mere empty signifier in which its meaning was set by all political groups according to their own varying concepts of ideology and policy. Partai Komunis Indonesia, as one of the leading domestic actors during the Guided Democracy period were no exception to this. This study seeks to analyse their role in interpreting, elaborating, and implementing “bebas-aktif” during Guided Democracy, a relatively brief 7-year epoch from 1959 to 1965 in Indonesian historiography marked by ever dramatic and intense political turmoil culminated with Sukarno and PKI’s dethronement from Indonesia’s political scene. Yet said period still left too many questions unanswered, especially regarding the domestic competitions in defining the bebas-aktif. Findings suggest that the Party had a considerable influence in driving the course of Indonesian foreign policy as shown in both case studies of West Irian and Konfrontasi. Three main factors contributed to the Party’s success: their close and mutually beneficial relationship with Sukarno; their organisational aptness that made them the only Party with most support from the two biggest social classes in Indonesia at the time: rural peasants and industrial workers which in turn gave them an ever increasing political leverage vis-à-vis their opponents; third, as a communist party, they had an inherently higher devotion to foreign policy issues more than any domestic actors that time. PKI took more defensive strategy during the struggle to liberate West Irian from the Dutch. The success of Irian campaign paved the way for them to adopt openly offensive manoeuvres in supporting Indonesia’s outright refusal against the creation of Malaysia.

Key Words: Guided Democracy, PKI, Sukarno, Bebas-Aktif, Armed Forces, Konfrontasi, Irian Barat.