

Identity, Minority, and the Idea of a Nation: a Closer Look at *Frieda* (1951) by Dr. Huyung

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【Abstract】

The discourse on *film nasional* (national film) in Indonesia always started by bringing up *Darah dan Doa* (1950, *Blood and Prayer*) as the foundation of the Indonesian film industry. The prominent film historian, Misbach Yusa Biran, stated that *Darah dan Doa* was produced with national consciousness value. The legacy of *Darah dan Doa* was not only neglecting the role of filmmakers from pre-Independence in Indonesia but also the role of other filmmakers during the 1950s, including Dr. Huyung. Previously, Dr. Huyung (Hinatsu Eitaro /Hō Yōng) came from Korea and became a supporter of Imperial Japan during World War II. After Indonesia gained her independence, Huyung joined *Berita Film Indonesia* and became a film teacher at the Cine Drama Institute and Kino Drama Atelier. It was there that they then went on to make *Frieda* (1951), *Bunga Rumah Makan* (1951, *The Flower of the Restaurant*), *Kenangan Masa* (1951, *Memories of the Past*), and *Gadis Olahraga* (1951, *the Sportswoman*).

This article discusses 'unity in diversity', a concept in filmmaking that was started by Huyung in 1949. When discussing *Darah and Doa* as the first *film nasional*, people forget that the film is driven from the military perspective. Meanwhile, Huyung tried to represent an ethnic minority in *Frieda* and showing that the ordinary people and the intellectuals also shaped the nation. Based on his experience in the Japanese army and *Berita Film Indonesia*, Huyung understood that film was very useful in achieving the goals of the state apparatus, due to the cinema's ability to spread nationalism. Huyung explored 'unity in diversity' as a signifier to unite the nation. By analyzing *Frieda*, this paper explores Huyung's ideas on the nation-state. Besides, this paper tracks Huyung's contribution to film production and its content in Indonesia during the 1950s.

【key words】

Dr. Huyung, *Frieda*, Nationalism, Cinematic Apparatus, Indonesian Cinema

Introduction

Discourse on Indonesian cinema always begins with *Darah dan Doa* (1950, Blood and Prayer) as the first *film nasional* (national film). The prominent Indonesian film historian Misbach Yusa Biran stated that *Darah dan Doa* was made with national consciousness, and the foundation of Indonesian cinema.¹ The legacy of *Darah dan Doa* is the enactment of 30th March (the first day of the film's shooting) as National Cinema Day. A commemorative day that this year saw the 70th anniversary of Indonesian cinema. Perfini, an artist collective aiming to make film driven by idealism and not driven by profit, made *Darah dan Doa* that highlights the situation after Revolutionary War in Indonesia.² Surely this one-sided celebration, since Misbach was also Perfini's member, has been erasing other filmmakers' roles in the film industry. It neglects the role of pre-Independence Indonesia filmmakers and also neglects the role of other filmmakers during the 1950s (Setijadi and Barker 2010).

Indonesia proclaimed her independence on 17th August 1945. After the Allies defeated Japan during World War II, the Dutch military invaded newly independent Indonesia. This event leads to the Revolutionary War (1945-1949). During this period, Indonesian intellectuals, artists, and filmmakers who were also followed the first president Indonesia, Ir. Soekarno, to Yogyakarta with the intention of spreading the idea that art can be a tool to support nationalism and Revolution. One of the filmmakers who later influence the new generation of Indonesian post-Independence filmmakers is Dr. Huyung (Hinatsu Eitaro /Hō Yōng).³ Previously, Huyung was a supporter of Japan imperialism and worked in a propaganda unit called *Sendenbu*. During Japan's time administrating Indonesia, Huyung was filming *Calling Australia* (1943) and working at the theatre department which was known as *Perserikatan Oesaha Sandiwa di Djawa* (POSD, Federation of Performing Arts in Java). Knowing that he could not go back to Japan - or where he was born, Korea - Huyung decided to take part in *Berita Film Indonesia* (BFI, Indonesian News Films) and made several documentaries as the film editor. The Ministry of Information asked him to create a film and drama school, Cine Drama Institute. Following the Revolutionary years, Huyung made *Frieda* (1951), a joint production of Huyung production house, *Stichting Hiburan Mataram* (SHM, Mataram Entertainment Foundation), and *Perusahaan Film Negara* (PFN, State Film Company).

Benedict Anderson (1983) stated that a nation is an imagined community. Furthermore, he explained it is imagined because the members of the nation will never know other fellow members, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion.⁴ According to Anderson, people seeing their representation as one nation through printed work, census, map, and museum. The spirit of anti-colonial and the national consciousness in Indonesia itself can be traced back through literary works during the Dutch-Indies period, the birth of Indonesian intellectuals and *Sumpah Pemuda* (the Youth Oath) in 1928, and the event of World War II, which mobilizes multi-ethnic people so that the exchange of ideas on nationalism could occur. Although Anderson's work comprehensively describes the nation's process as the imagined, he does not include cinema as the apparatus that shapes people's minds. Meanwhile, according to Christian Metz and Jean-Louis Baudry, using the Lacanian perspective and Ideological State Apparatuses from Louis Althusser, cinema can be seen as an institution that supports the dominant ideology (Stam and Lewis 1992, 141-142). Therefore, if we want to see the spread of nationalism in Indonesia after 1945, cinema has a vital role indoctrinating the spectators as the subject of nationalism.

In this paper, I argue that Huyung's film and his role in Revolutionary years in Indonesia can be manifestation of how cinema as an apparatus works to spread nationalism to the people. His role in BFI, which has an itinerant cinema program (open-air screening) to villages around Java, can be seen as the way in which Indonesia - as a new state - successfully spread ideological ideas to the people. Furthermore, Huyung goes further imagining what kind of film ecosystem can be built after Indonesia's independence. During Huyung's interview with the prominent painter S. Sudjojono and photographer Sudarso, he formulated the system that can be used by the Ministry of Information (which was using film as the source of information for the people). Huyung took examples from Mosfilm Russia and stated that the Ministry needs cinema showing nationalism because it can strengthen the mental function. He added that those types of films could stir people's spirit, and it will strengthen national defense.⁵ Most likely, the 1950s filmmakers who had been studying film under Huyung inspired by this spirit, including Usmar Ismail, the father of Indonesian cinema.

Huyung then made *Frieda* (1951) which served to embody the formulation of film and nationalism and showed various players building Indonesia as one nation. If *Darah dan Doa* narrated from the perspective of the military perspective,

representing the soldiers as the leading figures combating the Dutch, and extremists DI/TII who want to build an Islamic state, *Frieda* represents women and multi-racial people joining Revolution. In *Brochure Kesenian*, Huyung stated that Indonesia needs fiction film to contain unity and both drive forward and uphold the values of diversity.⁶ Huyung understands that Indonesia did not only consist of ethno-nationalistic people, but also a multi-ethnic group. He brought this representation in *Frieda*. By analyzing *Frieda* as a text, I argue that Huyung tries to show the history of Indonesian independence through the role of intellectuals, women, and the military at the same time.

Previously there have been several studies on Huyung biography and film. Baskett in *the Attractive Empire* and High in *the Imperial Screen* focused only on the Huyung's life before going to Indonesia. Both of them emphasized the propaganda aspect on Huyung's film. Mika Ko in *Japanese Cinema and Otherness* considered *Kimi to Boku* (1940, *You and I*), the first feature from Huyung, a film representing *zainichi* (the minority group) in Japan cinema. Moreover, Fujitani in *Race of Empire* argued that *Kimi to Boku* emphasized the cross-ethnic romance which supported Japanese imperial ideology during the war. The only study on Huyung's life in Indonesia came from Barker. He argued that Huyung's role changed from colonial subject to colonial collaborator, and finally to Indonesian pro-independence nationalist. Besides that, there are also several initiatives to discuss Huyung. In 2017, Forum Lenteng, Jakarta, exhibited all of Huyung's film in *Takdir Huyung* (Huyung's Fate). The Forum Lenteng research project on Huyung was part of 71/2 art project from Sun Young Oh, an independent curator from Korea. Sun Young exhibited this project in Seoul (2017) and Jakarta (2018). However, in this paper, I will focus on how Huyung became an agent to spread nationalism and represent nationalism in his films that he made for ten years whilst living Java.

Huyung's Early Life and *Kimi to Boku*

Hö Yǒng (허영) was born in Hamgyōngnam-do, a province that now became part of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. As a young man captivated by Japanese propaganda, Huyung decided to study filmmaking at Waseda University, Japan. Baskett stated that Huyung was one of the Koreans who successfully “passed” as a Japanese (*nihonjini*) within Japan (Michael 2008, 2). He used his

Japanese name, Hinatsu Eitaro, and worked in several studios including in Makino Film Production, Suzugin Jange, and Shinko Kinema. Huyung developed his career in the film industry starting by becoming a scriptwriter on the production *Unka no Kyoteki* (Buntarô Futagawa, 1933) and as assistant director to *Teinosuke Kinugasa in Hitohada kan'non - Dai ippen* (*Sacred Protector*, 1937) and *Ôsaka Natsu no Jin* (*The Battle of Osaka*, 1937). His career was running rather smoothly until an incident during *Ôsaka Natsu no Jin's* production when a set-explosion went wrong. The explosion damaged the stone wall of Himeji Castle, a Japanese heritage building. Barker emphasizes that Huyung became an easy scapegoat for this incident as his Korean identity was revealed during a police investigation (Barker 2017, 3).

His career in Japan was over, so Huyung had to find himself another opportunity to direct his film. In the early 1940s, according to Mika Ko, Japan mobilized active assimilation projects with the slogan of *nai-sen ittai* (imperial subjectification) toward Korean people, both in Japan and colonial Korea (Ibid.). Korean filmmakers were forced to make movies with pro-Japanese sentiment. During this time, Huyung made *Kimi to Boku*, a joint production by both Japanese and Korean contributors. Mika Ko added that *Kimi to Boku* is a good example of *nai-sen ittai*. The implications being that Japan and Korea formed in one body, both in representation and film production. As Fujitani implies, *Kimi to Boku* represents Korean youths who were successfully becoming soldiers, acquiring manhood and national subjecthood (Ibid.). Huyung used cross-ethnic romance and friendship as a symbol of the fusion of the Korean colony and Japan. Fujitani compares Huyung's work with novelist Yi Kwang-su's "Truly, When Hearts Meet," where imagining the unity can be completed only with Japanese imperialist victory in World War II.⁷ High stated that Huyung seeks career advancement with *Kimi to Boku*, but at the same time, Huyung's motivation was driven by his "colonized psychology" (High 2003, 308-9). According to Baskeet, *Kimi to Boku*, championed two colonial cultural policies - the Military Volunteer Program (*shiganhei seido*) and the Interracial Marriage Policy between Japan and Koreans (*naisen kekkon*) (Michael 2008). Powerful government sponsors supported the screening of *Kimi to Boku*, and it silenced critics in Tokyo who had been overtly disparaging toward such a project (High 2003, 312).

Commentaries on *Kimi to Boku* are indeed diverse. The Korean film historians considered *Kimi to Boku* as an insult because of its strong propaganda message. *Kimi to Boku* ignored the Japanese brutality during the war, and forgetting to mention the act of colonial government using Korean women as sex slaves for

Japanese soldiers and violently suppressing those who were anti-Japanese. Though Japanese film historians claim that the film was successful in supporting Japan policies during the war (Michael 2008, 88). Chizuru Uzui from National Film Center, Japan, who brought *Kimi to Boku* to Jakarta, emphasizes that although the film was indeed a propaganda film, Huyung approached it very differently. Uzui emphasizes that Huyung distributed *Kimi to Boku* as a romance film (Ramadan Bastari 2017).

The Bizarre Case of *Calling Australia* (1943)

Huyung arrived in Java around 1942. He worked in the *Sendenbu*, propaganda unit, as a cultural expert. Imperial Japan started moving South, including the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia. They sought support from the localities of these regions. To manifest the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere, the Japanese colonial government in Indonesia made *Keimin Bunka Shidoso* (cultural center), inviting Indonesian nationalists, intellectuals, artists, and filmmakers. Japanese cultural experts headed each department in *Keimin Bunka Shidoso*. They worked together to spread the Pan-Asianism through arts and culture. Besides, Indonesian artists joining Keimin also formulated the East value in their artworks and literary works. The artists understood that their previous works were usually shaped by Western values and longed to make artwork with anti-colonial and anti-Western imperialism messages.

Figure 1. Huyung (standing on the left side) with crews and casts of *Frieda*. From left to right: Frans Berendhuysen as Karel Robijn, Imam Subono as Dr. Abidin, unknown, unknown, Grace Andreas as Frieda Rjemsdijk, unknown, Rumanti as Mrs. Abidin. Courtesy: Sinematek Indonesia.



Besides *Keimin Bunka Shidoso*, Japan's colonial government also made *Nippon Eiga Sha* to control the film production and distribution in Indonesia. Indonesian cinema had already started during the period of the Dutch East Indies when the culture of film-going had been formed in around 1896 (Ruppin 2016). In Indonesia, the Dutch government uses film as a means to records "their belonging" in the colony. Knowing that film-going culture was prosperous and beneficial, the colonial government supported film production. Indonesian film historians mark *Loetoeng Kasaroeng* as the first feature film where *bumiputra* (the natives) were involved in the production process. The golden age of film production in Dutch East Indies was during the 1930s to the 1940s when filmmakers and producers like The Teng Chun, Tan Tjoe Hock, and Lie Tek Swie actively producing films. After *Nippon Eiga Sha* controlled the distribution of film, cinema from America and China was banned. The cinema theatre was only allowed to show films from Japanese or their allies, including films from Germany and Italy. Several filmmakers who previously worked with The and Tan were invited to join *Nippon Eiga Sha* to make propaganda films.

Aiko Kurosawa stated that the propaganda films made during Japanese occupation should show values like self-sacrifice, maternal affection, respect to parents, sincere friendship, femininity, craftsmanship, and loyalty.⁸ In *Djawa Eiga Kosha*, a department under *Nippon Eiga Sha*, they made several films such as *Hari Kesehatan Rakjat* (n.d., People's Health Day) to show the importance of people's well-being and a clean environment; and *Moejair Teman Kita* (n.d., Our Friend the Tilapia Fish) to support food security during the war. Besides that, *Nippon Eiga Sha* also made *Tonarigumi* (n.d., Neighboring group) which worked at emphasizing the importance of the smallest government system in Indonesia to control their environment. Berita Film Indonesia used the way *Nippon Eiga Sha* distributed the films, screening the films to rural villages, through the itinerant cinema later on. Meanwhile, the cinematic effect of the *Nippon Eiga Sha* cinema was that people were starting to believe in Japan's imperial power. Misbach Yusa Biran stated that he was captivated by the victory of Japan in Pacific War as depicted in the films (Rancajale 2013).

Nippon Eiga Sha was not only focused on spreading the message of a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere to people in Indonesia, but also produced *Calling Australia* (1943) which was made to subdue Australian soldiers and have them surrender to the Japanese. Neuwenhof pointed out that it was an opportunity

to direct *Calling Australia*. *Beppan*, the imperial Japanese military served in Southeast Asia, asked Kuruta Bunjin, the chief of Nippon Eiga Sha, but he refused it (Nieuwenhof 1984, 167). Huyung, who previously worked in the theatre department, could direct *Calling Australia* with the “local” Nippon Eiga Sha's crews. The film depicted the Caucasian prisoners of war's condition in the camp and Huyung used real prisoners of war in his scenes.

Kimi to Boku's formulations, emphasizing on romance and using maps as a symbol of a unity between Japan and her intended country, were also appeared in *Calling Australia*. According to Mika Ko, the opening of *Kimi to Boku* is using maps of Japan and Korea to show the Japan's fusion and assimilation projects (Ko 2013, 139). Meanwhile, in *Calling Australia*, Huyung used maps of Australia in its opening sequence. It implied that the target audience of *Calling Australia* was itself, Australia. Baskett argued that *Calling Australia* was an attempt to counter negative images of Japanese concentration camps by shooting on location and presenting their conditions as being somewhat similar to a country club (Michael 2008, 88).

The film is divided into three parts: *Day by Day*, *Lest We Forget*, and *Happy Moments*. We can see the male prisoners having a conversation in the room with a smile on their faces. The prisoners hope the Pacific War will end soon, and they can go back to Australia to carry on their lives as a farmer. Meanwhile, women and children, who were living separately from the men's camp, are depicted playing in the ground and happily doing their domestic duty. During the weekend, the prisoners have a chance to meet their families in the yard. In the end, the male prisoners perform a comedy play. They laugh happily as if they were not being held against their will and as if the war was not ongoing.

After the defeat of Japan in 1945, the Dutch soldiers and Nederlandsch Indië Civiele Administratie (NICA) came to Jakarta and took footage away from the Nippon Eiga Sha. The Netherlands Indies Film Unit produced *Nippon Presents* and asked Jaap Speyer to direct. This film combines footage from *Calling Australia* and testimony from several ex-prisoners who appeared in Huyung's film. *Nippon Present* depicts the ex-prisoners arguing the footage in *Australia Calling* as fake. They were forced to be happy. The male prisoner who was crying in one of *Calling Australia's* scene stated that the director forced him to cry. They were asked to eat proper meals just for a day for the sake of filming, all the while in fact, they lived in poor conditions. The ex-prisoners in *Nippon Present*

were driven to tell the truth from the Dutch and the Allies' perspective. *Nippon Present* was screened during the 1945 Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal as the evidence of the brutality of the Japanese army during the Pacific War.

“The beer you see in the table was tea. Tommy Reed and I had the only real beer. Yes! It was a lucky day for few. The rest of the prisoners carry on the starvation ration” (The ex-prisoner in *Nippon Present*).

If we see Huyung's statement during this time, he was indeed a Japanese collaborator. As seen in Baskett and Neuwenhof, Huyung's films ignored the real condition in the colonial area. But for me, this accusation seems biased. I argue that *Nippon Present* is part of Dutch and NICA propaganda to regain their control over Indonesia. The screening in the international tribune became NICA's ways to enter Indonesia. The International world did not think about the impact of sending NICA to Indonesia. From 1945-1949, NICA carried various attacks and mass killings in Indonesia. Japan and the Netherlands had indeed both been guilty. Even though Indonesia had proclaimed her freedom, showing the anti-colonial perspective and starting to stand on her own, it still became the place for ideological battle. It took decades until the reigning King of Netherlands admitted their mistake during the Revolutionary years (1945- 49), but still, the Netherlands did not admit their exploitation that happened before Japan came to Indonesia.

Huyung, Berita Film Indonesia and How to Mobilize Nationalism to the People during Revolutionary War

The reason why Huyung decided to become an Indonesian remains a mystery. He discarded his Japanese and Korean names, and solely used Dr. Huyung as his Indonesian name. Baskett implies the case of *Calling Australia* brought Huyung to realize that he neither could go back to Japan or Korea (Ibid., 89). Huyung understood his career as a filmmaker was over in Japan and worried he would be branded to be a Japanese collaborator in Korea. I argue that the other reason why Huyung decided to become Indonesian is that he wanted to see what kind of film aesthetic developed in the tropical land. Huyung is similar to several filmmakers who spend his whole career in Indonesia. Before Huyung, there was

a Dutch avantgardist filmmaker Mannus Franken, who made *Pareh* (1935, *The Song of Rice*) and a propaganda film *Tanah Sabrang* (1938, *The New Land*). Besides Franken, there were Wong Brothers (Nelson, Joshua, Othniel) who previously establishing The Great Wall Production in Shanghai, China, migrated to the Dutch East Indies in 1927. To Huyung, Indonesia was to be an opportunity, as well as a place for experimentation in filmmaking.

Although Huyung was related to the Japanese imperial army, he still survived after Indonesia's Independence. The Indonesian nationalists did not bring him to NICA. In fact, he was appointed to be in the editing and recording division in Berita Film Indonesia (BFI).⁹ They brought cameras and celluloids and made several news films, including *Indonesia Raya* (n.d.), *Teror NICA* (n.d., *NICA's Terror*), *Kongres Pemuda di Jogja* (n.d., *Youth Congress in Yogyakarta*), *Rapat Raksasa Lapangan Ikada* (n.d., *Big Meeting in Ikada's Field*), and *Pertempuran 10th November di Surabaya* (n.d., *Battle of 10th November in Surabaya*). Some of these films were screened at the international conferences and bilateral meetings as the evidence of Indonesian independence. BFI also screened the films around Java. BFI was under the protection of the Ministry of Information. They screened a series of film news entitled *Gelora Indonesia* in rural villages, spreading the anti-colonial messages through the films that emphasized the brutality of Allies soldiers. This act was used to make people aware of Indonesia's current development and to spread nationalism.¹⁰ BFI presented and formed the imaginary nation through its film.

Huyung and BFI also followed the first president Sukarno to Yogyakarta during *Agresi Militer I Belanda (Operatie Product)*. In 1942, Queen Wilhelmina wanted to make the Netherlands Commonwealth in Indonesia. For the Netherlands, this *Operatie Product* was a manifestation of the Queen's will. NICA took over essential cities in Java and Sumatra and the Indonesian government had to be moved to Yogyakarta. The art scene in Yogyakarta during the Revolutionary years was hilarious. From grassroots, the artists living in *sanggar* (or artists' studio) were conducting workshops for the youths. Besides that, the Ministry of Information started to make an 'Ideological State Apparatus' through film school. Huyung, who was by now a high-ranking official in BFI, was asked by the Ministry to be the headmaster of Cine Drama Institute (CDI), the first film school in Indonesia. Prominent writer Pramoedya Ananta Toer and his brother Koesalah Soebagyo Toer said that according to Huyung, CDI was intended to be the Indonesian version of Hollywood's Quarterly, or Course Dunham School of Drama

and Theatre in America, or Soviet Film Academy in Russia. But because of Agresi Militer II Belanda (*Operatie Kraai*), when the Dutch and NICA army attacked Yogyakarta, CDI had to close.

During these tumultuous years, Huyung formed Kino Drama Atelier (KDA) soon after CDI was forced to close. Huyung taught drama and film theory. He also invited experts in both arts and literature such as Dr. Prijono, Ki Hajar Dewantoro, and Katamsi. Based on the Soemardjono's testimony, KDA's student who later became an editor in Perfini, KDA staged several performances such as *Penduduk Yogyakarta* (n.d., *People of Yogyakarta*), *Rosina dalam Taufan* (n.d., *Rosina in the Cyclone*), *Konvoii Penghabisan* (n.d., *The Final Convoy*), *Malam Suci* (n.d. *Holy Night*) and *Dr. Kamboja* (n.d.) (Sasongko and Sumarno 2018, 32).

After the Revolutionary years were over, BFI was transformed into the Perusahaan Film Negara (PFN, State Film Company) in 1949. Instead of joining PFN, Huyung decided to establish his own film company, Stichting Hiburan Mataram (SHM). Even though Huyung was a pivotal figure in the Indonesian film industry, his role was rarely documented. Previous Indonesian film historians such as Misbach Yusa Biran and Salim Said were only emphasizing Perfini's role within a narrow nationalistic perspective, which served to marginalize the role of the "non-native" filmmakers. Moreover, the main reason why Huyung is never mentioned when Indonesian cinema is discussed is because, most likely, of the impact of the Cold War. For 32 years, under Suharto's regime, the state implemented anti-communist program through cinema. In fact, Orde Baru (New Order) regime used BFI and PFN to make cinema their apparatus for the spread of ideology; in both film content and the way the film was distributed to the rural areas in Indonesia. Other filmmakers decision to join the BFI and PFN were rarely made public because several PFN members were joining *Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat* or *Lekra* (Institute's of People Culture) that was affiliated with the left-wing politics before 1965. In Indonesian film discourse during the New Order, Huyung is not only seen as the "non-native," but also related to the left because he always referred to Russia when he wrote about film.

Frieda (1951) and Unity in Diversity

Frieda was the third fiction film made by Huyung. The film was produced by SHM, using PFN studio in Jakarta. Several KDA students also joined the film as actors and crews. The way the film was produced was probably implementing Huyung's 'learning by doing' pedagogy in film teaching. The script was based on *Antara Bumi dan Langit* (Between Earth and Sky), written by Armijn Pane, who was Huyung's fellow member in Keimin Bunka Shidoso and a teacher in KDA. Huyung collaborated with Nawi Ismail (montage); Dutch-born cinematographer Elmert Kruidhoff; Lie Gie San as a camera operator, and Jos Cleber handled the music. The film is about a Dutch-Indonesian woman named Frieda who falls in love with her childhood friend Abidin, a doctor and member of the nationalistic movement. Their reunion happened when Frieda agreed to be a spy for the Dutch people, a traitor of Indonesian independence. She used a code called *Kemuning* (*Murraya paniculata*), a flower that reminds her of Abidin. Frieda stole Abidin's diary that consists of several plans in promoting Indonesian independence. At the end of the story, Frieda's love toward Abidin is driving her to be an Indonesian. She did not want to ruin Abidin's and the nation's dreams. Frieda voluntarily supported the Indonesian Revolution and decided to live happily in Tugu Baru, Bandung, an inclusive area for Dutch people who wanted to live in Indonesia.

Compared to other 1950s films, *Frieda* was an exceptional. *Frieda* was produced when Usmar Ismail made *Darah dan Doa* (1950). Unlike *Darah dan Doa*, which Usmar Ismail claimed was heavily influenced by Italian neorealism, *Frieda* formed the filmic structure using symbolism and montage. In *Frieda*'s opening, Huyung implemented *ralenti*, filmic effect to create a romantic or suspenseful aura to stress a moment when little Frieda and Abidin were forced to be separated due to Frieda's conservative parents.¹¹ If *Darah dan Doa* relies on using dialogue to give context to the audience, *Frieda* uses symbolism through a poster in the *mise-en-scene* and superimposition technique to show the movement in time (fig. 2). Moreover, *Frieda* also combines image, text, and music to create meaning. It can be seen from images composited in the scene where Frieda and Abidin are longing for each other before the reunion. Abidin and Frieda can hear the radio play a song entitled "Kemuning" which gives off a filmic effect that they are missing each other.

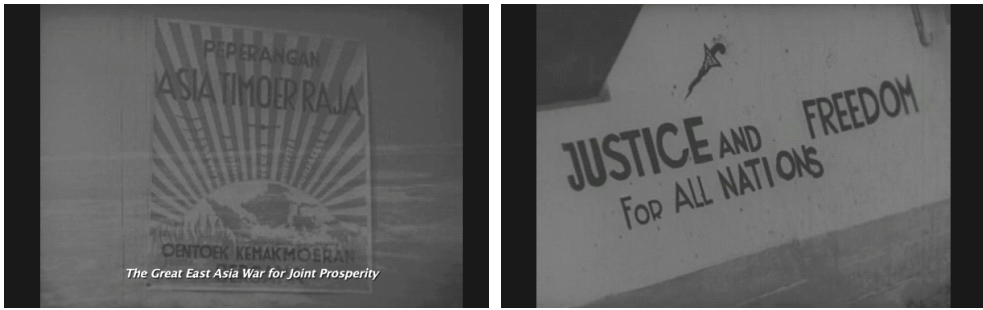


Figure 2. To show the movement in time, Huyung used a poster of Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and mural with anti-colonial message. (Frieda, 1951)



Figure 3. Frieda (left) stepped up to embrace her new identity as an Indonesian. She began to wear *kebaya and sanggul* (Javanese bun) to attract Abidin (right).

Ben Anderson (2006) argued that the intelligentsia was central to the rise of nationalism in the colonial territories (116). Despite the fact Huyung was also involved and close to the Indonesian intellectuals, including Armijn Pane and Ki Hajar Dewantoro, he also represented the rise of intelligentsias and how they worked to spread nationalism. The film told that Abidin was previously teaching in Taman Siswa, a school for the natives, built by K.H. Dewantoro in the Dutch East Indies era. During the 1930s, after *Sumpah Pemuda* event, the nationalistic movement flourished in Indonesia. Most of the nationalistic movement members in Indonesia were the youths from Taman Siswa. Besides that, Taman Siswa's teachers and students later joined Keimin Bunka Shidoso, including the modern Indonesian painters, Sudjojono and Basuki Resobowo, and the prominent Indonesian poet, Chairil Anwar. Moreover, graduated students from Taman Siswa,

such as Asrul Sani and Misbach Yusa Biran, became directors and film historians: all with a nationalistic perspective. In this film, Huyung retold the importance of Taman Siswa through Abidin as the hero of the film.

Furthermore, *Frieda* depicts Abidin and his organizations, *Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat* (KNIP, Central National Indonesian Committee), and *Badan Keamanan Rakyat* (BKR, People's Security Agency). KNIP assisted the president in the newly formed nation in 1945-49. Meanwhile, BKR was an agency tasked with maintaining security. Young Indonesians who had military education from Heiho and the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army made up the BKR. According to Anderson (2006), the youths in the Indonesian revolutionary context were the one who got a progressive and modern-style education. *Frieda* shows how the youths worked behind the scene to maintain independence through scenes where the KNIP held a big meeting, and also shows *Frieda* having stolen Abidin's diary, which implies the BKR's plan to combat the NICA.

Besides representing the (male) youths during revolutionary years, *Frieda* also depicts several women involved in the grassroots movement. Tini, Abidin's wife, in the early of the film is drunken by jealousy over her husband's involvement in the KNIP. She felt that her husband only saw her as a servant in their household. Abidin's friend told her to understand Abidin's role. She goes to Yogyakarta and gets involved in the women's movement - another supporter of the revolution. In the end, Tini becomes a modern woman, leaving her old-fashioned-kebaya (traditional Javanese clothes) behind. She accepts her husband's intention and decides to support the nation.

Moreover, *Frieda*, the heroine of the film, can be seen as the representation of minorities during the revolutionary years. After separating from Abidin, *Frieda* became a spy for the Dutch. According to Stavrakakis, to imagine evils - the outsider and the internal traitor - use all of their powers to prevent our nation from gaining any least enjoyment and is the foundational aspect of creating nationalism (Stavrakakis 2007, 199). For Abidin and his nationalistic movement, the enemy during Revolutionary years are the Dutch, and they dreamt of building the Indonesian future with anti-colonial spirit. Meanwhile, for *Frieda* and her Dutch friends, they wanted to make Indonesia just like before Japanese involvement when the Dutch were able to occupy the highest position during the Dutch Eats Indies era. Between Earth and Sky is the analogy for *Frieda*'s in-between identity. In the end, the film depicts *Frieda*'s choice to be an Indonesian in the scene where

she helps Robjin, an Indo-Dutch man and Abidin's friend, aborts the Dutch' plan to kill the BKR's soldiers with the bomb. Frieda's act can be seen as the way an individual voluntarily submits her minor and foreign identity to the nation.

Based on Huyung's conversation with Soedjojono and Sudarso, *Frieda* is arguably an application of Huyung's ideas on making films which value unity in diversity. Nationalism is limited. To unite the multi-ethnics group into one nation, it needs a new signifier. The anti-colonial or pro-revolutionary war may no longer be relevant when Indonesia gains her victory against the Dutch. BFI's films, which emphasize revolutionary war and show the NICA brutality during the revolutionary war, were no longer relevant. Through *Frieda*, Huyung offered 'unity in diversity' value. It is arguably that *Frieda* was Huyung's reflection on his minority status throughout his life in Japan, Korea, and Indonesia. Moreover, Huyung might be implementing Sukarno's ambition, which saw and sought Sabang (Sumatra) to Merauke (Papua) as Indonesia's territory. Without a 'unity in diversity' representation in films, the separatist movement might have flourished. This is in sync with Anderson's statement that the imaginary is formed through the representative body (2006, 32). The more the film represents the minorities', the more multi-ethnic groups in Indonesia believe that Indonesia belongs to them as well.

Huyung postponed *Frieda's* release due to the backlash from group of people in Medan, Sumatera. During an interview about *Antara Bumi dan Langit*, Huyung stated that he wanted to use American film technique - ranging from suspense to romance and tragedy - in his film. This interview was published along with the kissing scene. People in Sumatra assumed that Huyung's use of passionate kisses was in imitation of US movies. People in Sumatran banned the film because they saw it as inappropriate and ill-fitting of traditional Indonesian values.¹² Huyung seemed disappointed. Due to this polemic, Armijn Pane revoked his contribution as the co-director and Huyung edited the whole film.

Although public criticized the kissing scene in *Antara Bumi dan Langit*, Armijn Pane had a different opinion. Pane argued that the polemic of the film was due to the Huyung's position as a minority, a foreigner in Indonesia. Even though *Antara Bumi dan Langit* had passed censorship, the Film Board did not defend the production. Pane argued that the Film Board's ignorance was driven by a narrowed perspective on nationalism: only film made by natives can be considered national film. Pane defended *Antara Bumi dan Langit* and stated that the root of Indonesian film industry was a cultural hybridization when technology from the

West (used by multi-ethnics and trans-national filmmakers) met content about Indonesian people. Pane called it as *acculturatie* (acculturation). Pane argued that *Antara Bumi dan Langit* was rooted in trans-national production like both *Pareh* and *Terang Bulan*, which was made during the time of Dutch East Indies. Both of these films were the sample of a collaboration project between Albert Balink, Mannus Franken, Wong Brothers, Bupati Bandung Wiranatakusumah, and native actors such as Rd. Mochtar and Roekiah.¹³

Huyung Legacies in Indonesian Cinema

Huyung passed away on 9th September 1952. He was exhausted whilst working on translating a copy of *Shina No Joru* (1940, *China Nights*) for Indonesian audiences. Barker (2017) suggested that Huyung might be thinking about economics reasoning that he could get much-needed capital by selling the famous film to Indonesian audiences; Huyung might have been clinging to the ideas of Asian brotherhood; or quite possibly the film just made a huge impression to Huyung (14-15).

“Film that has entertainment value will truly give a new meaning and make society getting strong, and the influence of good films will go straight to the people's hearts,” said Huyung.¹⁴

During ten years at Java, Huyung tried several ways to connect to people's hearts. He joined BFI and brought the nationalist figures to the people. Besides that, he made three films after *Frieda* using romance as its genre. According to Pane, after *Frieda*, Huyung played it safe. He only made films covering romantic story, suspense, fighting scene, musical genres, and sports. If Huyung would be alive for a long time, probably he would make films similar to *The Then Chun*, *Wong Brothers*, or *Lie Tek Swie*. Huyung could sell his films well, but there will be no idealism like *Frieda*.¹⁵

Kenangan Masa and *Gadis Olahraga* were made as commissioned works to celebrate *Pekan Olahraga Nasional II* (2nd National Sports Week) in Jakarta. These films were made to show sports as the spirit in the nation.¹⁶ *Kenangan Masa* is now a lost film. Meanwhile, *Gadis Olahraga* still survives but has been heavily damaged. One can only see several pieces of the film without proper sound. However, from the remaining reels, we can see several scenes in a room where

the main character is in conflict with other people. After that, the woman sees a magazine and the camera points out Lapangan Ikada's image. Lapangan Ikada (Ikada Square) was known as a place where Soekarno and people discussed the future of Indonesia a month into the independence of September 1945. Gadis Olahraga shows the new face of Lapangan Ikada, which has been filled with athletes from several provinces in Indonesia. One can assume that Huyung tries to show a certain partiality embedded within Indonesian nationalism which owed itself to the foundation of a multi-ethnic nation. It means we can get our identity by being submissive with our ethnic identity toward a greater national identity. To participate in national sporting event is how the state can try to solidify the idea of a nation (Stavrakakis 2007).

I found a similar style of aesthetic, that of Huyung's, mixing the real events and fiction, in Djadoeg Djajakusuma's film entitled *Embun* (1951, *Dewdrop*). Djajakusuma used the real events of the rain-making ritual in Gunung Kidul as the background of a fictional story about an ex-evolutionary soldier. It could be that Djajakusuma and Huyung had an intense discussion during their time in Kino Drama Atelier so we could find some similarities in the exploration of film production. Besides that, the spirit showing women and modernism in Indonesia can be seen as well in films directed by Usmar Ismail after 1954. In *Asrama Dara* (1958, *Women Dormitory*), Usmar shows that modernity allows women to be more active in public spaces. During the audition of *Asrama Dara*, Usmar Ismail asked Suzanna, the prominent horror icon in Indonesia, to act like she was talking on the telephone. Here is a fun fact, Huyung was the first director depicting women talking on the telephone. It is arguable that Usmar Ismail was heavily influenced by Huyung depiction of women and modernism.

Meanwhile, traces of Huyung can be found in Nawi Ismail's film. They worked together for *Calling Australia* and *Frieda. Mereka Kembali* (1972, *They Returned*) tells a story about the longmarch of Siliwangi Division from Yogyakarta to West Java, and shines a light on the excessive brutality of Dutch soldiers during *Agresi Militer Belanda II* (Operation Product). Both of these propaganda films show Caucasian soldiers drinking beer. In *Australia Calling*, the prisoners consuming beer as a group was used to show a happy moment. In *Mereka Kembali*, there is a scene with a Dutch soldier firing the natives whilst drinking beer. Could it be that Nawi Ismail had seen footage of *Australia Calling* used by Jaap Speyer in *Nippon Present*? Could it be Nawi Ismail presents the

Dutch brutality during the war as revenge because *Nippon Present* is used as counter-propaganda of *Calling Australia?* Besides that, Nawi Ismail's comedy films made in the 1970s-1980s had entertainment value and grabbed the audience of common people. The actors usually play characters who criticized the state because it can't and doesn't fulfill independence as promised. With storytelling and slapstick comedy, Nawi Ismail seems to be influenced by pre-Independence directors such as The Teng Chun and Tan Tjoe Hok. On the political aspect of how ordinary people can articulate their nationalistic values, he was probably influenced by Huyung. Though these assumptions need to be researched further.

Conclusion

During the revolutionary years in Indonesia, film is used to spread nationalism. A film can bring the imaginary nation to the people. Huyung's contribution as a film editor during this time was not only to cut the celluloid but also to provide meaning on what nationalism is. BFI films became evidence in the international forum in breaking the Dutch accusation that Indonesian independence was only a gift from Japan. Films edited by Huyung were screened in rural villages to help people imagine their identity as one nation.

Besides, Huyung was aware that nationalism was limited. The anti-colonial or struggles during the revolutionary war were no longer relevant. Instead, in *Frieda*, he stated that film should be able to show unity in diversity. This statement arguably based on Huyung's experience as a minority in Indonesia. Unity in diversity as a concept is still relevant today. The need to represent various ethnicities in Indonesia as the signifier in film narration and can be a statement that nationalism is not shaped from a military perspective like what *Darah and Doa* depicted. Huyung is one of the pioneers who stated that people could shape nationalism.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank to Forum Lenteng, Jakarta, for giving me permission and opportunity to see Huyung's films for this research; to Salima Hakim for commenting the drafts of this paper; and the anonymous reviewers for their sharp criticism and feedback.

Notes

1.. Misbach Yusa Biran, *Sejarah Film 1900-1950: Bikin Film Di Jawa* (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 20, See 9).

2. In the article on Basuki Resobowo, the leftist Indonesian painter and the first art director in Indonesia, I argued that Perfini as the production house is the sample of artists collective aiming making film in the 1950s. Unlike Stichting Hiburan Mataram, which consisted people who already advance in filmmaking and film, Perfini's members were amateur in filmmaking. According to Usmar Ismail, Perfini was influenced by Italian neorealism spirit, "bring the camera to the street, shot the real condition". The ones who learn filmmaking in Perfini were only the cinematographer Max Terra; Usmar Ismail, Soemardjono, and Djadoeg Djajakusuma, who learned filmmaking in Kino Drama Atelier with Huyung. Usmar Ismail established Perfini because he wanted to make film that tells about the real condition after revolutionary war. The article will be published in the end of 2020. This research is part of Emerging Writers Fellowship 2019 from *Southeast of Now* journal.

3. In this article I will use Huyung's name in Indonesian version, not his Japanese name, Hinatsu Eitaro, or his Korean version, Hō Yōng.

4. See Benedict Anderson (2006, 5-6).

5. Original in Indonesia: "*Langkah pertama film-film informatie setjara besar-besaran ialah rencana lima tahun Stalin. Pada saat itu segala tema film soviet adalah cinta tanah air sebab mendorong dan membangkitkan perasaan patriotisme, memperkuat mental function, dan pokok daripada mental function adalah membangkitkan semangat ofensif dan pokok semangat ofensif mengakibatkan pertahanan negara.*" *Brochure Kesenian* (Kementrian Penerangan Republik Indonesia, 1949), pp. 33-34.

6. Original in Indonesia: "*Juga perlu film cerita ialah mengenai persatuan, terutama yang melukiskan persatuan kebangsaan dengan satu bahasa dan satu tanah-air untuk sisasat pembangunan nanti dengan cara hiburan*" *Brochure Kesenian*, p. 36.

7. Fujitani

8. Kurosawa Aiko (1993, 239).

9. Suyadi, "Berita Film Indonesia," *Media Film Indonesia Juni-Juli-Agustus*, 1983.

10. "No Title," *Mimbar Penerangan Tahun Ke II No. 19*, November 1951.

11. *Brochure Kesenian*, p. 33.

12. "Suara Pambatja Tentang: 1. Antara Bumi Dan Langit; 2. Tepi Bengawan Solo," *Majalah Aneka No 9 Tahun II*, 1951, p. 13.

13. Pane Armijn, *Produksi Film Tjerita Di Indonesia: Perkembangannya Sebagai Alat Masjarakat*, 1953, 95.

14. Huyung, "Tjatatan Film Oleh Dr. Huyung," *No. 9 Tahun III*, 1952.

15. Armijn, *Produksi Film Tjerita Di Indonesia: Perkembangannya Sebagai Alat Masjarakat*.

16. "Gadis Olahraga," *Aneka No. 23 Tahun II*, 1951.

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