

National Film (Indonesia) 1970-1990s: Sex in Film, Censorship in Film and Power in Film

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Abstract—One interesting phenomenon when looking at Indonesian cinema in the 1970s to the 1990s is the large number of national films containing elements of sex that bring out artists known as hot artists. Hot films raised titles that have sex connotations, present erotic scenes and display vulgar posters, are widely advertised in the mass media and become public consumption, even though the authorities in charge of film affairs clearly forbid films containing pornography. The method used in this writing is a historical research method which includes heuristic, criticism, interpretation and historiography stages. Sources are generally obtained through literature studies by collecting written data in the form of archives, newspapers, articles, posters and photographs. This study shows that sex in national films throughout the 1970s and 1990s not only served as a spice but also as the main menu and solely takes into account the commercial side. The role of film censorship institution on the circulation of films is not optimal because of the intervention of the government.

Keywords—sex film, censorship film, new order

I. INTRODUCTION

A few years ago the community was fussed about the release of the *Burung Cium Gue* film. From the title of the film alone it is considered that the film is alleged to show scenes that are “inappropriate” and feared that it will damage the nation’s generation. Some figures then went to the institution authorized to deal with film censorship, the Film Censorship Institute (LSF). LSF stated that if the film was in accordance with the censorship film performance procedures, more than that the scenes in the film did not contain pornographic elements, only in the title where the word “kiss” on the film title is a representation of the style of today’s youth [1].

Having looked the news above, actually the title of the film has not been too “dangerous” when compared to national films produced throughout the 1970s and 1990s. Throughout this time, national films such as horror, comedy and action films, almost all featured sex in the films produced. In the early 1970s, sex was only used as a spice or complementary in films, but in the 1980s and 1990s the sex element in the film was no longer just a complement but had become the main menu. This can be seen from the title of the film that was appointed such as *Gairah Terlarang*, *Ranjang yang Ternoda* and so forth. The elements of sex are not only reflected in the title of the film but also in scenes that explore the female body, scenes that describe intimate relationships (male and female relationships, rape, female relationships) even though they are not shown in real

(camera games). To attract audience interest, movie posters were made by displaying paintings of film supporting artists with erotic images that aroused lust and were advertised in newspapers that became public consumption. People know this type of film as “hot film”. The artists who become the main characters in this film are often referred to as sex bombs such as Yurike Prastika, Inneke Koesherawati, Eva Arnaz, Kiki Fatmala and others because they dare to look sexy and not even dressed in some of the movie scenes they star.

This situation is a fundamental question in this study, what drives the development of sex-oriented national films in that period, how is the role of the Film Censorship Board (BSF) which is actually responsible for censoring films that are not in accordance with the established rules. On the one hand, there is an assumption that the BSF is not an independent institution but an institution under the pressure of the New Order. So far the study of film seems to be one of the studies that draws the attention of the academic world from various perspectives. Arturo Gunapriatna in his article *Dinamika Film Hantu Indonesia* discusses this issue as well. According to him, from various perspectives, Indonesian films are always interesting to discuss.

One interesting thing is the issue of Indonesian film quality. Indonesian ghost films on the one hand always get sharp criticism but on the other hand every time the production of ghost films, the audience is always crowded by the reason that ghost films in Indonesia are always widely produced [4]. This is almost the same as the condition of the 1970-1990 Indonesian films which contain a lot of sex and get sharp criticism but always attract the audience, every time the film aired the audience is always crowded in theaters so that this type of film does not stop producing. In the field of film censorship, several studies that support this writing include M. Sarief Arief, *Politik Film di Hindia Belanda* which explains the Dutch policy on film in Indonesia and the *Ordonantie* made by the Dutch to limit film development in Indonesia [5].

This Dutch-made *Ordonantie* eventually became the forerunner to the establishment of the Film Censorship Institution. Related to the assumption that Indonesian cinema is in the midst of intervention by the New Order government, it has been proven by several researchers, including Katinka Van Herren, *Contemporary Indonesian Film* which discusses the history of Indonesian films and

policies in film practice that interfere with film development during the New Order administration while explaining about the New Order building its legitimacy on film [6].

A quite phenomenal work illustrates how the New Order government's legitimacy towards film is carried out by Krishna Sen, he tries to describe that film is never separated from existing power signs and is never "sterile" from the dominant ideology, because in addition to institutions that safeguarding the signs of power, there are also institutions that design and determine films with themes such as what is feasible and not feasible to produce and determine what films can be called "good". Thus the building of film stories is not entirely free from the author, but is always related to the various interests of the institutions that surround them. Krishna Sen focuses on the existence of film censorship institution which is entirely in the hands of those who support the government, because that film style that can be produced and allowed to circulate can be said to be fully controlled by the government. From some of the previous studies mentioned above, it is seen that films are studied more in the historical aspects and political aspects which are one of the political tools for the government, but not many writings have been found specifically examining the Indonesian film genre.

This study uses the historical method, namely the process of critically examining and analyzing past records and relics, from data collection to writing. The series of research stages conducted include heuristics, criticism, interpretation and historiography [9]. The first stage is Heuristic which is a method of collecting data and resources related to the theme under study. This research uses written sources through literature study by collecting writing materials in the form of books, articles, newspapers and photographs. The second stage is criticism by criticizing the validity of the data obtained. The third stage is in the form of interpretation which is giving an understanding of the source facts and the last is historiography which is writing the results of the research.

II. DISCUSSION

A Brief History of Indonesian Film

The film which was originally referred to as *gambar idoep* has developed in the European world at the end of the 19th century. The government then introduces the phenomenon in its colonies (Indonesia) by making an announcement published in Bintang Betawi newspaper on November 30, 1900 [10]. Here is the sound of the ad:

"De Nederlandsche Bioscope Maattchappij (Maatschappij Gambar Idoep) memberi taoe bahoewa lagi sedikit hari ija nanti kasi lihat nonton amat bagoes jaitoe gambar-gambar idoep dari banjak hal jang belon lama telah kejadian di Eropa dan di Afrika Selatan seperti: masoeknya Sribaginda Maharaja Olanda bersama Jang Moelia Hertog Hendrik ke dalam Kota Den Hag roepa-roepa hal jang terjadi di dalem peperangan di Transvaal. Lebi djaoe ditontonkan djuga gambarnja barang-barang matjem baroe yang telah ada di dalem Tientoonstolling di Kota Parijs, gambar

gambar berwarna jang terdapat dari fotografie jang dari sebab amat adjaibnya soeda ditonton pada saban sore oleh riboean orang roemah komidies Salle Des Fetes di Kota Parijs. Ini tontonan pasti dikasih lihat di dalem roemah di sebelahnja fabric kreta dari Maatschappij Fuchs di Tanah Abang. Hari moelainja tontonan ini nanti dikasih taoe di laen tempoe"

In accordance with the sound of the advertisement, the premiere film screening was held on December 5, 1900 which took place in a house in Kebondjoe Tanah Abang under the name *The Roijal Bioscope* [2]. Ticket prices for the audience as well as the audience seating were distinguished based on the status and social strata of the community, namely f2 for the first class, f1 for the second class and f 0.50 for the third grade. The cheapest class audience sat on the board bench in the front row just behind the orchestra. Second-class audiences were in the middle, while first-class viewers as the most expensive class sat at the rear with a higher bench. In addition to the three cinema spectator classes, there was also the so-called "goat class" audience. The audience of this class did not sit on a bench but on the floor in front of a third-class audience. They sit stacking right in front of the screen and because it is always noisy and noisy like a goat, this group is called the "goat class".

In 1905, the film which was originally still in the form of a picture and mute began to have its meaning. This film is referred to as a story film imported from America and changed its title into Malay. During the 1920-1930s, films that entered the Dutch East Indies came from America, Europe (Netherlands, France and Germany) and China. New films made in the United States can be played in big cinemas for Europeans. The intensity of film screenings in the Dutch East Indies is quite high, namely two to three times a week that surpasses screenings in the Netherlands itself. The imported story films were responded to and attracted the interest of the audience so that the films were best-selling in the Dutch East Indies.

The number of films imported into the Dutch East Indies and the high public interest inspired a Dutchman named L. Heuvelcorp to establish a film production company called the Java Film Company in 1926, with his first film production being *Loetoeng Kasaroeng* [2]. Following is the *Loetoeng Kasaroeng* movie ad in 1926.



Iklan film *Loetoeng Kasaroeng* Bioskop Elita
Foto: © Sinematek Indonesia

Fig. 1. Film Advertisement for *Loetoeng Kasaroeng* in 1926
Source: Sinematek Indonesia Photo Archive

After the national film production of *Loetoeng Kasaroeng*, the number of national film production began to increase, until 1932 a total of 27 national films were successfully produced. In 1931 filmmakers in Indonesia competed to produce speech films. The first talk film in Indonesia is *Karnadi Anemer Bangkok* made by Krugers Film Bedrijf [11].

From Ordonantie Film to Film Censorship Board (BSF)

At the beginning, the introduction of films in the Dutch East Indies did not present information or specific intentions so that the documentary film was only intended for entertainment purposes. Sometimes the scene shown is a sex scene that occurs between men and women without marital ties, scenes of rape and violence. Active audiences (cinema customers) were not only Europeans but also indigenous people who lived in cities and colonial government employees or students. Through newspaper news or lessons in school they (the audience) know that Western life is rational, civilized, resolves problems with rational law, but what is seen by the indigenous population is shown in the opposite film. This brought anxiety among the European population in the Dutch East Indies, moreover in the end the show spread to the countryside. The image shown shows a negative image of Westerners. So, at the suggestion of the European population in the Dutch East Indies, the colonial government issued a policy to select films that entered the Dutch East Indies [2].

After 16 years of film distribution since 1900, the colonial government issued a policy in the form of a law called *Ordonantie Bioscoop* which was aimed at examining films in the Dutch East Indies [12]. The number of images on the film showing the negative image of the West made Europeans uneasy in the Dutch East Indies because they were afraid of being labeled the same behavior as the pictures and the natives did not respect them. In addition, the great effect of the spread of the film has reached the countryside and the behavior of the cast in the film was imitated by children. To reduce the expansion of the film, the Dutch East Indies Government began to closely monitor the development of film by forming a Film Commission (the

forerunner of the birth of the Film Censorship Board or LSF in the present). The legal basis on which the Film Commission was formed is the *Ordonantie Film* made by the Dutch Government (the forerunner of the birth of the BP2N and the Indonesian Film Act in the present). As written in the Dutch East Indies government regulation which is quoted from [5], the following:

“Op een of meer door de gouverneur general aan te wijzen in nederlandsch indie wordt voor de keuring van films voor levende lichtbeelden (bioscoopfilm) een commissie benoemd bestaande uit vijf leden, de voorzitter daaronder begrepen” [13].

The governor general can appoint a place in the Dutch East Indies for the establishment of a film censorship commission and the film censorship commission. this commission consists of 5 members, including a chairman).

The task of the censorship institution is to cut a number of movie scenes that fall into the following categories:

“...waarvan zij de vertooning strijdig acht met de openbare orde of de zedelijkheid of om andere redenen aanstootelijk of van verder felijken invloedoordeelt” [14]

(“... films that are considered to damage public decency, general provisions or are the cause of the emergence of general disturbances that can affect the environment”).

Furthermore, who (the filmmakers) who violate the policy will be given punishment (punishment for those who play uncensored films) as below:

“wegens vertooning film op een geheel of gedeeltelijk niet goed gekeurd film op een openbare bioscoop voorstelling kan zoowel hij die de voorstelling geeft als de houder der film worden gestraft met een geldboete van ten hoogste f 100 of gevangensstraf van ten hoogste acht dagen [15]

(“If you show all or part of a film that does not pass the censorship at a cinema, then those who use the show or who have the film are punished with a fine of f 100 or a maximum of 8 days in jail”).

Occasionally the censorship commission's work does not work optimally due to several things. First, in the execution of censorship work is not carried out jointly by the members of the censorship commission in the same time and place, but members of the commission are allowed to bring each film title to be examined in their homes because they have no office. Secondly, there are no criteria regarding general disturbances, general decency and general provisions. This causes each member of the censorship commission to make a separate interpretation of the film they are going to censor. Third, the results of the cutting of the film were not destroyed as a result of the film owner being able to request the results of the cut to be merged with the film that had passed the censor. Fourth, the flood of films that will be censored so that they are not handled properly and Fifth, the low rewards and penalties for those who break the rules, which is only f 100 and confinement for 8 days [5].

The swift import of silent films and flowing talk that entered throughout the 1930s, and began to harden the Indonesian national movement in demanding national independence, causing the colonial government to issue new rules in the field of film. The regulation was made in 1940, which emphasized efforts so that native audiences were more interested in domestic production films.

Based on the regulation, those who violate will be fined 5000 or imprisonment for six months. In the process of examining films produced domestically, the government provides an opportunity for a film that is declared not to pass the sensor to be repaired and not destroyed. In addition, filmmakers are also given the opportunity to get additional results by sending films produced domestically abroad (exported). The decision above was taken by the colonial government with the aim of encouraging native audiences to want to watch films made domestically and people watching abroad know that indigenous people are just as bad/the negative image of indigenous people as shown in the film.

After the Dutch colonial occupation, Indonesia was under Japanese occupation. Indonesian film conditions are not better in Japan. Japan uses film as a propaganda tool to strengthen the slogan 3A (Japanese Asian Leader, Japanese Protector Asia, Japanese Light Asia). One form of interference by the Japanese government in the field of film is the prohibition of screening Western and American films unless the film contains Western crime stories [17]. *Film Commissie* formed by the Dutch East Indies was disbanded, then on 1 April 1943 the Japanese military government established a cultural center called *Keimin Bunka Shidoso* which supervised four arts fields, namely literature, art, painting and carving.

Propaganda through film is part of the arts which is under the supervision of *Keimin Bunka Shidoso*, specifically for handling film problems, an organization formed under the name *Javanese Eiga Kosha* (Javanese Film Company). *Jawa Eiga Kosha* was finally dissolved in line with the establishment of two Japanese companies, *Nichi`ei* (Japanese Film Company) and *Eihai* (Japanese Film Distribution Company), and the screening and distribution of films was under *Eihai's* responsibility. His duties included the selection of films to be circulated, the distribution of films to each local cinema, the management of all cinemas that were confiscated and playing films on an open field.

The sensor for the film is run very tightly. All films from enemy countries are prohibited and to fill the vacancy, the Japanese government brings films from Japan and from its allies which are considered useful for propaganda purposes. The films must contain moral teachings and political indoctrination which are in line with the government's wishes which are categorized as *kokusaku eiga* films (national policy films). National policy films, if viewed in terms of their contents, can be divided into 6 categories, including [18]:

1. Films which emphasize friendship between the Japanese nation and Asian nations and Japanese teaching.
2. Films whose contents encourage the worship of patriotism and service to the nation.
3. Films which describe military operations and emphasize Japanese military strength.
4. Films that describe the crimes of Western nations.
5. Films which emphasize morality based on Japanese values, such as; self-sacrifice, mother's affection, respect for parents, sincere friendship, female attitudes, crafts, and loyalty.
6. Films which emphasize increasing production and other war campaigns.

Even so, Japanese policy towards Indonesian film also brings a positive side, thanks to the demands of producing films for propaganda purposes, the Japanese government teaches how to make good films. If during the Dutch East Indies period, the natives produced films that smelled of sex and violence, during the Japanese period the natives produced documentary films based on science [19].

After Indonesia's independence in 1945, the work of the Dutch film commission was continued by the Indonesian government. Several times the responsibility for film censorship has changed. On September 10, 1946 a Film Inspection Commission (KPF) was formed by affirming that film is a political tool and must be maintained properly so as not to conflict with the people's understanding. The Indonesian government and filmmakers insist that the role of film in the life of the nation is as one of the components of the struggle economically and morally, economically the film must be able to provide a decent livelihood for the film industry and input for the country. but no less important is that film as a political and educational tool [20].

During the Old Order, propaganda functions that were not in line with the expectations of the government remained the main job. Refer to Law No. 23 of 1952, film censorship was emphasized on the prohibition of films containing scenes or conversations containing war advice, violations of the principle of knighthood, the use of weapons and repeated war scenes, as well as attempts to overthrow self-government. The Indonesian government always strives to ensure that there is no contamination of foreign propaganda that can destabilize the nation's development efforts. On August 5, 1964, a Presidential Decree No. 1/1964 was issued stating the rule that Indonesian films must support the Pancasila ideology, describe things that contain government policy, and show prevailing public order conditions, while imported films do not may contain content that is contrary to Pancasila, becomes a propaganda tool for other parties and must comply with the requirements of Indonesian public order. Based on Presidential Instruction No. 012/1964, it was determined that film affairs were under the Ministry of Information, and that the film supervisory committee was governed by an institution called the Film Censorship Board (BSF) which later changed to become Film Censorship Institution (LSF) until now.

Throughout the 1960s, Indonesian film conditions were in a bleak period due to the political chaos caused by the September 30th Communist Party movement or better known as the G30S / PKI which resulted in the destruction of the film circulation mechanism due to anti-imperialism. At this time the national film production was still small, namely only 14-18 films in the period 1963-1964. The lack of national film production is believed to be due to the flood of imported films widely circulated in theaters - Indonesian cinema. As a comparison, the number of national films compared to imported films in 1955 was as follows: Indonesian films 176 titles, India 311, China 116, America 1501, Britain 330, Netherlands 106, Soviet Union 51, Italy 56, France 22, Egypt 14 Malaysia 32 and Philippines 4 [21].

Under these conditions, an organization called the Action Committee for Boycotting US Imperialist Films (PAPFIAS) was formed as a form of expression of PKI dissatisfaction with the entry of foreign culture into Indonesia, especially America. PAPFIAS refused to import American films and even extensively prohibited things that related to Western. They stated that American films were responsible for the rise of juvenile delinquency because indeed films from America were favored by the public and were able to attract many spectators to the cinema. To fill the void of American films, films were imported from Thailand, Japan and Hong Kong instead [21].

Indonesian Film 1970s-1990s: Between Film, Film Censorship and Government Policy

The anti-film policy of America that had been closed during the Liberal period began to be reopened so that Indonesia was flooded with imported films, nearly 400 American films were imported into Indonesia in 1967. But the government continued to support national film production so that it got a place in the cinemas, one of the efforts was through the Minister of Information Decree No.71 / SK / M / 1967 concerning the collection of import funds to support the progress of national film. The government also applied the policy of screening Indonesian films in class A cinemas at least once a month and the BI, BII and C classes at least 4 weeks within a period of six months. The policy was directed to reduce the dominance of imported films and provided opportunities for domestic film production. Furthermore, the government also made a policy through the Decree of the Minister of Information, SK No. 71 of 1967 which requires all film importers to buy shares of production and rehabilitation of national film and Decree No. 34 / SK / M / 1968 concerning the establishment of DPFN (National Film Production Council).

One of the consequences of opening up the opportunity to import films is that there are many imported films that feature sex and violence scenes that meet Indonesian cinemas. Attorney General Major TNI Soegih Arto even gave a response to the circulation of the James Bond-style films so that film importers in filming films should not only pursue commercial profits but also think about the effects caused by the screening of the imported films [22]. Imported films containing elements of sex turned out to be liked by

audiences in Indonesia, which inspired Indonesian filmmakers to produce the same type of film. The beginning of the 1970s was opened with the presence of a sex-themed film, *Bernafas Dalam Lumpur* played by Suzanna. *Bernafas Dalam Lumpur* film is the birthplace of hot films full of sex scenes in Indonesia, films that first feature sex, rape scenes and rough dialogue. The film was widely discussed by the public because Suzanna's appearance in the film was considered daring to break the eastern culture.

Nationally produced films that imitate and have sex themes originating in America are soon becoming an attraction and favored. The cinemas that play the films are packed with viewers so that the same film must be played repeatedly. The success of the *Bernafas Dalam Lumpur* film has triggered the birth of other hot films and films with comedy and even action genres have included sex in the film, whether scenes that connote sex or only exploitation of the female body (artist) in the film. Popular films of this time are slapstick comedy films starring the legendary comedy group, DKI warkop (Warung Kopi, Kasino, Indro), as well as the popular horror genre film pioneered by Suzanna like *Sundel Bolong* (1981), *Malam Jumat Kliwon* (1986) and *Malam Satu Suro* (1988), historical fantasy action film like *Saur Sepuh: Satria Madangkara* (1987). Even though the films that contain sex elements get a lot of criticism from the public, but it cannot be denied if these films successfully bring viewers to the cinema.

There are also filmmakers who make national films with good quality with reliable directors like *Doea Tanda Mata* (1984) by Teguh Karya, *Matahari-Matahari* (1985) by Arifin C Noer, *Tjoet Nyak Dien* (1986) by Eros Djarot, *Kodrat* (1986), by Slamet Rahardjo Djarot, *Kejarlah daku Kau Kutangkap* (1985) by Chaerul Umam, *Nagabonar* and *Pengkhianatan G-30-S PKI* (1982) by Arifin C. Noer, but the film's audience was not comparable to films with sex, except for the phenomenal *Pengkhianatan G30S PKI* film as the film with the most viewers until the 2000s. The message contained in the film's propaganda was that the Indonesian people must be aware of the latent danger of the PKI and the image of the New Order leader, Suharto, as the only champion in fighting the PKI rebellion.

In the early 1990s, Indonesian film conditions began to decline. There are several factors that drive this situation which is a series of film problems in Indonesia. First, Indonesian cinema is still being hit by imported films where the import film quota still gets a quota, on the other hand regulations set by the government make national films difficult to compete with imported films such as the determination of various taxes for national films from the production process to films circulating in theaters, while imported films are only subject to import taxes. In addition, there is almost no difference in the Price of Entrance Signs (HTM) / tickets between national films and imported films when screened in theaters, making it difficult for national films to reach the audience and of course the quality of imported films is still far above when compared to the quality of national films. Secondly, the emergence of

Compact Disc (CD) media and television that succeeded in diverting the attention of the public to lively and free entertainment. Third, the economic crisis which began to hit Indonesia in the early 1990s began to be felt by filmmakers to produce good quality films, but not necessarily to produce a large audience.

In this situation (early 1990), erotic films resurfaced. If the previous period of national films only made sex as a spice/complement, then this period national films have made sex as the main menu. Filmmakers are again producing low-quality erotic films that exploit sheer sex and women's bodies with movie titles that connote sex like *Gadis Metropolis* (1992), *Ranjang yang Ternoda* (1993), *Akibat Hamil Muda* (1993), *Gairah Malam* (1993), *Misteri Permainan Terlarang* (1993), *Pergaulan Metropolis* (1994), *Gaun Merah* (1994), *Kenikmatan Tabu* (1994), *Gairah Terlarang* (1995), *Bebas Ber cinta* (1995), *Gairah dan Dosa* (1995), *Akibat Bebas Sex* (1996), *Bergairah di Puncak* (1996), *Permainan Erotik* (1996), *Gairah 100%* (1997), *Permainan Malam* (1997), *Gejolak Seksual* (1997), *Gairah Membara* (1998) dan *Nafsu Membara* (1998) [11].

The film titles that have been lifted have led the audience's thoughts to sex especially as many scenes imply an intimate relationship between men and women, even though they are not explicitly shown but are portrayed as being true as an intimate relationship depicted by a swaying car accompanied by a voice the players are panting and scenes that explore the female artist's body. Some artists dress very minimal even there are scenes of some time where the artist does not use a body cover. The appearance of the artist who is considered "brave" makes them known as hot artists or sex bombs such as Yurike Prastika, Malvin Shayna, Eva Arnaz, Inneke Koesharawati, Sally Marcelina, Kiki Fatmala and others.

In the midst of the economic crisis that hit, the commercial side was more of a filmmaker's main objective than the quality side. Why making a quality film if it does not bring profit from the commercial side, instead making a low quality film that is profitable from a commercial aspect is definitely the first choice. These hot films get the attention of the audience, therefore the same type of film is always produced because it brings profits to the filmmaker. Even so, there are still a number of quality films that have been made like *Cinta Dalam Sepotong Roti* (1990), *Daun di Atas Bantal* (1997), dan *Puisi Tak Terkuburkan* (1999) [23].

The erotic side of the film is not only portrayed in film titles and film scenes but also through movie posters displayed in public places and primarily in front of theaters, automatically becoming public consumption, here are national film posters in the 1990s.



Fig. 2. National Film Poster
Source: [24]



Fig. 3. Film Poster in Cinema
Source: Sinematek Indonesia Foundation Archives

In the beginning of the New Order after the political turmoil of 1965, the government carried out a purge of films, film workers and film organizations suspected of being linked to the PKI. Many old organizations that were declared banned were later destroyed and replaced with new organizations formed by the government, such as the State Film Company (PFN) and the Film Censorship Board (BSF) (Mon, 2009). Film censorship in Indonesia during the New Order era was like the colonial era where censorship became a knife to dissect films, especially national films. Censorship is carried out very tightly so it is no wonder Krishna Sen, in his *Kuasa Dalam Sinema*, interprets the strong control of the New Order government on film, censorship is the most obvious aspect of government control over the form and content of the film.

Some aspects of film under government control include: film councils, film festivals, film production, film and film censorship imports. In censoring film, before filming begins, the film scenario must first get approval from the information department's directorate of film, and after the film has been produced, the film must re-enter the sensor table.

The Film Censorship Board issued a code of ethics about what may be in the film, including: regarding sex scenes, depicting socialist state flags and class conflicts, depicting the defeat of law enforcement officials before criminals, films that have the potential to damage religious harmony in

Indonesia, endangering the development of consciousness nationally, exploiting tribal sentiment, religion or descent or provoking social tensions. Instead the film is required to support development programs carried by the government which require stable political conditions. Therefore, a film must contain no conflict between classes and clashes, a film featuring harmonious families, a dynamic and hard city, and a history that consciously prioritizes the heroism of its main character. These three themes became a trend throughout the 1970s to the early 1990s [25]. As a result of the policy, filmmakers lost movement and limited expression. Films with a national historical background became a theme that was carried by filmmakers in the aftermath of the 1965 communist tragedy such as the *Janur Kuning* film and *Pengkhianatan G30S / PKI*, and even then a policy emerged that no national history themed films could be produced without strict state supervision [26].

According to Heru Erwantoro, there are no less than 40 Indonesian films that experienced problems with the censors between 1970 and 2005. The censorship problems faced by these films were: 15 films (37.5%) involving pornography problems, 3 films (7.5%) concerning the issue of violence; 6 films (15%), problems related to insulting certain institutions (police, state, etc.), 2 films (5%) involved in the problem of lifting state symbols (like the president), 4 films (10%) involved in the problem of not educating (describing suicide as a way out, spreading luxury, lifestyle, etc.); 8 films (20%) were involved in the problem of social criticism (eg sharpening social inequality); and 2 films (5%) were involved in the problem of threats of security disturbances in the area. The forms of action against the film that are considered violating include: 1 film (2.5%) gets a strong reprimand; 3 films (7.5%) are prohibited from circulating on a national scale; 11 films (27.5%) are prohibited from circulating in certain areas; 7 films (17.5%) are sanctioned to change the contents or certain parts of the film; 1 film (2.5%) stories cannot be produced; and 17 films (42.5%) were deducted in certain parts by the BSF [20].

Several films that received LSF's in 1970 were *Hidup, Cinta, dan Airmata* which considered by Deppen contained too many pornographic scenes. In 1972, even though *Romusha* film had passed BSF but was banned from circulation by the Ministry of Defense who was worried that the Japanese government would be angry, in 1973 *Bumi Makin Panas* film had passed from BSF, Bapfida (Regional Film Consideration Agency) Cianjur banned this film from circulating in the area, in 1974 *Pengakuan Seorang Perempuan* film despite being passed from the BSF but rejected by Bapfida Yogyakarta because it showed too many scenes and dialogues on eroticism. In 1986, *Petualangan Cinta Nyi Blorong* film tells the story of someone who wants to get rich quickly and is willing to be a slave to Nyi Blorong judged by Bapfida Lampung to display too many sadism and pornography scenes. In 1988, *Pembalasan Ratu Laut Selatan* passing the censorship, but because of her erotic scenes inviting public protest, the film was withdrawn by the BSF. Then BSF cut out the parts that were protested before this film could be circulated again[20].

It seems that the role of the censorship institution is indeed between and is not there, because every film must enter the realm of censorship, on the contrary it is said to be non-existent because censorship is actually only a tool for propaganda of the New Order government. Even though the existence of sex element films is contrary to the code of ethics that has been made by the BSF, it seems that BSF cannot do much. The economic crisis forces filmmakers to prioritize commercial aspects rather than film quality aspects. The sensor is only fixated on the titles that are feared to contain elements that are considered dangerous such as containing elements of SARA and left-leaning, as long as the film does not explore sex too much and endangers the development discourse being promoted by the New Order government and breaks the unity then left to the censorship institution.

III. CONCLUSION

Based on the results above, it can be concluded that films that use sex as a spice film or sex as the main menu in films in the 1970s and 1990s were caused by unbalanced government policies with imported films and national films, national films were unable to compete with imported films from the quality and tax side of national film is very high. Besides that, the economic crisis began to hit Indonesia in the early 1990s, which made filmmakers only considering making films that were able to attract public attention and hot films to be the answer. Film censorship institutions are among the two difficult and impossible choices in film criticism of hot films. On one side of the film production is underway and chrysanthemums are being hit and on the other hand a clear production film for a code of ethics, but as long as the film cannot be used for matters that are considered not to contain SARA, displaying conflict and no development discourse carried by therefore the government just leave it.

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