

CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Central European Comparative Studies

Master's Thesis

2018

Tanya Silverman

CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Central European Comparative Studies

Tanya Silverman

**Communism, Emigration, Commercialism: Reading
the Post-New Wave Films of Czechoslovak New Wave
Directors**

Master's Thesis

Prague 2018

Author: Tanya Silverman

Supervisor: PhDr. David Emler, Ph.D.

Academic Year: 2017/2018

Bibliographic Note

Silverman, Tanya. *Communism, Emigration, Commercialism: Reading the Post-New Wave Films of Czechoslovak New Wave Directors*. 94 pgs. Master Thesis. Charles University, Central European Comparative Studies. Supervisor: PhDr. David Emler, Ph.D.

Abstract

The Czechoslovak New Wave film movement saw directors such as Jiří Menzel, Věra Chytilová, Miloš Forman and Ivan Passer capture the liberalized mood of the 1960s. After the momentous cultural era ended in the aftermath of the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion, all four figures continued their directorial careers, albeit either by overcoming bans or emigrating to the United States. This thesis aims to put forth a unique methodology of examining how these four auteurs' filmic outputs demonstrated their interactions with social environments from the 1970s to 2006. The research process included systematically surveying films for cues and corroborating observations with interview media or memoir texts. The analytical structure focuses on three significant tropes: car culture, money as power and censorship. Descriptions include particular findings pertaining to all four directors as well as synthesis for the contexts of both locations. The research suggests that Jiří Menzel and Miloš Forman exhibited the most reverence towards Czech and American culture, respectively, while Věra Chytilová and Ivan Passer demonstrated a number of similar societal criticisms throughout their filmographies. This thesis hopes to serve as a model for understanding post-New Wave films by Czech directors that applies innovative angles for examining their works.

Keywords

film, Czechoslovak New Wave, filmmaking, Czech directors, emigration

Abstrakt

Režiséři Československé nové vlny Jiří Menzel, Věra Chytilová, Miloš Forman a Ivan Passer ukazovali ve svých filmech liberální náladu své doby. Vlivné hnutí skončilo kvůli sovětské invazi v roce 1968, avšak čtyři režiséři pokračovali ve své kariéře, buď překonáváním zákazů nebo emigrací do Ameriky. Cílem této práce je interpretace jejich filmů coby demonstrací společenských interakcí od sedmdesátých let 20. století do roku 2006. Unikátní metodologie zahrnuje systematický průzkum filmů, nalezení klíčových tropů a témat a posléze analýzu rozhovorů z médií a biografických textů. Analytická část zkoumá tři hlavní témata: kult automobilů, peníze jako známku moci a cenzuru. Výsledky jsou prezentovány pro každého režiséra zvlášť, společně s kontexty z Československa, případně z USA. Výzkum naznačuje, že pro Jiřího Menzela a Miloše Formana byla klíčovým pojmem kultura v Čechách, respektive v Americe, zatímco Věra Chytilová a Ivan Passer se ve své filmové kariéře věnovali zejména společenské kritice. Tato diplomová práce doufá, že může svým inovativním přístupem přinést nové pochopení filmů od českých režisérů nové vlny.

Klíčová slova

film, Československá nová vlná, kinematografie, cesti režiséři, emigrace

Declaration of Authorship

1. The author hereby declares that she has compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.
2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.
3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

11-05-2018

Prague

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of the letters 'T' and 'S' connected by a horizontal line that extends to the right.

Tanya Silverman

Acknowledgments

I would like to extend my gratitude towards a number of people whose efforts have helped make this thesis come to fruition.

I would like to thank my excellent thesis supervisor PhDr. David Emler Ph.D for his careful attention and guidance in shaping my approach. A special gratitude also goes out to my thesis seminar supervisor for PhDr. Jiří Vykoukal, CSc for his advice on how to frame the research topic.

I would also like to express my appreciation for my family and friends for listening to my developing analogies and offering their invaluable assistance along this journey.

PROJECT OF M.A. DISSERTATION	
Name:	Tanya Silverman
Program:	CECS
E-mail:	tanyas618@gmail.com
Dissertation Title:	<i>Communism, Emigration, Commercialism: Reading the Post-New Wave Films of Czechoslovak New Wave Directors</i>
Submission Date:	Summer 2018
Seminar Supervisor:	PhDr. Jiří Vykoukal, CSc
Dissertation Supervisor:	PhDr. David Emler, Ph.D.
Description of the Topic:	This thesis aims to identify the ways in which films directed by Jiří Menzel, Věra Chytilová, Miloš Forman and Ivan Passer reflect their interactions with social environments after the Czechoslovak New Wave ended. All four directors faced a crucial decision of whether to stay in Czechoslovakia or leave after Warsaw Pact troops invaded in August 1968, terminating the liberalized period that coincided with the New Wave cinematic movement. They continued their careers in settings that differed radically from 1960s Czechoslovakia.
Aim of Dissertation:	This research seeks to test out a method of interpreting the post-New Wave careers of New Wave directors. Because Jiří Menzel, Věra Chytilová, Miloš Forman and Ivan Passer are internationally famous artists regarded for successfully communicating an epochal mood via filmic language, this thesis strives to elucidate how these same figures activated their powers of perception to convey environments beyond 1960s Czechoslovakia. This project seeks to employ innovative angles for examining Czechoslovak New Wave directors' post-New Wave outputs by tracings patterns pertaining to individual auteurs and coalescing findings into cross-cultural comparisons.
Research Questions:	After the Czechoslovak New Wave ended, how do the directors' succeeding films reflect their interactions with social environments, locally and in America? What are the most telling factors that may testify for each director's attitudes? How may these idiosyncratic findings relate to those of the other figures?
Proposed Theory and Methodology:	Post-structuralist auteur theory is employed in this analytical, qualitative study that examines the works of the four Czechoslovak New Wave filmmakers that postdate the New Wave. All elements detected in the reviewed 1970s–2000s films are considered to have been incorporated by their auteurs. Contexts such as the state of affairs coinciding with film releases are addressed. The researcher relies on a constructed table of data culled from films as cues that may signify directors' interactions with social environments. Directors' interview quotes and memoir texts

are also referenced.

Proposed Structure:

The analysis is divided into three sections concentrated on separate thematic elements: car culture, money as power and censorship. Each thematic element is divided into Czech and American contexts wherein findings regarding each location's two directors (i.e. Jiří Menzel and Věra Chytilová or Miloš Forman and Ivan Passer) are described. Comparisons are drawn according to the directors' treatments of each location. Each section concludes with a cross-cultural discussion that incorporates results about all four directors.

Primary Sources and Secondary Literature:

Bergan, Robert. "Still Free: An Interview with Ivan Passer." *Film Comment*, July 13, 2016. Accessed April 17, 2018. <https://www.filmcomment.com/blog/still-free-interview-ivan-passer/>.

Bordwell, David. *Making Meaning: Inference and Rhetoric in the Interpretation of Cinema*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991.

Braudy, Leo and Marshall Cohen, eds. "The Film Artist" in *Film Theory and Criticism*, Sixth Edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Buchar, Robert. *Czech New Wave Filmmakers in Interviews*. North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2004.

Chytilová, Věra dir. *Chytilová Versus Forman: Consciousness of Continuity*. Brt 'kunstzaken' and Iblis Films. 1981; Belgium.

—. "I want to work." *Index on Censorship* 5, no. 2 (1976): 17–20. DOI: 10.1080/03064227608532516.

Connolly, Kate. "Bohemian Rhapsodist." *Guardian*, August 11, 2000. Accessed April 17, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2000/aug/11/culture.features2>.

Forman, Miloš. Interview by Charlie Rose. 1997. *The Charlie Rose Show*. PBS.

Forman, Miloš and Jan Novák. *Turnaround: A Memoir*. New York: Villard, 1993.

Forman, Miloš and Richard Porton. "Porn Again: The People vs. Larry Flynt: An Interview with Milos Forman." *Cinéaste* no. 4 (1997): 28–32. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41688954>.

Gery, John. "'Cutter's Way' and the American Way: Heroic Alienations." *Literature/Film Quarterly* 16, No. 1 (1988): 58–64. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43796338>.

Hames, Peter. *Czech and Slovak Cinema: Theme and Tradition*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009.

—. "Czech Cinema: From State Industry to Competition." *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 42, no. 1–2 (2000): 63–85. DOI: 10.1080/00085006.2000.11092238.

—. *The Czechoslovak New Wave*. London: Wallflower Press, 2005.

Horton, Andrew James. "Against Destruction." *Kinoeye* 2, no. 8 (2002).
<http://www.kinoeye.org/02/08/horton08.php>.

"Interview with Ivan Passer on 'Intimni osvetleni' (Intimate lighting)." YouTube video uploaded by user Anything I like. Accessed April 10, 2018.
<https://www.youtube.com/embed/fImR0sZQ4Vw>.

"Interview with Vera Chytilova." *Europe of Cultures* on France 2, February 1, 1994. Accessed February 11, 2018. <http://fresques.ina.fr/europe-des-cultures-en/fiche-media/Europe00213/interview-with-vera-chytilova.html>.

Jameson, Richard T. "Passer's Way." *Film Comment* 17, no. 4 (July–August 1981): 18–19, 21.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/43452612>.

Kennedy, Harlan. "Ragtime: Milos Forman: Obstructing the Road." *American Cinema Papers*, 1981. Accessed March 30, 2018.
http://www.americancinemapapers.com/files/RAGTIME_1981.htm.

Kuzma, Konstanty. "Interview: Jiří Menzel on his Career." *East European Film Bulletin* 30 (2003). <https://eefb.org/countries/cssr/jiri-menzel-on-his-career/>.

Přádná, Stanislava. "The Czech Cinema After the 'Velvet Revolution.'" *Art Margins*, January 30, 2002. Accessed February 18, 2018. <http://www.artmargins.com/index.php/film-a-screen-media-sp-629836893/332-the-czech-cinema-after-the-qvelvet-revolutionq-1990-2000>.

Schruers, Fred. "Ivan Passer: Making It 'Cutter's Way.'" *Washington Post*, December 13, 1981. Accessed April 20, 2018.
https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/style/1981/12/13/ivan-passer-making-it-cutters-way/a1f98194-1584-4373-8a5c-a1ee96ee311d/?utm_term=.44877518ada8.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	15
1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	16
2. HYPOTHESES	17
2.1 AUTEUR-CENTRIC HYPOTHESES	17
2.2 CROSS-CULTURAL HYPOTHESES.....	17
3. RESEARCH PURPOSE	17
4. THEORY	18
5. METHODOLOGY	21
5.1 ORGANIZATION OF WRITTEN ANALYSIS	25
5.2 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	26
6. BACKGROUND OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK NEW WAVE.....	27
7. BIOGRAPHICAL PROFILES OF THE CHOSEN CZECH DIRECTORS.....	29
8. LIMITATIONS DETECTED IN THE RESEARCH TECHNIQUE	33
9. RESEARCH AND TERMINOLOGY CLARIFICATIONS	35
10. LITERATURE REVIEW	36
10.1 LITERATURE REGARDING THE POST-NEW WAVE FILMS OF CHYTILOVÁ AND MENZEL	36
10.2 LITERATURE REGARDING THE POST-NEW WAVE FILMS OF FORMAN AND PASSER	41
ANALYSIS	44
CAR CULTURE	44
11. CAR CULTURE IN CZECH CONTEXTS	45
11.1 CAR CULTURE: JIŘÍ MENZEL.....	45
11.1.1 <i>Dismissing the Car</i>	45
11.1.2 <i>Irony, Comedy, Villages</i>	46
11.1.3 <i>Embellishing Czech Heritage</i>	49
11.2 CAR CULTURE: VĚRA CHYTILOVÁ.....	50
11.2.1 <i>Games of Temptation, Timely Stylization</i>	50
11.2.2 <i>The Car as a Weapon</i>	52
11.2.3 <i>Instrument for Egocentrism</i>	54
11.2.4 <i>Social Status and Fulfillment in Věra Chytilová's Avatars of Bolek Polívka</i>	57
11.3 CROSS-AUTEUR ANALYSIS: CAR CULTURE IN CZECH CONTEXTS	59
12. CAR CULTURE IN AMERICAN CONTEXTS	60
12.1 CAR CULTURE: MILOŠ FORMAN	60
12.1.1 <i>Rebellion and Contradiction</i>	60
12.1.2 <i>Pride and the Ford Model T</i>	61
12.2 CAR CULTURE: IVAN PASSER	63
12.2.1 <i>Chaos in 1970s New York</i>	63
12.2.2 <i>Instrument of Corruption</i>	66
12.2.3 <i>Reckless Drivers on Both Coasts</i>	67
12.2.4 <i>Social Hierarchy and Cars</i>	68
12.3 CROSS-AUTEUR ANALYSIS: AMERICAN CAR CULTURE	68
13. CROSS-CULTURAL ANALYSIS: CAR CULTURE IN CZECH AND AMERICAN CONTEXTS	69

MONEY AS POWER.....	71
14. MONEY AS POWER IN CZECH CONTEXTS	73
14.1 MONEY AS POWER: JIŘÍ MENZEL	73
14.1.1 <i>Normalization-era Films</i>	73
14.1.2 <i>Post-1989 Films</i>	73
14.2 MONEY AS POWER: VĚRA CHYTILOVÁ	76
14.2.1 <i>Normalization-era Films</i>	76
14.2.2 <i>Post-1989 Films</i>	77
14.3 CROSS-AUTEUR ANALYSIS: MONEY AS POWER IN CZECH CONTEXTS.....	82
15. MONEY AS POWER IN AMERICAN CONTEXTS.....	83
15.1 MONEY AS POWER: MILOŠ FORMAN.....	83
15.1.1 <i>Kafkárna in American Affluence</i>	83
15.1.2 <i>Realizing Goals</i>	84
15.2 MONEY AS POWER: IVAN PASSER	87
15.2.1 <i>Aspirations on the Horizon</i>	87
15.2.2 <i>Schemes Involving Money</i>	89
15.3 CROSS-AUTEUR ANALYSIS: MONEY AS POWER IN AMERICAN CONTEXTS.....	91
16. CROSS-CULTURAL ANALYSIS: MONEY AS POWER IN CZECH AND AMERICAN CONTEXTS	92
CENSORSHIP	93
17. CENSORSHIP IN CZECH CONTEXTS.....	96
17.1 CENSORSHIP: JIŘÍ MENZEL	96
17.1.1 <i>Soft Criticisms, Skepticism Towards Resistance</i>	96
17.2 CENSORSHIP: VĚRA CHYTILOVÁ.....	97
17.2.1 <i>Off-Screen Battles, Unrelenting Cynicism</i>	97
17.3 CROSS-AUTEUR ANALYSIS: CENSORSHIP IN CZECH CONTEXTS	100
18. CENSORSHIP IN AMERICAN CONTEXTS	100
18.1 CENSORSHIP: MILOŠ FORMAN.....	100
18.1.1 <i>American Censorship Through Czech Eyes</i>	100
18.2 CENSORSHIP: IVAN PASSER	103
18.2.1 <i>Threats of Commercial “Censorship,” Yellow Press</i>	103
18.3 CROSS-AUTEUR ANALYSIS: CENSORSHIP IN AMERICAN CONTEXTS.....	105
19. CROSS-CULTURAL ANALYSIS: CENSORSHIP IN CZECH AND AMERICAN CONTEXTS	106
CONCLUSIONS.....	107
SOUHRN	110
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	111
PRIMARY SOURCES	111
SECONDARY SOURCES	114
FILM THEORY LITERATURE.....	117
FILMOGRAPHY	117
 Figure 1, Data Collection Table	 21
Figure 2, Model Table Using One Film Per Director	23
Figure 3, Analysis Structure.....	26

Figure 4, Films Screened for Thesis..... 33

Introduction

This thesis aims to identify the ways in which films directed by Jiří Menzel, Věra Chytilová, Miloš Forman and Ivan Passer reflect their interactions with social environments after the Czechoslovak New Wave ended. Works by Jiří Menzel and Věra Chytilová were analyzed for the purpose of understanding how the auteurs acted within and reacted to Normalization-era and post-Communist atmospheres in the Czech lands as well as their general attitudes towards their native culture. The American oeuvres of Miloš Forman and Ivan Passer were studied for apprehending these émigrés' social transactions with the foreign country in which they settled.

All four directors faced a crucial decision of whether to stay in Czechoslovakia or leave after Warsaw Pact troops invaded in August 1968, terminating the liberalized period that coincided with the New Wave cinematic movement. A conservative government was installed and the film industry underwent an overhaul to respect the political renovations under the Normalization regime. As such, the societies in which the directors continued to work differed radically from the atmosphere of 1960s Czechoslovakia in which they established their artistic foundations. The following research seeks to trace the trajectories of their careers as they continued their journeys after the New Wave and into the 2000s. Factors taken into account include acknowledgment of national heritage; reactions to the free market economy; feelings about the commercial film industry, in American contexts or in the post-Communist Czech situation; character construction; parody and irony; and compromises or strategies for individuals to achieve liberty to pursue creative expression.

This research seeks to test out a qualitative method of interpreting the post-New Wave careers of New Wave directors. Their films from the 1970s through 2006 were analyzed and minimal references to their 1960s contributions were made. Recorded and transcribed interviews were reviewed alongside movie screenings in order to corroborate observations and synthesize meanings. References to secondary sources with appertaining evaluations were tied into the analysis when appropriate.

The findings will lay a claim to various levels of celebration and critique detected in the releases of Menzel, Chytilová, Forman and Passer that postdate the Czechoslovak New Wave. Distinctive patterns of each auteur will be distilled prior to rendering cross-auteur, intra- and

inter-cultural comparisons. The research comes to the conclusion that the films of Forman and Menzel portray more praise for American and Czech societies, respectively, with which they interacted. Conversely, findings suggest that works by Chytilová and Passer bear more faultfinding reactions towards the social environments.

1. Research Questions

The general questions this thesis seeks to answer is as follows: After the Czechoslovak New Wave ended, how do the directors' succeeding films reflect their interactions with social environments, locally and in America? What are the most telling factors that may testify for each director's attitudes? How may these idiosyncratic findings relate to those of the other figures?

The research aims to answer these questions by building and furnishing the framework for analyzing the auteurs' interactions with the social environments after the end of the Czechoslovak New Wave. Because the four individuals are internationally famous artists regarded for successfully communicating an epochal mood via filmic language, the thesis strives to elucidate how these same figures activated their powers of perception to convey environments beyond 1960s Czechoslovakia. The strategy for designing and refining this methodological system came about by answering the following questions: Which tropes appear in all four directors' works, and more importantly, what do they exude about the auteurs' attitudes towards society? What common principles prevail in the plots, and how do the directors apply them to the challenges of the characters? When a certain element beams in one director's work but is absent from that of the cohorts, what does that indicate about their insights towards their countries?

In order to navigate the films according to these directions, routes were drawn according to three thematic elements: the car for the common trope, money as power for the principle and censorship as the unevenly addressed subject. Automobiles carry myriad meanings for both American and Czech culture, and in the film spectrums of Menzel, Chytilová, Forman and Passer, cars become pivotal indicators of status and instruments of control. The notion of money as power is rich in associations such as the institution of free market capitalism within and beyond Cold War-era semantics. Currency also colors the dialectics of human relationships, personal gratification and an individual's influence upon others. In addition, since all of the auteurs experienced censorship in their professional lives, it is interesting to try and make sense

of the reasons why the theme is lucidly pronounced throughout Forman's *The People vs. Larry Flynt* yet left largely unconsidered in the oeuvres of the others.

2. Hypotheses

This thesis endeavors test out a set of hypotheses as follows:

2.1 *Auteur-centric hypotheses*

1. **Jiří Menzel's** taste for Czech culture stays consistent within his work, which refrains from bold confrontation.
2. **Věra Chytilová's** irreverence and brashness towards aspects of society continue throughout her filmography; her moral undertones stay consistent while socioeconomic and political climates evolve.
3. **Miloš Forman's** appreciation of American culture and acceptance of commercial production comes through in his work.
4. **Ivan Passer's** less harmonized relationship with American cinematography and greater culture becomes detectable throughout his oeuvre.

2.2 *Cross-cultural hypotheses*

1. The films of **Miloš Forman** and **Jiří Menzel** exhibit the highest levels of reverence for the societies in which they lived and worked.
2. The films of **Věra Chytilová** and **Ivan Passer** exhibit more criticism towards issues they detected in their societies.

3. Research Purpose

This thesis strives to design a conceptual system for studying the post-New Wave careers of the four directors. It aims not only to identify significant patterns regarding individual auteurs but also to use these threads to weave together a more encompassing rhetorical latticework. The traversing of individual, intra- and inter-cultural boundaries is thus intentional. Because the research seeks to shed light on directors' interpretations via auteur theory, no analysis of literary adaptations or author collaborations (regarding books or screenwriters) will enter the discussion. The research will examine monetary aspects insomuch as the content of films and economic

situations surrounding their creation, however, the point of this analysis is not to determine what effect the commercial market played on the artistic quality of their work. The thesis will not delve into aesthetic styles or formal cinematographic criteria like camera angles or editing effects. As a result of the relatively long timeline taken into account—i.e. 1971–2006—the research cannot dig too deeply into the details that make up the current state of affairs for when a film was released. This project seeks to develop more English-language discourse of Ivan Passer’s greater career span (beyond *Intimate Lightning* [*Intimní osvětlení*]), point to some of the more subtle implications embedded in Věra Chytilová’s works and add to scholarly findings pertaining to the interplay between the directors and their social surroundings. This thesis also intends to add more scholarly discussion to the phenomenon of Czech creative personalities pursuing their art in the West.

4. Theory

This thesis aims to apply post-structuralist auteur theory to analyze the works of Czech filmmakers Věra Chytilová, Jiří Menzel, Miloš Forman and Ivan Passer that postdate the Czechoslovak New Wave. The researcher will study thematic elements of the four directors’ films within the timeframe of the 1970s to mid-2000s to explore their attitudes towards the social environments, both in the Czech lands and the United States, where the auteurs lived and worked.

While producing a film requires a multitude of resources, the research will adhere to François Truffaut’s fundamental premise of considering the director as the product’s primary creator.¹ As David Bordwell assesses, “assumptions about origin-of-the-text authorship are hard to avoid . . . since medieval exegesis, the string of terms *auctor*, *auctoritas*, *authenticus* inevitably linked author, authority, and authenticity.” A film manifested by an auteur can thereby be made analogous to an essay, commentary, reflection, experiment or analysis.² Even if a director works with an exogenous element like literature, what is created is a new text, in the form of the film medium. For example, Jiří Menzel’s oeuvre demonstrates a continuous tendency to not settle for Bohumil Hrabal’s texts as books on their own but to translate them into the

1. Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen, eds. “The Film Artist” in *Film Theory and Criticism*, Sixth Edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 556.

2. David Bordwell, *Making Meaning: Inference and Rhetoric in the Interpretation of Cinema* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991), 159.

cinematic dimension. Chytilová rejected Menzel's suggestion that they be respectful to Hrabal when they were shooting their vignettes for *Pearls of the Deep* [*Perličky na dně*] (1965) by insisting that if something inspires *her*, that would be the impulse for carrying out an idea. Miloš Forman stated that he drew his creative inspiration from reading books or scripts that roused emotional connections, showing his reliance on internal instincts. It can be noted that Forman never met author Ken Kesey³ before he directed *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1975) and intentionally changed the narrative's main perspective from the "Chief" to the protagonist of the plot, Randle McMurphy. Considering the social climates in which these personalities directed their films is also significant; neither the auteur nor the film exist in a vacuum. In the case of Jiří Menzel's *Who Looks for Gold?* [*Kdo hledá zlaté dno?*] (1974), a viewer should take into account the compromises he made with the authorities with regards to creating a socialist-realist propaganda film after experiencing some of his New Wave work banned.

Auteur theory took root in late-1940s France. Prior to the theory's early development, critics commonly viewed films as manifestations of an industrial entertainment industry, redolent of mass-manufactured items off the assembly line, rather than as genuine works of art.⁴ When American films, which had been previously banned by the German occupiers and Vichy regime, began to disseminate into French cinemas, their screenings enlightened critics to study the medium in depth.⁵ François Truffaut encouraged readers of his 1954 *Cahiers du cinéma* polemic "On a Certain Tendency of the French Cinema" to perceive film as a form of artistic expression that reflected the "signature" of the author—the *auteur*, the director.⁶ American film critic Andrew Sarris further solidified these notions into an *auteur theory* in 1962 and expounded that films duly signify the director's technique, personal style and interior meaning.⁷

Structuralism imbued into auteur theory in the late 1960s; according to the structuralist approach, films could be studied using a linguistic lens and thus ordered semiotically, akin to a language and its grammar.⁸ The structuralist method nevertheless overlooks factors in

3. Miloš Forman and Richard Porton, "Porn Again: The People vs. Larry Flynt: An Interview with Milos Forman," *Cinéaste* no. 4 (1997): 29, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41688954>.

4. Brady and Cohen, "The Film Artist," 555.

5. Peter Wollen, "The *auteur* theory," accessed November 20, 2017, <http://artsites.ucsc.edu/faculty/Gustafson/FILM%20162.W10/readings/wollen.auteur.pdf>, 76.

5. Brady and Cohen, "The Film Artist," 556.

7. Andrew Sarris, "Notes on the Auteur Theory in 1962" in *Film Theory and Criticism*, 561–562.

8. Susan Hayward, *Cinema Studies: The Key Concepts*, Fifth Edition (New York: Routledge, 2018), 35–39.

filmmaking such as actors or socio-historical framework. It also dispels the romantic notion of the director as a unique entity. Auteur theory again evolved in the 1970s via post-structuralism, which proposes that no single theory is wholly sufficient to handle a text, but rather a plurality of theories and “all relevant discourses (spoken and unspoken) revolving around and within the text” may be examined. The auteur can thus be considered a textual subject within the locus of the film. Post-structuralism acknowledges that historical and cultural contexts are significant systems.⁹

The research will investigate the interplay between the auteur as the creator and the socio-historical situations as primary factors infused into the text, the film. The research process will take an intertextual approach by examining the consistencies and developments across the directors’ filmographies, as “any film text must be a major consideration, including auteorial intertextuality.” The researcher maintains that contexts are paramount to discussing texts (films) as expressions of the directors’ interactions with Czech and American societal atmospheres, in that “to speak of text means too that the context must also come into play in terms of meaning production: modes of production, the social, political, and historical context.” Since the thesis will examine the career trajectories of the directors, such “auteorial intertextuality” is deemed crucial.¹⁰

The research will work to generate meaning by studying “basic motifs,” (as stressed by Peter Wollen and his interpretation of Geoffrey Nowell-Smith¹¹) that appear throughout the auteurs’ bodies of work and treating these identified themes as signifiers that indicate the films’ contexts—in this case, directors’ attitudes towards social environments. David Bordwell states that “texts, as occasions for perception, cognition, and emotion, possess properties which can function as cues, or ‘prompts’ for meaning-making.”¹² By examining these cues, the researcher can “infer the director’s personality on the basis of aspects of the single film and repeated elements from film to film.”¹³ To offer an example: the researcher could discuss the theme of construction in Chytilová’s 1979 *Panelstory* as an indicator of complacency within the Communist system and compare that to the construction of billboards in her 1998 *Traps, Traps*,

9. Ibid., 383–385.

10. Ibid., 35–39.

11. Wollen, *Auteur Theory*, 93, 102–104.

12. Bordwell, *Making Meaning*, 105.

13. Ibid., 160.

Little Traps [*Pasti, pasti, pasticky*] as a sign for the capitalist forces spreading over the Czech social and topographical landscape. The researcher could also look into the theme of censorship in Forman’s American career in terms of *The People vs. Larry Flynt* (1996) and investigate whether that same theme was ever addressed by the auteurs who remained in Czechoslovakia and faced bans on their work.

		DATA COLLECTION TABLE			
		Jiří Menzel	Věra Chytilová	Miloš Forman	Ivan Passer
	First and Last Films Surveyed	<i>Who Looks for Gold? - I Served the King of England</i>	<i>The Apple Game - Pleasant Memories</i>	<i>Taking Off - Goya's Ghosts</i>	<i>Born to Win - Nomad: The Warrior</i>
	Post-New Wave Timeline Surveyed	1974 - 2006	1976 - 2006	1971 - 2006	1971 - 2005
Thematic Cluster	Category 1	cues	cues	cues	cues
	Category 2	cues	cues	cues	cues
	Category 3	cues	cues	cues	cues

Figure 1, Data Collection Table, by Tanya Silverman

It is acknowledged that a complication of cues extracted from films represent “model” films, abstract constructs of interpretation that deviate from the films in their essential form.¹⁴ Such model films will be fabricated in the research on the basis of David Bordwell’s suggestions: identifying a semantic field, addressing assumptions, putting forth schemata and tracking cues throughout the designated films.¹⁵ The cues will be indexed so that the researcher may trace nodes to see whether any parallels, patterns or divergences emerge. The research process will also scrutinize directors’ quotes regarding their lives and livelihoods because “the filmmaker’s words can function as the rhetorical backdrop”¹⁶ for the ascriptions.

5. Methodology

This thesis assumes a qualitative analysis by systematically collecting data from films created from the 1970s to 2006, tracing patterns and corroborating explications with interview quotes and actions that testify for the directors’ interactions with social environments. The post-New Wave films by the four directors were combed for particular cues that demonstrate attitudes and reactions *vis-à-vis* American or Czech culture. A comprehensive table was constructed as a

14. Ibid., 142, 144.

15. Ibid., 145.

16. Ibid., 209.

means to structure observations into thematic clusters, catalog cues and identify patterns. Thematic clusters were classified as personal/material economics, e.g. car culture, money as power, and private ownership; attitudes towards norms, e.g. rebellion against norms, subcultures and compliances; legal issues e.g. censorship and law and justice; and socio-spatial conceptions e.g. geographical references, travel capabilities and national/cultural identities. The films were organized according to director and arranged in chronological order, from the 1970s to 2006.¹⁷ The researcher viewed films and input data into appropriate compartments. Because auteur theory is applied to this thesis, the cataloged cues that furnished the diagram were considered to have resulted because of the directors' idiosyncratic intentions.

The approach for framing and filling the thesis' table was largely inspired by David Bordwell's conceptions found in *Making Meaning: Inference and Rhetoric in the Interpretation of Cinema*. Bordwell explains in this scholarly book that "the interpreter must construct semantic fields that can be ascribed to the film" and "find cues and patterns onto which the semantic fields can be 'mapped'" for meaning-making. The thesis' semantic fields were organized according to the thematic clusters and their composite elements (discussed above) and broken down into distinct cues to assign meaning, i.e. the directors' interactions with societal atmospheres. It is implied that these thematic aggregates are attached to a type of "conceptual structure" that reflects the dynamics of the cultures in which they exist.¹⁸ For instance, personal and material economics were viewed as pillars of both societies' principles during the Cold War and after; denizens of Czech, American or any society manifest notions about their identities and the identities of others. The research applied this background while investigating how appertaining cues that the directors placed in the texts reflected their insights. The "interpretive inference [that] puts the assumptions and hypotheses to work in the mapping process" acted as the strategy for fostering "model films" in graphic format.¹⁹

17. All four auteurs directed their first films after the end of the New Wave during the 1970s. The logic of ending the collective surveying in 2006 respects the year that Chytilová and Forman (now deceased) completed their final full-length feature films.

18. Bordwell, *Making Meaning*, 105–106.

19. *Ibid.*, 135.

	Thematic Elements	MODEL CUE COLLECTION TABLE			
DIRECTOR		Jiří Menzel	Věra Chytilová	Miloš Forman	Ivan Passer
FILM		<i>My Sweet Little Village</i>	<i>Panelstory</i>	<i>The People vs. Larry Flynt</i>	<i>Cutter's Way</i>
YEAR		1985	1979	1996	1981
Personal/Material Economics	Car culture	*Town doctor drives his old car poorly *Pavek fixes doctor's vehicle *Prague bureaucrat drives to Otik's cottage *Town doctor crashes his shiny new car the end	*Actor owns a car that he gets a worker to fix *The worker drinks liquor instead of fixing the car *Actor does not want to drive a woman to give birth *Revelation of a family selling grandpa's house for a new car	*After Larry gets shot, he and his close ones speculate over the force behind the attempted assassination in a limo	*Bone witnesses a body despoised in an alleyway he drives through *Driving throughout Southern California *Cutter crashes into neighbor's Toyota
	Money=Power	*Talk of wasting money on fancy tombstones	*Mother bribes daycare center to admit her baby *Mother and husband argue, she states she'll get a job to empower herself	*Little boy peddling moonshine in Kentucky *Sex scene after Flynt becomes a millionaire *"I got money and that gives me the power to shake up this system"	*Cutter, Bone and the slain girl's sister team up to blackmail rich culprit Cord *Cutter underestimated the power of the rich, as Cord seems to go after them
	Private Ownership	*Prague bureaucrat eyes Otik's cottage and tries to get Otik to move to a <i>panelák</i> in Prague *Couple puts a lot of effort into maintaining their house	*People hole up in their units, do not want to forge a community		*Bone does not have his own home, sleeps at Cutter's house *Cutter's house burns down *Cord owns a giant, gated mansion that they sneak into
Attitudes towards norms	Rebellion against Norms		*Senior complains about the social atmosphere at the Jižní Město housing estate, makes friends with a boy who rummages through garbage	*Example of Forman's <i>Kafkárna</i> in America: Flynt sells a disgusting product to earn money, hire a lawyer and fortify the First Amendment	*Drunk driving
	Compliances		*People are content with their amenities and the consumer possibilities at the local grocery store	*Flynt refuses to show respect for the US court system, irking his attorney	
Legal issues	Censorship			*Central thrust behind movie *Setting standards in a community as a disguise for censorship *First Amendment can't be prostituted	
	Law and justice		*Ineffectual cop does not fix people's problems *Squatting tenant claims that socialism does not leave people homeless	*Series of court cases *Flynt goes to jail on several occasions *Supreme Court case: victorious decision on the right to parody a public figure	*Unsolved murder case of teenage girl's body discarded into trashcan *Cop does not prosecute Cutter for crashing into his neighbor's car
Socio-spatial conceptions	Geographical references	*Prague/urban <i>panelák</i> references	*Exotified perception of Africa	*Kentucky, Ohio, California, Georgia, D.C. *Flynt moves to Los Angeles because he can feel safe being a porn seller	*Veteran Cutter references Vietnam War, which left him crippled
	Travel capabilities	*Characters are content in their little village, where the beer is good, so they aim to stay	*In the end, the pregnant teenager says she and her boyfriend will remain at Jižní Město forever	*Flynt owns a private plane, travels around the US *Defies judge's orders (to not leave the state of California)	*Drive to Santa Monica pier *Bone works at boat rental business, takes their boats out to the ocean
	National/ cultural identities	*Czech: Prague bureaucrat versus village residents *Nostalgic Bohemian poetry recited by Doctor	*Czech: Country senior man versus Jižní Město tenants	*US: Opulent Fourth of July Party at Flynt's newly acquired mansion *"Americans for a Free Press" *Gets arrested for desecration of the American flag *"Cornball patriotism"	*US: Southern California *Cutter speaks about hypocrisy of America with inequalities

Figure 2, Model Table Using One Film Per Director, by Tanya Silverman

The table rendered through the research process is inherently subjective and “presumes that all mapping is selective.” For all of the efforts taken to systematically cull and index data from cinematic texts, resultant analytical patterns become kaleidoscopic by nature. In addition, because not all of the directors’ films were studied, swaths of *terra incognita* remain untouched. Even with such limitations in mind, what the films—whether watched or unwatched—can serve to illustrate about the cultures in which they were created is arguably inexhaustible. As Bordwell explains, “in mapping, no critic could claim to have wrung the film dry.” Bearing this in mind, the open-ended effect of this strategy is not necessarily a disadvantage, as it invites opportunities for further discussion.²⁰

In regards to the methodology of the thesis, myriad nodes could be forged in using the cross-auteur, intertextual approach, be it similitudes of matrimonial domestic disputes in Chytilová’s *Panelstory* and those in Passer’s *Cutter’s Way* or differences between historical accounts by Menzel versus Forman. Numerous avenues of interpretation were weighed with the intention of avoiding analytical *cul-de-sacs* by focusing too closely on a certain film, specific time or single director. As Chytilová declaredly set out to demonstrate “the problems of our society” throughout the decades, her films bristle with explicit indications that reflect shifting periods of Czech culture. Alas, focusing too closely on her creations and cues therein does not allow space for a wider analysis that considers the other directors’ works. By the same token, while examining how Ivan Passer and Miloš Forman interpreted American drug culture or the Vietnam War in the 1970s may show a good deal about their reactions to the new society, these themes did not prevail in the Czech films that were viewed, and analysis about their absence did not seem relevant.

Elements were gradually refined as the research process developed. The determinant “rebellion against norms” was removed for its situational vagary. “Subcultures” was judged as inconducive to interesting discussion; it was intuited that the dialectics of American hippies found in Forman’s films versus Czech youth counter-culture (who briefly appear in Menzel’s *The Snowdrop Festival [Slavnosti sněženek]* (1984)) would engender too narrow of a subject field. The categories “Travel capabilities” and “Geographical references” were dismissed as autonomous measures but remained in the table with the idea of subsuming their findings under “car culture” or “money as power.”

20. Ibid., 131.

The thematic elements ultimately chosen for research analysis met the criteria of demonstrating the most profundity pertaining to the directors' societal interactions throughout the years in which they worked. The designated topics embody important dialectics inherent to both Czech and American culture by demonstrating cleavages, commonalities and temporal connotations. For the sake of duly applying auteur theory, the directors' interview and written quotations were periodically referenced in order to "exhibit [their] awareness of controlling meaning" and clarifying points in the text.²¹

5.1 Organization of Written Analysis

The analysis portion of the thesis was designed to classify the research results according to the determined thematic elements extracted from the aggregated table: car culture, money as power and censorship. These three thematic elements were then bifurcated into geographic categories that were subsequently divided according to directors. In other words, within a thematic element's section, the Czech half covers Věra Chytilová and Jiří Menzel while the American half explores Miloš Forman and Ivan Passer. The content that stocks this taxonomy aims to identify when relevant cues become detectable in individual films, trace how these cues extend across filmographies and divulge the ways that such patterns may signify the auteurs' social interactions. Primary and secondary sources are referenced to supplement the thesis' proposed theories. When a thematic element (and appertaining cues) was noticeably absent from auteurs' oeuvres, the same schemata were employed for analytical discourse.²² However, more emphasis was placed on personal circumstances and statements to help understand why the directors may have *not* included particular topics into their creations as well as how their films could reflect this reasoning. A synthesis added at the end of each country's category purposes to relativize the two directors' (grouped according to whether or not they emigrated) findings. Finally, at the end of each thematic element's section, a dual-societal synthesis endeavors to compound a semantic latticework of unified discussion about the post-New Wave careers of the four directors.

The structure of the thesis' analysis portion came as a result of the research process. It was after the films were viewed, data was collated and methodical directions were determined that the architecture of the exegesis was designed. Discussions of filmographies have been

21. *Ibid.*, 159.

22. The absence of censorship in films was analyzed according to the described strategy

organized according to a three-column, topical format that allows for transgressions. The analysis does not follow a strict chronological framework.

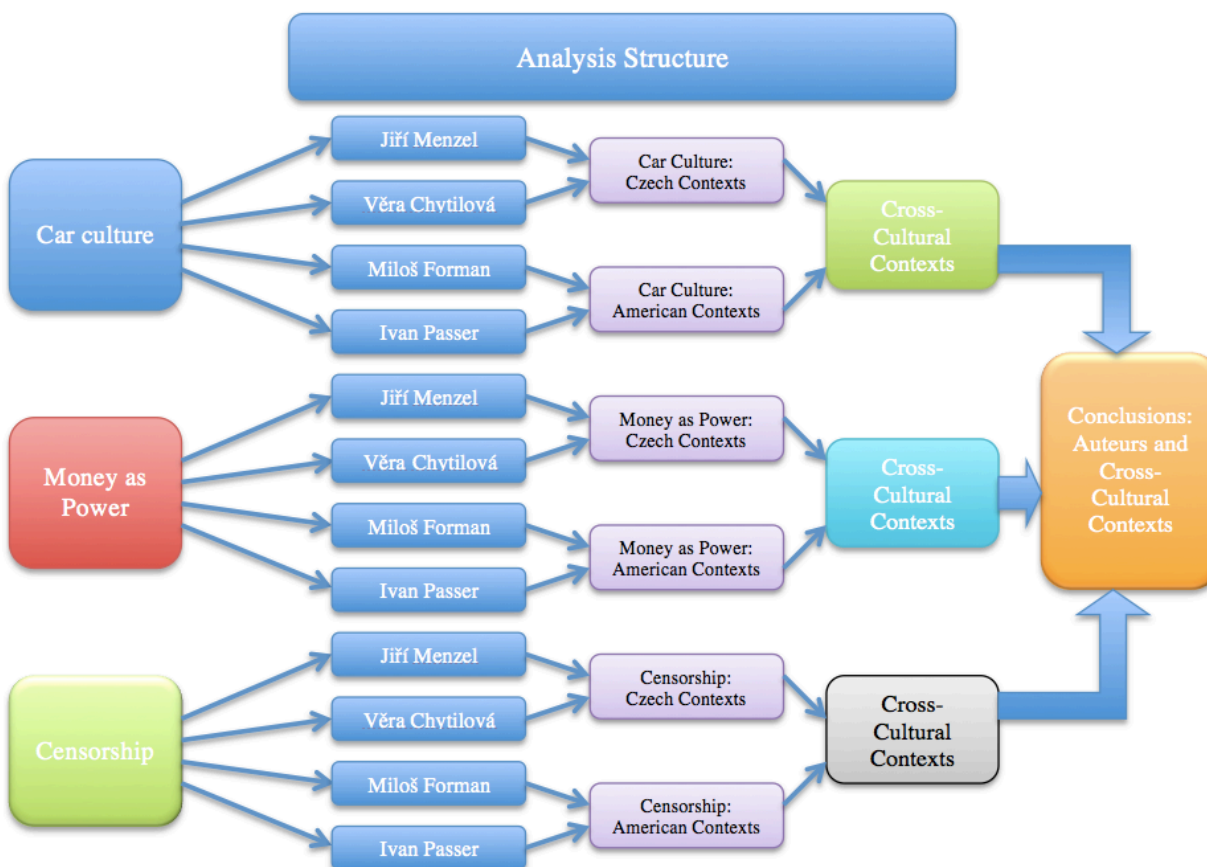


Figure 3, Analysis Structure, by Tanya Silverman

5.2 Suggestions for Further Research

Future scholars could build upon the findings from this thesis by incorporating more of Ivan Passer's films and analyzing what they may reveal about his social interactions with US environments. Researchers could also delve into the tropology of the banquet as seen in the post-New Wave works of Chytilová's *Traps*, Menzel's *I Served the King of England* [Obsluhoval jsem anglického krále], Passer's *Cutter's Way* and Forman's *Hair*. Another angle not covered in this thesis is how Chytilová and Menzel interacted with the initially upbeat mood following the 1989 Velvet Revolution in the professional dimension; the former directed a documentary about First Czechoslovak Republic President Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk while the latter staged plays

and directed a film adapted from a Václav Havel screenplay.²³ Researchers could also examine how after the fall of the Soviet Union, Ivan Passer directed the TV movie *Stalin* (1992) whereas Menzel adapted a Russian novel for *The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of Private Ivan Chonkin* [Život a neobyčejná dobrodružství vojáka Ivana Čonkina] (1994). In addition, it might prove worthwhile to investigate directors' unrealized projects regarding hallmarks of Czech history including the Munich Pact (Forman), the Mašín brothers (Passer) and Božena Němcová (Chytilová).²⁴

6. Background of the Czechoslovak New Wave

The Czechoslovak New Wave was a film movement during which dozens of experimental, existential, critical and avant-garde films generated.²⁵ The era began with the 1963 premieres of features *Black Peter* [Černý Petr], *Something Different* [O něčem jiném] and *The Cry* [Křik] by Miloš Forman, Věra Chytilová and Jaromil Jireš (1935–2001), respectively, and lasted until 1970.²⁶ The content of the New Wave works rifted from the socialist-realist style that the establishment enforced during the Stalinist period. Auteurs explored surrealistic imagery, practiced *cinéma vérité* techniques and intermingled non-actors with professionals. Active Czechoslovak filmmakers from the older generation concurrently adapted new cinematic strategies that reflected the 1960s zeitgeist. Artists such as Ester Krumbachová (1923–1996) and Jaroslav Kučera (b. 1946) collaborated with directors to season the films with their eruditions and aesthetic visions. It was during this time that the motion pictures *The Shop on Main Street* [Obchod na korze] (1965) by Slovaks Ján Kadár (1918–1979) and Elmar Klos and *Closely*

23. POMO Media Group s.r.o., “TGM Osvoboditel,” *Česko-Slovenská filmová databáze*, accessed April 25, 2018, <https://www.csfd.cz/film/1544-tgm-osvoboditel/komentare/>; POMO Media Group s.r.o., “Žebrácká opera,” *Česko-Slovenská filmová databáze*, accessed April 25, 2018, <https://www.csfd.cz/film/6673-zebracka-opera/prehled/>.

24. Radka Production, “Unrealized Projects,” *Milos Forman*, accessed April 27, 2018, <https://milosforman.com/en/about/projects>; Ronald Bergan, “Still Free: An Interview with Ivan Passer,” *Film Comment*, July 13, 2016, accessed April 17, 2018, <https://www.filmcomment.com/blog/still-free-interview-ivan-passer/>; Mirka Spáčilová, “PORTRÉT: Věra Chytilová byla královna ryzí zarputilosti,” *iDnes*, March 13, 2014, accessed April 27, 2018, https://kultura.zpravy.idnes.cz/portret-chytilova-0no-filmvideo.aspx?c=A140313_101349_filmvideo_ts.

25. A few of the most prominent works from the Czechoslovak New Wave spate include Jan Němec's *Diamonds of the Night* [Démanty noci] (1964), Miloš Forman's *Loves of a Blonde* [Loves of a Blonde] (1965), Věra Chytilová's *Daisies* [Sedmikrásky] (1966), Jiří Menzel's *Larks on a String* [Skřivánci na niti] (1969) and Jaromil Jireš' *Valerie and Her Week of Wonders* [Valerie a týden divu] (1970).

26. The 1962 premiere of Slovak Štefan Uher's (1930–1993) *Sunshine in a Net* [Slnko v sieti] is regarded as a signifier for the new direction of films. Peter Hames, *The Czechoslovak New Wave*, 29.

Watched Trains [*Ostře sledované vlaky*] (1967) by Czech Jiří Menzel won Czechoslovakia its first Academy Awards (for Best Foreign Language Films).

The New Wave unfurled during a peculiar sociopolitical period whereby the Czechoslovak Communist regime loosened restrictions. Official censorship was largely lifted in an era that culminated with the Prague Spring under the leadership of Alexander Dubček (1921–1992) and ethos of “socialism with a human face.” Visual and literary arts flourished as Czechoslovak society “tried to find a way out of the darkness of Stalinism,” but it was ultimately film that took the helm of channeling the greater cultural consciousness.²⁷ Ivan Passer reflected that filmmakers in 1960s Czechoslovakia experienced “luck at that time that there was no commercial pressure and the political pressure was . . . relatively mild” compared to the years prior. Films, he posited, became expressive vehicles for depicting the society’s collective criticism towards corrupt politicians.²⁸ *The Fireman’s Ball* [*Hoří, má panenko*] (1967), a New Wave milestone that Passer assisted Forman in creating, was not only laden with thinly veiled parodies of the politburo but also touched on people’s tendencies to steal things in reaction to the absurdity that pervaded their lives.

The 1960s Czechoslovak films struck chords with international audiences and succeeded, according to Peter Hames, in contrasting the notion of Czechoslovakia as a drab place hampered by Stalinist repression. The Western attitude towards this surprising “Czech film miracle” reflects in the sardonic lede of a 1967 *Time Magazine* article about the first American Czechoslovak film retrospective: “Not too long ago, the idea of a Czechoslovak Film Festival would have seemed as unlikely as a yacht regatta in Peking.”²⁹ In spite of global attention, the totality of the Czechoslovak New Wave was in many ways inward and, as Stanislava Přádná describes, “never cosmopolitan—on the contrary, it was always firmly rooted in a purely national context.”³⁰

27. Antonín J. Liehm, foreword to *Czech New Wave Filmmakers in Interviews*, 2; Buchar, introduction to *Czech New Wave Filmmakers in Interviews*, 12.

28. “Interview with Ivan Passer on ‘Intimní osvětlení’ (Intimate lighting),” YouTube video uploaded by user Anything I like, accessed April 10, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/embed/fImR0sZQ4Vw>.

29. “Czech New Wave,” *Time* 89, no. 25 (June 23, 1967): 107.

30. Stanislava Přádná, “The Czech Cinema After the ‘Velvet Revolution,’ (1990–2000),” *Art Margins*, January 30, 2002, accessed February 18, 2018, <http://www.artmargins.com/index.php/film-a-screen-media-sp-629836893/332-the-czech-cinema-after-the-qvelvet-revolutionq-1990-2000>.

The Warsaw Pact invasion in August 1968 would irrevocably end the Czechoslovak New Wave. The country's film industry underwent an overhaul starting in 1969, and Barrandov Studios³¹ received new management at the start of the following year. Bans and blacklisting ensued and several motion pictures got halted amid their production. Finished works that were deemed controversial got erased from directors' official filmographies and forbidden from exporting westward.³² Even though some Czechoslovak directors left for good in the onset of Normalization, the majority of them stayed in their homeland, and many of them faced difficulty in finding work. It was not uncommon for directors to turn to alternative forms of expression like theater or children's films.³³

7. Biographical Profiles of the Chosen Czech Directors

This section provides biographical information regarding the four chosen directors. It seeks to supplement aspects of their lives not directly dealt with in the analysis such as their New Wave contributions and educational backgrounds. (A chart listing the films viewed for this thesis can be located in the end of this section).

A provocative moralist, Věra Chytilová (1929–2014) studied directing at the national film academy, FAMU,³⁴ under veteran Czech filmmaker Otakar Vávra (1911–2011).³⁵ Her most famous creation, *Daisies* (1966), marks a milestone of the Czechoslovak New Wave. Innovative aesthetics infuse into *Daisies*' loose narrative that follows two restless young girls answering their ennui via mischievous pranks like gorging endlessly or destroying fanciful interior arrangements. Experimental visual and sonic effects become even more amplified in the last New Wave piece she directed, *Fruit of Paradise* [*Ovoce stromů rajských jíme*] (1970). Chytilová found herself unable to officially work for seven years after the Prague Spring ended yet never opted for emigration. She used her time off—and profits gained from the international success of

31. Established in 1932–1933 by Václav Havel's relatives, Barrandov Studios was Czechoslovakia's (and now the Czech Republic's) largest film studios. It was expanded by the Nazis, nationalized in 1945 (prior to the 1948 Communist takeover) and privatized soon after the Velvet Revolution. Barrandov saw many of the New Wave and post-New Wave works of the four directors filmed onsite. Peter Hames, "Czech Cinema: From State Industry to Competition," *Canadian Slavonic Papers/Revue Canadienne des Slavistes* 42, no. 1/2 (March–June 2000): 64, DOI: 10.1080/00085006.2000.11092238.

32. Buchar, introduction to *Czech New Wave Filmmakers in Interviews*, 13; Hames, *The Czechoslovak New Wave*, 2.

33. Hames, *The Czechoslovak New Wave*, 244.

34. The Film and TV School of the Academy of Performing Arts (FAMU) is the Czech national film school. "Homepage," *FAMU*, accessed May 5, 2018, <https://www.famu.cz/>.

35. Hames, *Czech and Slovak Cinema*, 16.

her films—to build a house with her husband, raise a family and compose scripts, all while battling management at Barrandov Studios. After writing an open letter to President Gustáv Husák (1913–1987) titled “I want to work,” Chytilová was allowed to direct *The Apple Game*.³⁶ She made six feature films during Normalization and four following the Velvet Revolution along with a handful of documentaries. Chytilová prioritized ideas and ethical principles as an artist who consistently tended to whatever cruxes she judged problematic to the denizens of a given period. Her attempts at stopping the denationalization of the film industry in the 1990s proved unfruitful, and she generally maintained a critical standpoint towards the transitive cultural ramifications, arguing that Czech cinematography had been “completely destroyed . . . because of the economic transformation.”³⁷ Chytilová worked as a professor at FAMU in her later years and headed its directing department from 2005 to 2012.³⁸

The youngest member of the Czechoslovak New Wave, Jiří Menzel (b. 1938), studied together with Chytilová at FAMU. Menzel assessed that he and Chytilová shared common opinions on matters even though their modes of operation differ markedly.³⁹ Czech literary adaptations make up a great deal his cinematic contributions, including his version of Bohumil Hrabal’s *Closely Watched Trains* (1966), the New Wave exemplar that won an Academy Award.⁴⁰ Despite his claims that the Oscar cast him as the Normalization regime’s first blacklisting target, Menzel also chose to stay in the country. He turned to theater before creating his comeback post-New Wave movie, *Who Looks For Gold?* (1974), that ended up being a strategic, socialist-realist compromise to continue directing thereafter. The bulk of Menzel’s films exude a lighthearted, accessible tenor that emphasizes whimsies of everyday life. Moments of erotic encounter, comedic dialog or even barroom brawls pepper their lyrical rhythm. The

36. Věra Chytilová’s letter “I want to work,” dated October 1975, was published in *Index on Censorship* in 1976. Hames, *The Czechoslovak New Wave*, 244.

37. Simon Hitchman, “Peter Hames on Vera Chytilová,” *NewWaveFilm.com*, February 2015, accessed February 11, 2018, <http://www.newwavefilm.com/interviews/hames-on-Chytilová.shtml>; “Interview with Vera Chytilova,” *Europe of Cultures* on France 2, February 1, 1994, accessed February 11, 2018, <http://fresques.ina.fr/europe-des-cultures-en/fiche-media/Europe00213/interview-with-vera-chytilova.html>.

38. Peter Hames, “Obituary: Věra Chytilová,” *Studies in Eastern European Cinema* 5, no. 2 (2014): 216–218, DOI: 10.1080/2040350X.2014.929318.

39. “Jiří Menzel” in *Golden Sixties* documentary series, directed by Martin Šulík, et al. (2009; Prague)

40. Menzel and Hrabal also collaborated on the New Wave work *Larks on a String*, (1970), which satirizes the praxis of witless Communist Party functionaries who banish intellectuals, professionals and failed escapees to work on a bleak industrial site. This film was consequently banned and shelved for two decades. Menzel adapted six works of Hrabal’s in total as well as literature by Vladislav Vančura. Hames, *Czech and Slovak Cinema*, 16; Hames, *The Czechoslovak New Wave*, 151.

scenes in Menzel's movies retain a localized character, with interactions often taking place around village streets, within bucolic dwellings, and, very often, at pubs. After the privatization of the national film industry, Menzel pursued directing less frequently, lamenting over the fact that developing a "great idea" into a picture had become contingent on convincing investors. Menzel briefly worked at FAMU in the 1990s; he pursued a notable acting career as well.⁴¹

The most internationally renowned personality from the Czechoslovak New Wave, Jan Tomáš "Miloš" Forman (1932–2018), is often acknowledged for his 1960s classics that traversed parameters of the realistic and filmic. This phenomenon takes effect when actors and non-actors intermingle in *Loves of a Blonde* (1965), often improvising as they dance in ballrooms, argue in domestic spheres or gossip in girls' dormitories. Forman studied screenwriting at FAMU and engaged in theater before he transitioned towards directing in the 1960s. He had been working in the West in 1968 when Soviet tanks rolled into Czechoslovakia, an event that prompted him to ultimately leave for good. Forman attempted to apply his lifelike European approach to his first American film that surveyed the scene of 1960s youth counter-culture and generational rifts seen in the New York metropolitan area. With no concrete storyline, strong protagonist or definitive ending, the motion picture that materialized, *Taking Off* (1971), failed commercially. After several years of living broke in the Chelsea Hotel, Forman rebounded with *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1975), a rendition of a quintessentially American novel that won five Oscars. The Czech-native director abandoned screenwriting and created period pieces for many years (partially as an answer to cultural and linguistic barriers he faced in the US).⁴² Already by the late 1970s he considered himself American, career-wise, and even when he returned to work in Prague, the purpose was "to shoot a big American movie": *Amadeus* (1984).⁴³ An intimist, Forman ascribed his artistic interest to conveying the emotional nature of subjects, be it the spirit of a book or personal connection to a character.⁴⁴ The director long maintained that he preferred

41. Buchar, *Czech New Wave Directors in Interviews*, 46–49.

42. Miloš Forman and Jan Novák, *Turnaround* (New York: Villard, 1993), 286.

43. Todd McCarthy, "Milos Forman Lets His Hair Down," *Film Comment* 15, no. 2 (March–April 1979): 17, 21, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43451040>; Forman, *Turnaround*, 260.

44. Forman outlines some of his motivations in the documentary *Chytilová Versus Forman: Consciousness of Continuity*. While Chytilová consistently implores him to disclose the "idea" behind his films, he repeatedly rejects the significance of the idea and her theoretical approaches. Forman eventually details the importance of emotional connections, in that "whatever story you are telling, you have some sort of emotional relation to that story, and these emotions will come across." Brt 'kunstzaken' and Iblis Films. *Chytilová Versus Forman: Consciousness of Continuity*, directed by Věra Chytilová (1981; Belgium).

commercial pressure over ideological because being at the mercy of the taste of numerous audience members is better than that of one or two “idiots,” i.e. apparatchiks.⁴⁵ Forman resided in New York City and Connecticut and taught filmmaking courses at Columbia University.

Ivan Passer (b. 1933) worked manual labor jobs before being admitted to FAMU by happenstance. He was later expelled from the institution and pursued assistant directing at Barrandov Studios. Passer and Forman were boyhood school friends who collaborated on a number of 1960s Czech films including *Audition [Konkurs]* (1963) and *Black Peter* (1964). Passer directed the revered New Wave benchmark *Intimate Lightning* (1965) solo. He attributed his leaving with Forman for fear of ending up in a uranium mine after *The Fireman’s Ball* (1967), a satire with political allusions, but under the impression that the trip would be temporary. The two embarked upon independent directing paths in New York City in order to immerse themselves into the new country’s conventions.⁴⁶ Passer’s early cinematic productions in the 1970s that portrayed themes like drug addiction and crime-ridden city streets initially drew criticism for coming short of capturing an authentically American tone.⁴⁷ His ease into Hollywood paradigms came into better shape with *Cutter’s Way* (1981), a film noir–esque murder drama centered largely on the troubled friendship between a crippled Vietnam War veteran and his Ivy League–educated, though lackadaisical, companion.⁴⁸ Passer, despite his ambivalent attitudes regarding the American filmmaking industry, settled in California and has expressed that he does not desire to move back to Europe.⁴⁹

45. Forman elucidated his stance in *The Kids from FAMU* as well as other interviews. Glasgow University, *The Kids from FAMU: Tales of Prague*, directed by Pawel Pawilkowski (1990; Glasgow, United Kingdom).

46. Rosie Johnston, “Ivan Passer: Czech New Wave Filmmaker at Helm of Karlovy Vary Jury,” *Radio Prague*, July 7, 2008, accessed April 9, 2018, <http://www.radio.cz/en/section/one-on-one/ivan-passer-czech-new-wave-filmmaker-at-helm-of-karlovy-vary-jury>.

47. Roger Greenspun, “Born to Win: Czech Film on Addict Shown in Festival,” *New York Times*, October 11, 1971, accessed February 17, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/10/11/archives/born-to-win-czech-film-on-addict-shown-in-festival.html>; “Passer in America, Part I,” *Film Comment* 17, no. 4 (July–August 1981): 20, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43452613>. Author’s note: An auteur’s personal issues of culture shock or alienation that affect films do not disqualify them as texts for this study. The contents of these films can serve as valuable markers for the ways that directors read their social environments. Moreover, the purpose of the thesis is not based on the premise that the figures practiced their cultural interactions with complete fluency, but how their projects bear testimony to their vantage points.

48. John Gery, “‘Cutter’s Way’ and the American Way: Heroic Alienations,” *Literature/Film Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (1988): 58–64. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43796338>.

49. Buchar, *Czech New Wave Filmmakers in Interviews*, 144–149.


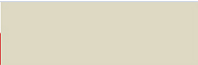

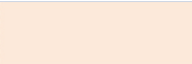
				
DIRECTORS	Jiří Menzel	Věra Chytilová	Miloš Forman	Ivan Passer
FILMS	<i>Who Looks for Gold?</i> (1974)		<i>Taking Off</i> (1971)	<i>Born to Win</i> (1971)
	<i>Seculusion Near a Forest</i> (1976)		<i>One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest</i> (1975)	<i>Law And Disorder</i> (1974)
		<i>The Apple Game</i> (1977)		<i>Silver Bears</i> (1977)
		<i>Panelstory</i> (1979)	<i>Hair</i> (1979)	
	<i>Cutting It Short</i> (1981)	<i>Calamity</i> (1981)	<i>Ragtime</i> (1981)	<i>Cutter's Way</i> (1981)
	<i>The Snowdrop Festival</i> (1984)	<i>The Very Late Afternoon of a Faun</i> (1983)	<i>Amadeus</i> (1984)	
	<i>My Sweet Little Village</i> (1985)		<i>Valmont</i> (1989)	<i>Creator</i> (1985)
		<i>The Inheritance or Fuckoffguysgoodday</i> (1992)	<i>The People Vs. Larry Flynt</i> (1996)	
		<i>Traps, Traps, Little Traps</i> (1998)	<i>Man on the Moon</i> (1999)	
		<i>Expulsion from Paradise</i> (2001)	<i>Goya's Ghosts</i> (2006)	
	<i>I Served the King of England</i> (2006)	<i>Pleasant Memories</i> (2006)		<i>Nomad: The Warrior</i> (2005)

Figure 4, Films screened for thesis, by Tanya Silverman

8. Limitations Detected in the Research Technique

The strategy implemented for this thesis was found to contain several limitations. The implemented methodology worked most compatibly with the oeuvre of Věra Chytilová, who continuously profiled contemporaneous environments—from the muddled construction stage of prefabricated apartment blocks in the late 1970s to a shopping center's advertisement-emblazoned parking lot in 2006.⁵⁰ On the contrary, the research method proved least efficient for deciphering period pieces by the émigré directors. It may seem that the *Amadeus*, the behemoth Oscar-winner that Forman proclaimed as a Czech-American hybrid,⁵¹ would assume paragon status for this study. However, combing a filmic text that harks back to eighteenth-century Austria—and was filmed in 1980s Bohemia—using the prescribed strategy did not induce intended results. The same problems arose when reviewing Forman's other Europe-centric

50. Chytilová filmed *Panelstory* (1979) at the Jižní Město housing estate in southern Prague. Parking lots and highways appear throughout the scenes of *Pleasant Memories* [Hezké chvílky bez záruky] (2006).

51. Forman, *Turnaround*, 3.

works⁵² not to mention Passer's *Nomad: The Warrior* (2005), set centuries ago in Kazakhstan. Production aspects such as the casting of American actors, command of the English language⁵³ and logistical factors like financial or material resources might be better factors to examine such cases.⁵⁴

Legitimate reservations could additionally be brought forth concerning the dependence on interview statements and memoir texts as keys for understanding the directors' standpoints. Documentary video segments are subject to editing discretions as much as utterances can be cherry-picked for synthesizing a story. Even the most proclaimed verbatim scripts are still likely to undergo modifications for clarity.⁵⁵ With these possible refractions in mind, an effort was made to review a range of interviews to the extent that certain points could prove the most reliable and relatable to the films. Chytilová's repetition about the momentousness of morals, for instance, corroborates the exigent messages to society she sent through her art. Forman can be found drawing the same analogy about the struggle between the individual versus the institution during interviews with both Chytilová and Harlan Kennedy.⁵⁶ His memoir *Turnaround*⁵⁷ offers a sea of complementary information for realizing how Forman's interests and impulses weave into his filmography. At the same time, the co-authorship factor of Forman's "life as lived by Jan Novák" could have affected how biographical events were stressed or linked to one another. It can ultimately be inferred that Forman's signing off on the literature that was published validates the content of *Turnaround* as instrumental for apprehending the forces that guided his cinematic journey.⁵⁸

52. Examples include *Valmont* (1989) and *Goya's Ghosts* (2006).

53. Miloš Forman co-wrote the scripts of *Valmont* and *Goya's Ghosts*. The director had claimed on several occasions after *Taking Off* (1971) that he did not wish to pursue non-Czech scriptwriting. Brt 'kunstzaken' and Iblis Films. *Chytilová Versus Forman: Consciousness of Continuity*.

54. Historical films that took place in the former Czechoslovakia (e.g. *Cutting It Short, I Served the King of England*) and the United States (e.g. *Ragtime*) remained in the thesis' discussion.

55. The chapters of *Czech New Wave Filmmakers in Interviews* are described in the book's foreword as "unpolished spoken word" not fitted "into the two-hour film format." Nevertheless, because the directors' responses have been translated and transcribed, it can be assumed that their remarks have been altered to some degree.

56. Forman described this phenomenon pertaining to creating *Ragtime* (1981). Brt 'kunstzaken' and Iblis Films, *Chytilová Versus Forman*; Harlan Kennedy, "Ragtime: Milos Forman: Obstructing the Road," *American Cinema Papers*, 1981, accessed March 30, 2018, http://www.americancinemapapers.com/files/RAGTIME_1981.htm.

57. Since *Turnaround* was originally published in 1993, some of the points in the text were outdated at the time of conducting the research.

58. David Vaughan, "Jan Novák: The Man Who Lived Miloš Forman," *Radio Prague*, December 31, 2011, accessed April 17, 2018, <http://www.radio.cz/en/section/books/jan-novak-the-man-who-lived-milos-forman>.

9. Research and Terminology Clarifications

The four filmmakers were chosen due to criteria such as significantly contributing to the Czechoslovak New Wave, experiencing grave effects on their careers due to the 1968 invasion and fulfilling a long artistic span. They are all more or less of the same age and generation. The four directors are certainly not the only Czechoslovak New Wave personalities whose bodies of work display interactions with social settings, however, their commonalities make them most opportune for a streamlined study. It can be noted that even though Czech filmmaker Karel Kachyňa realized an extensive filmography, he maintained what Peter Hames describes as an “ambiguous” relationship with the New Wave.⁵⁹ Never fully immersed in avant-garde styles, Kachyňa also ascribed the controversial idea for the critical *The Ear [Ucho]* (1970) (and other films) to his professional partner Jan Procházka, possibly allowing Kachyňa to forgo professional aberrations in the 1970s.⁶⁰ Czech director Jan Němec contributed to the New Wave, suffered backlash and emigrated to the West in 1974. Because Němec did not continue with his directing career during the decades he was absent from the Czech lands, the temporal limitations of his oeuvre disqualify his work from the premise of this research.

The fact that the two émigrés and two stayers were both former classmates who worked in respective conjunction during points in their lives was also considered. As stated previously, Forman and Passer were childhood classmates who collaborated when they made films in 1960s Czechoslovakia and then left the country together.⁶¹ Chytilová and Menzel were companions during their FAMU days; the latter acted in the former’s films, playing a small role in her early New Wave *The Ceiling [Strop]* (1961) and a leading role in *The Apple Game*, Chytilová’s first 1970s release after she overcame her ban. Chytilová stated about the 1970s, “All the others had left the country. Němec had also been away for some time. So I was left alone with Menzel.”⁶² In that vein, something of an axis can be forged when analyzing the dynamics between the two pairs of directors and the realities they faced in their environments, whether deracinated abroad or repressed domestically. When inquired by Robert Buchar about the scruples of other Czech directors joining the Communist party, Menzel responded:

59. Hames, *The Czechoslovak New Wave*, 67.

60. *Ibid.*, 76.

61. Fred Schruers, “Ivan Passer: Making It ‘Cutter’s Way,’” *The Washington Post*, December 13, 1981, accessed January 24, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/style/1981/12/13/ivan-passer-making-it-cutters-way/a1f98194-1584-4373-8a5c-a1ee96ee311d/?utm_term=.b00acecc167a.

62. Glasgow University, *The Kids from FAMU*.

If you want to make a good film and there is no other way, then you have the right to join the Communist party if that film is worth it . . . if Vojtěch Jasný wasn't in the Communist party, he wouldn't have made the nice films that he did. It is the same as blaming someone who immigrated [author's note: emigrated]. If Miloš Forman hadn't immigrated, he never would have made all those nice films he did in America. Excuse me for putting it in the same bag, but conditions are never ideal.

The research does not intend to project any moral weighing of the directors' decisions, but rather explore how effects of Normalization or emigration ultimately impacted their creative endeavors.

The term "Czechoslovak New Wave" will be applied to discuss the artistic, existential and experimental film movement that took place in Czechoslovakia from the 1960s to early 1970s. The movement may also be referred to as the "Czech New Wave" or "Czech film miracle," especially when only focusing on works by Czech filmmakers. Since Czechoslovakia was still one nation at the time of the New Wave, which included Slovak contributors such as Štefan Uher and Juraj Jakubisko, the designation "Czechoslovak" will be used.⁶³ It is also worth mentioning that the two salient political periods of the Prague Spring and Normalization were under the leadership of Slovak politicians in the former country's capital, Alexander Dubček and Gustáv Husák. This thesis only considers the careers of Czech filmmakers. Nevertheless, no deliberate attempt was taken to not include personalities from Slovakia. However pertinent Slovak filmmakers were to the erstwhile country's 1960s cinematic culture—e.g. the its Academy Award going to *The Shop on Main Street* by Ján Kadar and Elmar Klos—it can be pointed out that there were more directors on the Czech side.

The research will focus on feature films of the directors made up until 2006. The analysis will not examine documentaries,⁶⁴ television efforts or theater productions as it seeks to keep the technique consistent.

10. Literature Review

10.1 Literature Regarding the Post-New Wave Films of Chytilová and Menzel

Peter Hames, an Honorary Research Associate at Staffordshire University, has written extensively not only on the Czechoslovak New Wave but also the gamut of Czech and Slovak cinema. This research project refers to an assortment of his texts as secondary sources. Hames

63. Hames, *The Czechoslovak New Wave*, 7.

64. The television documentary *Chytilová Versus Forman* (1981) was examined for the purpose of understanding the directors' stances, but was not analyzed as a text in terms of their filmographies.

admits the limitations inherent to his viewpoint in not being a native and therefore “approaching a foreign culture on the basis of partial knowledge and experience.” Nevertheless, considering the breadth of Hames’ efforts in addressing an array of directors and decades, it can be inferred that the Englishman applies an informed and well-rounded lens that validates his authority.

In its second edition, Hames’ study *The Czechoslovak New Wave* spells out historical background leading up to and through the movement’s 1960s timeframe. He catalogs the New Wave works by Menzel, Chytilová, Forman and Passer⁶⁵ according to their own subchapters.⁶⁶ The later chapter “Cinema Since 1968” gives overview of how filmmaking culture functioned during the conservative Normalization period and then developed after the 1989 Velvet Revolution. Its pages are filled with descriptive chronology regarding the series of events that affected the industry, which films the directors generated throughout these years and how releases reflected the times. As per Normalization, Hames describes Menzel’s “low-key satires” on societal trends—such as the “retreat into private life”—versus Chytilová’s more abrasive filmic confrontations.⁶⁷ The chapter’s discussion of film following the Velvet Revolution briefly summarizes of Menzel’s early-1990s works before outlining the synopses, successes and critical responses of Chytilová’s post-Communist pieces (excluding the auteurs’ 2006 movies, as the book was written prior to the releases).⁶⁸

Hames authored the first English study that traces Czech and Slovak cinema from its prewar developments up through the current arena, *Czech and Slovak Cinema: Theme and Tradition*. The encyclopedic text provides further background for understanding epochal context behind post-New Wave efforts of Jiří Menzel and Věra Chytilová before narrowing in on singular films. When illustrating the environment of Normalization, for instance, Hames explains that although Menzel tuned his approach to conform to certain standards, he was still able to generate important Hrabal renditions like *Cutting It Short* [*Postřižiny*] (1980) and *The Snowdrop Festival* [*Slavnosti sněženek*] (1984) and manage to limn a more “bitter flavor” of life in the

65. Forman and Passer also appear together under “The Forman School” section of the book.

66. The book is organized according to directors. Hames also devotes sections to Jan Němec, Jaromil Jireš, Štefan Uher, Ján Kadár and other Czechoslovak filmmakers active in the 1960s.

67. Hames, *The Czechoslovak New Wave*, 252–254.

68. *Ibid.*, 262–263.

latter.⁶⁹ This treatise will further explore the reasoning behind Menzel's taste for escapist scenarios along with nuances detected in the "bitter flavor" he concocts.

Authors of more specific studies group Menzel's 1970s–1980s efforts according to thematic categorizations. Daniel Just of Bilkent University, Turkey, makes the case that *The Snowdrop Festival* fits into an inter-disciplinary category of Czechoslovak popular art "neither grim nor trivial and yet firmly rooted in the quotidian" via its episodic depiction of banal activities: raising livestock, tending the garden, waiting for the store to open, repairing a car.⁷⁰ In his study on the phenomenon of work culture as portrayed in Czech film, University of Manchester's Jonathan Owen places Menzel's *Seclusion Near a Forest* [*Na samotě u lesa*] (1976) into a set of motion pictures that comment on the Normalization-era yearning for the country cottage as a form of respite from official and professional life.⁷¹ This thesis parses lifestyle tropes such as cars and bucolic environments as testimonials for Menzel's societal interests as it charts a rhetorical constellation of Czech directors' post-New Wave filmographies.

Admittedly, many of the writings regarding Menzel's creations delve into on the director's cooperation with Bohumil Hrabal and scriptwriter Zdeněk Svěrák, who cofounded the Jára Cimrman theater. For purposes of keeping the discourse streamlined to how the auteur of the film (Menzel) expressed his societal interplay into his chosen medium, accounts that focus on such forms of authorial cross-pollination were not deeply perused.

In their efforts to study the post-Communist careers of Menzel and Chytilová, scholars often contextualize their works (or lack thereof) against the backdrop of the film industry's privatization as well as the quality of more up-to-date Czech productions. Radim Halík's dissertation about Czech collective memory and cinematic portrayals of socialist times names Chytilová as a director who "faced difficulties in the new situation to work consistently" on the level of her prior yield and was thus "forced to occupy" a less prominent position.⁷² Peter Hames' article "Czech Cinema: From State Industry to Competition" introduces the struggles of

69. Hames, *Czech and Slovak Cinema*, 42–45.

70. Daniel Just, "Art and Everydayness: Popular Culture and Daily Life in the Communist Czechoslovakia," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 15, no. 6 (2012): 706, DOI: 10.1177/1367549412450637.

71. Jonathan Owen, "'Heroes of the Working Class?': Work in Czechoslovak Films of the New-Wave and Postcommunist Years," *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media* 53, no. 1 (2012): 199, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41552307>.

72. Radim Halík, "The Screen of Laughter and Remembering," PhD Dissertation (Prague: Charles University, Faculty of Social Science, 2011), 61.

Menzel and Chytilová, who, despite their efforts to “preserve the integrity of Czech cinema during the years of normalization,” did not adapt so swimmingly to the market system. The scholar adduces a Chytilová interview in which she derides the maligning of her critical films under Communism as pro-regime.⁷³ The circumstances illustrate why Hames interprets Chytilová’s placement of the rape of the protagonist of *Traps, Traps Little Traps* (1998) as a metaphor for ethics and power in Czech society of that time. Hames also ascribes the turbulent circumstances of the marketplace for Menzel’s turn to the theater⁷⁴ as opposed to pursuing directorial activity.⁷⁵ Hames puts forth in *Czech and Slovak Cinema* that Menzel’s *I Served the King of England* (2006) was seemingly fabricated to “to break box office records.”⁷⁶ Adam Blenton also expresses similar sentiment in his 2007 review “TWO CZECH KINGS,” adding that “controversial populist Czech television station Nova” backed and promoted the film through a massive advertising campaign meant to “get bums on seats” for Menzel’s most expensive film.⁷⁷ This thesis intends to keep these economic factors in mind as it endeavors to excavate symbolic cues in *I Served the King of England* and examine them as possible indicators of an era (see the Money as Power section).

Scholars inspecting the past quarter century of Czech cinema also tie in the topic of official censorship. Hames states in the aforementioned article: “what *is* clear is that the removal of censorship and state power has not led to a cinematic cultural revival”.⁷⁸ Lecturer Petra Dominková repeatedly refers to the dispute about censorship in her article “We Have Democracy, Don’t We?” together with the funding contingency for carrying out artistic liberties.

73. Peter Hames, “Czech Cinema: From State Industry to Competition,” *Canadian Slavonic Papers/Revue Canadienne des Slavistes* 42, no. 1/2 (March–June 2000): 64, DOI: 10.1080/00085006.2000.11092238.

74. Hames, *Czech and Slovak Cinema*, 45, 76, 201.

75. Menzel was initially active as a feature film director in the early 1990s. George Bluestone’s 1990 journal “Jiří Menzel and the Second Prague Spring” encapsulates a somewhat euphoric attitude inspired by the fresh change in regime. The author interviews Menzel during breaks in his busy schedule of teaching in London, touring his film screenings in America and adapting Václav Havel plays in Prague. Bluestone’s writing concludes that the intellectual electricity reinvigorates a “Second Prague Spring” amid the democratizing process. Beyond its tone, the article’s content must be taken with some criticism inasmuch as it is not only ephemeral but also relies on assumptions such as the West not being aware of Menzel’s “extraordinary body of work” that includes *Who Looks for Gold?*—a socialist-realist film Menzel regarded as “silly” and confirmed its writers would not even care to watch. George Bluestone, “Jiří Menzel and the Second Prague Spring,” *Film Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (Autumn 1990): 44, DOI: 10.2307/1212696; Glasgow University, *The Kids from FAMU*.

76. Hames, *Czech and Slovak Cinema*, 52.

77. Adam Blenton, “TWO CZECH KINGS,” *New Presence: The Prague Journal Of Central European Affairs* 9, no. 1 (2007): 52–53. Blenton also reviews *Goya’s Ghosts* by Miloš Forman and states that the 2006 movie fails to revive the director’s output.

78. Hames, “Czech Cinema: From State Industry to Competition,” 67.

The author additionally describes how assorted creative persons living under Communist regimes had figured out strategies to work around the systems of censorship.⁷⁹ Dominková builds upon a confessedly skeptical 2002 article by Stanislava Přádná of Charles University's Film Studies Department. Přádná asks whether any 1990–2000 Czech film examples were neither provincial nor mediocre, given the liberties allotted by the new form of governance, as she takes inventory of movies that followed the Velvet Revolution.⁸⁰ In their discussions about Chytilová's newer efforts, both Přádná and Dominková write about how Chytilová's tendency of admonishing the *nouveau riche* in her 1990s films aligns with her everlasting practice of penetrating into superficial surfaces to reveal less-than-savory truths.

A string of 2002 articles in *Kinoeye*, an online journal on European film, reviews Chytilová's composite filmography by applying alternative lenses.⁸¹ Former *Kinoeye* editor Andrew James Horton in "Against Destruction" zeroes in on the peculiar Normalization-era ecology that gave rise to the prefabricated apartment block complex of Chytilová's *Panelstory* (1979). Horton simultaneously addresses the plot's more universal messages that reflect the state of humanity along with the patterns of construction and destruction that cycle through the material world.⁸² Jaromír Blažejovský frames *Traps* (1989) in the order of Chytilová's thematic columns, e.g. "partner relationships; woman's self-confidence and the meaning of life," lambastes her "populist" humor⁸³ and posits that with its "negative energy" and multitude of characters, *Traps* resembles *Panelstory*. Both cases ridicule ways of life in fashion, whether socialist or capitalist.⁸⁴ (Interestingly, Peter Hames came to a similar conclusion that *Traps* embodied the same polemical method as *Panelstory*; the former "was the first to attach 'capitalist' morality with the enthusiasm previously reserved for 'socialist' excesses."⁸⁵)

79. Petra Dominková, "We Have Democracy, Don't We?" in *Past for the Eyes*, ebook, eds. Oksana Sarkisova and Péter Apor, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013), <http://books.openedition.org/ceup/678?lang=en>.

80. Stanislava Přádná, "Czech Cinema After the 'Velvet Revolution' (1990–2000), January 30, 2002, accessed February 18, 2018, <http://www.artmargins.com/index.php/film-a-screen-media-sp-629836893/332-the-czech-cinema-after-the-qvelvet-revolutionq-1990-2000>.

81. "Homepage," *Kinoeye*, accessed March 30, 2018, <http://www.kinoeye.org/>.

82. Andrew James Horton, "Against Destruction," *Kinoeye* 2, no. 8 (2002), <http://www.kinoeye.org/02/08/horton08.php>.

83. Blažejovský not only confirms film critics labeling *Traps*' humor as "populist" or "redneck" but also insists that Chytilová's comedic style had long been of that caliber.

84. Jaromír Blažejovský, "Bones, bones, bone-eater . . ." *Kinoeye* 2, no. 8 (2002), <http://www.kinoeye.org/02/08/blazejovsky08.php>.

85. Hames, *The Czechoslovak New Wave*, 263.

Małgorzata Radkiewicz, who focuses on gender in film,⁸⁶ homologizes general principles of feminist theory with Chytilová's ethos and backs her argument by using the upshots from *Daisies* and *Traps*: female characters who rebel against norms only find themselves crippled by the societal shackles that bind them.⁸⁷

It is worthwhile to observe that across the range of scholars with their different approaches (and opinions), a consistent perspective prevails in that Chytilová's lengthy oeuvre radiates the auteur's unwavering ethics convictions, even with the array of trends that she treats en course of Czech societal evolution. The fact that Peter Hames writes in Chytilová's obituary that her four features following the Velvet Revolution harbor the "strong moral stance she has adopted throughout" thus comes as no surprise.⁸⁸ This research aims to add to the discussion of the temporal milestones of Chytilová's moralist trajectory by charting lesser-acknowledged markers as well as synthesizing a greater cartograph to trace her auteurist pathways against those of her three contemporaries.

10.2 Literature Regarding the Post-New Wave Films of Forman and Passer

The aforementioned Stanislava Přádná—whose academic focus has largely centered on Czech and Slovak post-War films—authored the monograph *Miloš Forman - Filmař mezi dvěma kontinenty* [Miloš Forman: Filmmaker between two continents]. The scholarly book spans over both the Czech and American cinematic outputs of the director. In dealing with Forman's America-centric creations, she diagnoses a focus on the outsider and his fight for freedom, as exemplified by protagonists Randle McMurphy in *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1975), Coalhouse Walker in *Ragtime* (1981) and Larry Flynt in *The People vs. Larry Flynt* (1996). Přádná identifies elements of counter-culture revolts against the establishment enacted by the characters of *Taking Off* (1971) and *Hair* (1979).⁸⁹ The filmography section of the book provides orientation of where to coordinate Forman's post-New Wave career in terms of becoming a player of the New Hollywood movement and contributing to the American movie canon.⁹⁰

86. Villa Decius Association, "Małgorzata Radkiewicz," *Visegrad Summer School*, accessed March 30, 2018, <http://visegradsummerschool.org/experts/ma%C5%82gorzata-radkiewicz>.

87. Małgorzata Radkiewicz, "Angry Young Girls," *Kinoeye* 2, no. 8 (2002), <http://www.kinoeye.org/02/08/radkiewicz08.php>.

88. Hames, "Obituary: Vera Chytilová," 216–218.

89. Stanislava Přádná, *Miloš Forman: Filmař mezi dvěma kontinenty* (Brno: Host, 2009), 83, 111.

90. Forman's *Hair*, for instance (1979) could be classified amongst other musical-to-screen movies, e.g. *West Side Story* (1961, Robert Wise and Jerome Robbins) and *New York, New York* (1977, Martin Scorsese), or within a

The controversy surrounding Forman's *The People vs. Larry Flynt* and its semantic effects elicited response in the realm of academic literature.⁹¹ Because this thesis aims to understand directors' interactions with their social environments, the analysis does not delve into the dialectics of audience viewership.⁹²

Jiří Voráč, department head and professor of film and audiovisual culture at Masaryk University,⁹³ authored a Czech monograph on Ivan Passer's career, *The Storyteller of Diversities: The Films of Ivan Passer, from Intimate Lightning to Nomad*. Describing Passer as a "distinctive loner" and "outsider of the filmmaking industry," Voráč divides the director's American oeuvre into three pillars: his New York period during the 1970s with black comedies in Manhattan, eccentric comedies and world finance; his California period in the 1980s that consists of the film-noir, post-Vietnam themed *Cutter's Way*, romantic dreams and rebellions; and what evolved from the 1990s forth, i.e. his television movies and *Nomad*. Although Passer is troublesome to classify, Voráč writes that the tension between the director's beginnings in European art cinema and continuation in the US industry scene placed him in "a unique position as a director who makes minority films within the mainstream."⁹⁴

A number of studies that have centered on literature-to-film adaptation also give mention to the ways that Miloš Forman and Ivan Passer interpret American social environments. John Gery's piece about *Cutter's Way* suggests that Passer showed shortcomings of the American Dream that may have been influenced by the director's life as a Czech "dissident" who became an alien in the United States.⁹⁵ In "Ragtime Without a Melody," Leonard and Barbara Quart write that Miloš Forman's concern with the dogged integrity of the black musician Coalhouse

stream of anti-Vietnam works subsequent to the war, e.g. *Coming Home* (1978, Hal Ashby) or *Apocalypse Now* (1979, Francis Ford Coppola).

91. For a treatise that encompasses anti-pornography feminist rhetoric along with criticisms regarding Flynt's character construction in the movie, see E. Michele Ramsey, "Protecting Patriarchy: The myths of capitalism and patriotism in *The People vs. Larry Flynt*," *Feminist Media Studies* 5, no. 2 (2005): 197–213, DOI: 10.1080/14680770500112038.

92. Reference will be made to Forman's reactions to public and media criticism regarding his treatment of Larry Flynt in the context of the principles he sought to emphasize about American culture through his film.

93. "Jiří Voráč," *Masaryk University*, accessed March 1, 2018, <https://www.muni.cz/lide/2750-jiri-vorac/zivotopis>.

94. Jiří Voráč, *The Story Teller of Diversities: The Films of Ivan Passer, from Intimate Lightning to Nomad* [*Ivan Passer: Ivan Passer: Filmový vypravěč rozmanitostí aneb od Intimního osvětlení k Nomádovi*] (Brno, Host: 2008), 306–309.

95. John Gery, "'Cutter's Way' and the American Way: Heroic Alienations," *Literature/Film Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (1998): 63, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43796338>.

Walker may echo sentiments of “a refugee from the Russian takeover” of Czechoslovakia.⁹⁶ J. E. Smyth references Forman’s memoir *Turnaround* to explain Forman’s attraction to the rebellious, romantic spirit of the said central character as something “supremely ‘American’” in her treatise about black history and post-modernism in *Ragtime*.⁹⁷ The pertinent points culled from scholarly works will be built upon in the following analysis of Czechoslovak New Wave directors continuing their careers from the 1970s through the 2000s.

96. Leonard and Barbara Quart, “‘Ragtime’ Without a Melody,” *Literature/Film Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (1982): 73. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43796186>.

97. J. E. Smyth, “Against the Beat: *Ragtime*, Black History, and Postmodernism,” *Film Quarterly* 67, no. 1 (Fall 2013): 7–13, DOI: 10.1525/fq.2013.67.1.7.

Analysis

Car Culture

Cars enter a multitude of film sets throughout the four Czech figures' post-New Wave careers. Beyond its simple association as a transportation device, the automobile supplies innumerable indications that speak to existence in modern civilization: position in society, standard of living, terrestrial mobility, pursuit of property. In Cold War contexts, competition between the two blocs did not just involve grand ideologies in conjunction with government mechanisms, but also populations' realized ways of life; cars could be taken as metrics for consumer standards and economic situations tied into the competition between each side of the Iron Curtain.

As a cinematic trope, car technology intertwines with the time-related *mise en scène* of a picture, be it crafting period pieces, illustrating the status quo or speculating upon the future. What models of cars characters drive attest for their style, how they drive signifies their demeanor. "Car movies" and "road movies" can even stand as autonomous categories. Automobiles swooshing down vast Southwestern roads or zooming through action-packed chase scenes make up but some of Hollywood's vehicular clichés. Though possibly not as seminal to the Czech moviemaking heritage, the automobile speckles the nation's filmic vernacular, articulated via drives through Liberec, family excursions into the forest or even the dangers of falling prey to a vampire car.⁹⁸

Aligning with the compass of this thesis, cars, as signifiers of auteurs' attitudes in their films, will be analyzed qua societal status, individualism and capability. The following discussion aims to discover the directors' reactions towards stimuli in their host countries' communities through the ways that vehicles exemplify characters' hierarchical rankings; point to private ownership versus group interests; or function as instruments that enable or disable characters' actions. Suggestions regarding the social interactions of Jiří Menzel, Věra Chytilová, Miloš Forman and Ivan Passer will be evaluated.

98. The references to cars in films pertain to *Grandhotel* (2006), *Ecce Homo Homolka* (1970) and *Ferat Vampire* [*Upír z Feratu*] (1982) (the latter starred Jiří Menzel).

11. Car Culture in Czech Contexts

11.1 Car Culture: Jiří Menzel

11.1.1 Dismissing the Car

Jiří Menzel's directorial technique of interspersing commonplace existential mechanisms with sexual scenes finds way, albeit tepidly, into his first post-New Wave work, the socialist-realist *Who Looks for Gold?* (1974). Menzel admitted the comprising motives behind directing this piece: "It showed that I had good relations with our people and our Government. Like any moralistic film, it's not a good one."⁹⁹ The story begins when the young Láda completes his military service. By surprise, Láda's girlfriend, the hairdresser Petra, greets him outside the military camp with her baby blue hatchback. A kinetic ride back home to Prague follows with the couple switching drivers, continuously kissing and caressing one another, braking at one instance when the passions grow too heated. Granting them privacy and authority over their own mode of movement, the car not only functions as a chariot back to the metropolis, but also a container for these youths to enact their romantic urges.

The amorous road scene comes off as the most warm-blooded portion of a movie that otherwise largely runs robotic.¹⁰⁰ Láda, unable to find good work in Prague, takes up employment as a truck driver at a dam construction site. While visiting him, Petra becomes put off by the ruggedness of the manual workers' dwellings, such as noticing Láda's roommate lay in bed without removing his rubber boots. Outside in the construction site, her bright blue hatchback contrasts with the visuals of the grandiose infrastructural project where formworks flank the dirt roads and cranes stretch over the horizon. The story progresses with Láda ultimately growing more engaged with the work and camaraderie with fellow employees. He seemingly changes gears into the direction of the common good, eclipsing over his personal pursuits with his Petra, whose selfish deceit accents in an act of infidelity.

99. James M. Markham, "Jiri Menzel's 'Bittersweet Village,'" *New York Times*, January 11, 1987, accessed April 20, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/1987/01/11/movies/jiri-menzel-s-bittersweet-village.html>.

100. The term "robot" was coined by the Czech Čapek brothers, whose work Menzel verbally references (see Jiří Leschtina, "Jiří Menzel," *Hospodářské noviny*, October 24, 2003, accessed May 2, 2018, <https://archiv.ihned.cz/c1-13549820-jiri-menzel>). Karel Čapek's play *Rossum's Universal Robots* [*Rossumovi univerzální roboti*] (1921) involves the production of anthropomorphic machines that eventually take over the human race. Given the fact that Menzel's appreciation for humanism and Czech literature exude through his work, the ethos of a socialist-realist movie therefore becomes unconvincing.

The couple eventually breaks up during a stroll through the mammoth construction site with hard-hatted workers in motion. Petra, smartly clad in a white pleated skirt and tall black boots, trails behind Láda, who sports a loose-fitted laborer's uniform. Across the uneven, exposed earth, she exerts physical effort to navigate through upstanding beams, all the while toiling to entice Láda back to life with her in the city. Petra's suggestions prove moot to the aloof recipient, who replies tersely and commands her to look upward to marvel at a crane dangling a beam structure by the dam's crest. Petra fatefully boards back into her hatchback and drives away for good, bereft of any good-bye kiss, hug or handshake. In *Who Looks for Gold?*, Menzel's strategic concession to continue his career, the car took a journey from a promising couple reunion to a path of disunion when Láda gets over its superficial, self-centered owner.

11.1.2 Irony, Comedy, Villages

Social status in the day-to-day life under late Communism embeds into Menzel's films in a sardonic manner. The car as a source for this farcical style, that Peters Hames terms "low-key satires," takes effect in *Seclusion Near a Forest* (1976).¹⁰¹ The movie's very first scene opens with a traffic light's red signal. After the lamp switches to green, the Lavička family is introduced seated in a sedan: Oldřich, the father figure, behind the wheel, his finicky wife, Věra, in the passenger seat, with their little son and daughter in back. As Oldřich—a well-intended, head-of-family figure who aims to assure his kin that everything rests under his control—cruises along the city streets, his daughter blurts out an alarming message: "A titchy Trabant overtook us!" They continue along to the next traffic light, and while the curious brother distracts Oldřich with silly questions about the anatomy of a worm, the cheeky daughter sticks to her unwavering focus on her father's mastery by declaring that two more Trabants have passed them. Her father's further efforts to ignore the little girl do not deter her from leaning forth to confront him: "You said no Trabant would ever overtake you, dad." The Trabi, the nadir of Eastern-bloc car brands, becomes an object of lampoon in this traffic scene. Even though the patriarch endeavors to establish a pleasant order in his family unit, his sense of command is challenged when an inferior entity overtakes him.

101. Hames, *The Czechoslovak New Wave*, 252.

The disparaged “racing cardboard” again finds its way in Menzel’s work as key prop in the “quotidian” pageant of *The Snowdrop Festival*.¹⁰² When two characters tinker with a broken-down vehicle on the side of the road, the driver is forced to listen to the stories of his ebullient friend who proclaims himself as a Trabant “expert.” The passenger-cum-mechanical-assistant trumpets the reliability of his resilient Trabant after having driven it into a ditch or made it smell even more putrid by cracking two hundred eggs all over its interior.¹⁰³ It can be inferred that Menzel, living in a society doctrinally geared towards eliminating classes and material differences, took note of the systemic slips and rendered these observations into the irony embedded into his films.

While *The Snowdrop Festival* revolves around a village, *Seclusion Near a Forest* satirizes the Normalization-era cliché in which Praguers sought countryside refuge by buying an alternative second dwelling—either a *chalupa* or even more rustic *chata*—and retreating into atomic existence away from public life. Achieving this bucolic isolation, however, goes unrealized in the story. The urbanite characters move into old peasants’ dwellings under the impression the expiring homeowners will die or move away; instead, they remain *in situ*.

The social dilemma is amplified by the fact that the country folk take advantage of their tenants’ access to four wheels. Oldřich runs favors for his septuagenarian landlord, Komereck, to the point of irking Věra to protest. In Věra’s absence, Komereck wakes up Oldřich and his visiting companion one morning by inviting them to a community feast in Ouměřic—a thinly veiled request for a ride. Komareck introduces the Ouměřic feasters to his “Praguers.” The pejorative nature of this term magnifies by the jeers of an elderly old man, soon revealed to be Komareck’s 92-year-old father, who points and laughs at the guests from the capital. The driver Oldřich does not receive respect for his power of personal mobility but rather derision for his vulnerability to manipulation. The phenomenon of seeking seclusion is mocked in how city people with their cars become duped by their strategic rural counterparts.

In Menzel’s *My Sweet Little Village* [*Vesničko má středisková*] (1985), the town doctor owns a battered old car that he consistently relies on Pavek, a local dump truck driver, to help start. The doctor’s pastime of riding his jalopy alone into the Bohemian countryside while reciting nostalgic poetry get abridged on different occasions: he drives himself off the road or

102. Daniel Just, “Art and Everydayness: Popular Culture and Daily Life in the Communist Czechoslovakia,” *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 15, no. 6 (2012): 703-720, DOI: 10.1177/1367549412450637.

103. The conversation corroborates with Peter Hames’ opinion that *The Snowdrop Festival* elicits a “bitter flavor.”

neglects to notice his vehicle rolling away while he stares off into the hills. It is in these pickles that Pavek and his passenger, Otik, also come to the rescue. The doctor's comical haphazard style of automobile ownership only accelerates in the end. Right after he shows his shiny new red Škoda to Pavek and Otik, he immediately crashes into a gate. It seems like such a vehicle would connote an ascent in capability, but rather, it further proves the doctor's clumsiness in his individual capacity.

The antagonistic force in *My Sweet Little Village* happens to be a bureaucrat from Prague scheming to take over Otik's cottage to convert into his own weekend domain. Fellow villagers take notice when the intruder's car parks in front of the cottage gate. The extrinsic automobile indicates the social status of this contender who scales the rustic premises and broadcasts his renovation plans. Satirically, the bureaucrat assumes the role of a detached colonist, his car a voyaging ship that transports him to his site of conquest.

Menzel's playful mockery of the automobile operator coincides with the director's stated affinity for modesty and unpretentious ambitions. The construction of these figures also emblemizes Menzel's perception of the Czech national character, which he terms as unwarlike, "little and unheroic," unwilling to "charge out on horseback against tanks." This tendency also hints at the director's skepticism towards progression, a symptom he developed due to the ramifications of the Soviet invasion—the thick of which, incidentally, he drove into by car.¹⁰⁴ As Menzel demarcates August 1968 to be the point that deflated his belief that the world was getting better,¹⁰⁵ the succeeding village-centric films may emanate a longing for simplicity and innocence, with the bureaucrat and his ambitions posing as the anti-type to such an ideal.¹⁰⁶ Menzel sought to communicate with Czech audiences his filmic lyricism as an antidote to sadness in life.¹⁰⁷ The director chose to subtly ridicule the purveyor of the ego, the driver. The

104. ČT24, "Nový dokument chce ze srpna 1968 zachytit 'ten okamžik.' Prožil ho i Jiří Menzel," *Česká televize*, November 3, 2017, accessed April 20, 2018, <http://www.ceskatelevize.cz/ct24/kultura/2292637-novy-dokument-chce-ze-srpna-1968-zachytit-ten-okamzik-prozil-ho-i-jiri-menzel>.

105. Menzel refers to the naïve hope in improvement he harbored that the Soviet Invasion offset: "Until 1968 I strongly believed that everything bad was doomed. I believed that as human knowledge and intellect progressed people would become more educated and because of that also better . . . I lost my faith that people would one day become better." Buchar, *Czech New Wave Filmmakers in Interviews*, 45.

106. It is doubtful that Petra, the aforementioned girlfriend character in *Who Looks for Gold?*, could be placed in the same category as Prague bureaucrats and anti-heroes found in Menzel's films. It seems that the director enacted a search for truth in being retrogressive, i.e. looking back at the village, rather than assuming a visionary stance projected onto a construction site engineering a socialist utopia for the future.

107. Markham, "Jiri Menzel's Bittersweet 'Village.'"

mentioned incidents in Menzel's Normalization-era works—ironic Trabant jokes, de-facto countryside hierarchies, incompetent professionals behind the wheel—show how Menzel endeavored to sustain the culture through comicalness. During the mid-1990s, when reflecting on the hardships of the past, he reasoned: “Regimes are afraid of humour because it's more direct, clearer to the audience. Small nations and societies survive through humour.”¹⁰⁸

11.1.3 Embellishing Czech Heritage

Jiří Menzel's largely localized oeuvre contains period pieces that convey aspects of Czech car culture corresponding with historical circumstances. *Cutting It Short* (1980) takes place around a brewery within the provincial town of Nymburk during the early days of the First Czechoslovak Republic. The vogue of celebrating the era's forwardness encompasses welcoming new innovations. The very first automobile introduced to the brewery comes accompanied by the snipping of a ribbon and the announcement “We hereby cut ourselves off from old Austria.” Along rolls in the new Czech-made automobile, its grill emblazoned with “PRAGA,” spurring reactions that the beer manufacturer's old-fashioned draft horses should now be slaughtered. It appears as if Menzel paints a romanticized, nostalgic picture of a nascent nation with an industrial spirit upon the company car set to speed up distribution rate, predating the trajectory of this technology transforming into an instrument of individuality.

Car culture of the later interwar era appears in Menzel's *I Served the King of England* (2006). The film follows the life of Dítě, an aspiring hotelier who works as a restaurant waiter. One of his stints takes place at the sumptuous Hotel Tichota. The establishing shot that opens this chapter introduces Hotel Tichota's driveway lined with luxurious automobile models that transport the industrialists that patronize the establishment, illustrating a status symbol in the pre-Munich, and thenceforth, pre-war and pre-Communist days. (Deeper examination of material culture in *I Served the King of England* can be found in the Money as Power section.)

From these two cases, it can be deduced that the car entered into Menzel's conceptions of bygone days in Czechoslovakia. A sense of national pride imbued with hope in progress projects onto Menzel's styling of the First Republic in *Cutting It Short* when the brewery workers celebrate the automobile. Menzel also signaled notions of economic success from manufacturing growth by adding cars as trappings of wealthy industrialists, roué men whose

108. Judith Vidal-Hall, “Jiří Menzel: The art of laughter and survival,” *Index on Censorship* 24, no. 6 (2007): 120. DOI: 10.1080/03064229508536003.

wealth allows them to revel in lustful and comestible pleasures in *I Served the King of England*. Vintage cars furnish Menzel's caricatured models of Czech historical subjects, scenes that seem resonant of longings for days of innocence in conjunction with constructions of identity and belonging.

11.2 Car Culture: Věra Chytilová

11.2.1 Games of Temptation, Timely Stylization

Věra Chytilová made escapist sex scenes in the car crucial to her first post-New Wave comeback, *The Apple Game* (1976), a film that she was finally allowed to direct after penning her notable letter, "I want work." Chytilová dismissed allegations that her works contradicted socialist values and described the sexist discrimination she faced from the state industry. She spelled out the guiding lesson of the screenplay: "to treat the problem of responsible parenthood, unnecessary abortions and the moral as well as material aspects of female equality in our society."¹⁰⁹

The Apple Game involves the licentious gynecologist Dr. John—actually personated by Jiří Menzel—styled as an "immoral idiot" whom women love.¹¹⁰ He carries out an *affaire de coeur* with his coworker's wife, Marta, through regular rendezvous. After awaiting her arrival in central Prague, Dr. John picks up Marta in his little red sedan, and they take off into the middle of an apartment complex's construction site. She frets with paranoia that they will get caught and have to end their uncouth routine. Carnality escalates in the backseat of their car up until a construction worker catches them. Noticing the voyeur, Dr. John promptly exits his exposed oasis of salacious isolation, throws a brick in the worker's direction, but then faces an entire posse of men standing there, sneering. Mood killed, Dr. John and Marta quickly peel off back to Prague so that she can return to her matrimonial regularities. Because Dr. John lives with his mother, his car allows him the opportunity for embarking upon sexual divertissements removed from his professional and domestic domains.

Dr. John's vehicle drives into another avenue of sensual exploit after he begins flirting with the young nurse Anna. The pair ventures out to a country field, park the car and behave

109. Věra Chytilová, "I want to work," *Index on Censorship* 5, no. 2 (1976): 17–18, DOI:10.1080/03064227608532516.

110. David A. Andelman, "New Czech Film Has Drama in Its Own History," *New York Times*, March 12, 1978, accessed April 17, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/1978/03/12/archives/new-czech-film-has-drama-in-its-own-history-a-tribute-to-intensity.html>.

somewhat atavistically, even Edenic, as a man and a woman alone outdoors. She builds a fire and takes off her top to tempt him as he carves a spear to impale an apple—an explicitly pregnant fruit that, throughout the plotline, implies both human progenies and biblical meanings of veracity. The pair play with abandon until some of Anna’s utterances grow too serious for the sybaritic intentions of Dr. John, who stomps off towards his red sedan. She follows him back to the vehicle that he swerves around the fields before parking for them to resume their caper.

While Dr. John’s car serves as a device that enables his toying with women, the grave moral of the story magnifies when matters go awry: Marta gets caught at home, Anna gets pregnant. It is not in Dr. John’s passenger vehicle but rather on a crowded mass-transit train that he and Anna finally talk seriously about building a relationship. He follows her into a seating cabin, where he sidles next to an older woman wedged alongside Anna. The intermediary older woman offers Dr. John an apple; truth starts to surface.

Dr. John: I need to speak with you seriously.

Anna: Only if it’s not too complicated for me.

Dr. John: I’ve decided that I probably only want to be with you.

Anna: Do you need your laundry washed?

Dr. John: It wouldn’t be too hard for me to find a cheap washing machine.

Old woman: And who would cook for you?

Dr. John: She doesn’t know how.

Old woman: And iron?

Dr. John: Please . . .

Old woman: And raise the kids?¹¹¹

Anna exits the cabin, Dr. John follows, and the two continue their argument into the corridor, announcing their problems aloud to the other riders. While the car had been the technology of casual independence and detachment, the train becomes a stage for the corollary of such antics, transposed to public exposure and scrutiny.

The coda of the film takes place at a village maternity ward, when Dr. John stumbles upon Anna carrying a basket of apples to her bicycle. Anna rejects his requests to chat as she turns to him to expose her robust, pregnant belly. She rides away on her manual two-wheeler; the game is over. Implicitly attached to the dialogic disharmony is Chytilová’s concern with material inequality of women in society, showcased by an independent single mother-to-be, reduced to getting herself around, motorless.

111. Author’s translation of dialogue from Czech to English.

The constituents and composite whole of *The Apple Game*—including the variable of Dr. John’s car—harbor qualities that are simultaneously particular yet unparticular. The essence of this film is, akin to Andrew James Horton’s interpretation of *Panelstory*, doubly peculiar in spatial-temporal coordinates but universal in its messages to humanity. Chytilová quoted in “I want to work” a reaction to the screenplay (authored by the colleagues of Chief Story Editor comrade Toman) that esteemed it as ““one of the most important attempts to date to create a truly contemporary film with genuine human interest.””¹¹²

In terms confronting problems “in our society,” *The Apple Game* seems well-suited for such a demographic: Czech characters speak Czech, work in Czech medical institutions and get entangled in tangible difficulties that could certainly affect the Czech population. The materialized celluloid product thus dovetails with auteur’s territorial intent in “I want to work”: “I have never wished to work abroad; I have consequently refused a number of offers because I wanted to work at home, and still do.”¹¹³ As per the “contemporary” dimension, the film’s scenery is neither abstractly aestheticized nor obscurely styled,¹¹⁴ but tangibly capturing of 1970s Bohemia: bellbottoms and big collars abound, technocratic prefabricated towers construct.

Nonetheless, responsibility in romantic relations affects humanity at large, regardless of area or era. On that note, Dr. John’s character is not insularly redolent of a male in the Czech lands, the car he drives not an enabler of romantic irresponsibility that only afflicted 1970s societies. The principled warning regarding the risks of serpentine temptation does not expire. Even if the Adam and Eve myth has been recycled for centuries, Chytilová readapted its nucleal lessons into a modern medium that records the aura of the given age. The 1970s car model that travels through the vicinity of Prague therefore becomes timely yet timeless. In Chytilová’s filmic exemplum, the car acts as an exemplifying tool that facilitates temporary escape into secret sensuality—pleasure that can entail grave consequences anytime, anywhere.

11.2.2 The Car as a Weapon

Věra Chytilová further rendered the theme of male characters committing immoral sexual acts in cars through her tragicomic *Traps, Traps, Little Traps* (1998). Her take on the national “bad mood” pervading Czech society in the late 1990s highlights instances of opportunistic

112. Chytilová, “I want to work,” 17.

113. *Ibid.*, 19.

114. Chytilová’s prior two feature films, New Wave classics *Daisies* and *Fruits of Paradise*, carry an avant-garde and ambiguous spirit largely absent from *The Apple Game*.

corruption in business and politics affecting everyday people. A pivotal episode in *Traps* begins when the veterinarian Lenka finds herself stuck on the side of a country road because her old Škoda (the Czech car brand) ran out of gas. Along cruises a flashy yellow Renault convertible captained by Petr, who works in advertising, accompanied by his companion, Dohnal, a member of parliament. The pair eye stranded Lenka as prey.

As Petr inspects Lenka's vehicle, hints of social stature come out:

Petr: Great car, it's been around a bit.

Lenka: It's all I can afford.

After he offers a ride, Lenka situates into the passenger seat of Petr's Renault and grows uncomfortable due the subtly malicious statements the two men utter about her (e.g. "It's dangerous to take rides from strangers."). The pair proceeds to drive the helpless hitchhiker into the woods so that Petr can restrain her in the passenger seat while Dohnal rapes her. In this distressing scene, the aggressors utilize the car as a weapon that assists their violent act, improvising with how to hold their victim down such as constraining her legs with the passenger seatbelt.¹¹⁵

Following the rape, Lenka fakes a faint from which she wakes up and requests that Petr and Dohnal drive her home for a cup of coffee. There, she carries out her masked plan: lacing shots of liquor with sedatives so she can castrate the perpetrators. Petr and Dohnal awake to not only realize their severe surgical punishment, but also that Lenka took off with their transportation. Carless and castrated, Petr and Dohnal have no choice but to hobble to the local transit stop and wait for a bus to pick them up. They ride the bus feeling humiliated, as if everyone is monitoring them and judging them, right until they pass Petr's yellow Renault parked on the side of the road. The men urgently demand the bus driver to stop and reprimand him for driving erratically as they disembark. With at least the freedom to resume their own means of travel, Petr and Dohnal feel a base sense of empowerment.

During a later scene in *Traps*, riding on public transit—as opposed to in a private car—becomes a stage for exposure to the public audience. Petr follows Lenka onto a tram in Prague wherefore she yells, "Do I know you?" and inquires whether his name is Petr, loudly and clearly

115. The juxtaposition of Lenka's old Škoda and Petr's new Renault echo Petra Dominiková's association of Chytilová's *Traps* within a trend of films made by middle-aged directors concerned with simple Czechs falling victim to foreign forces and capitalism. Nevertheless, the emotional resonance in the character construction of Lenka as a "simple Czech" seems particular to *Traps* by Chytilová, whose treatment of simple compatriots—e.g. "grandpa" in *Panelstory* or "fuckoffguy" Bohus in *The Inheritance*—seems otherwise unsympathetic.

so that the other passengers can hear. If the presence of his private car enabled Petr to perform his malice, its absence hinders his capabilities. This dynamic bears some similarities to the train scene in *The Apple Game*, in how characters explicitly expose problems to strangers onboard.

11.2.3 Instrument for Egocentrism

Věra Chytilová's *Panelstory* (1979) takes place entirely within Jižní Město, the prefabricated *panelák*¹¹⁶ housing complex located in the southeastern outskirts of Prague. The plot revolves around tenants beginning to dwell in units as construction is still ongoing. Inhabitants of these rectilinear towers fluster over modern amenities that prove unreliable: water taps stop running, elevators get stuck, wooden planks function as pathways to front doors. Outdoor shots depict mothers pushing prams through miry terra firma; upwards, cranes carry the architectonic puzzle pieces linking together this concrete continuum, fostering new tower blocks identical to their neighboring predecessors. The motley crew of personalities that populate this chaotic ecosystem include an ambivalent pregnant teenager, a squatting mother who exclaims that socialism cannot evict people and an elderly country bumpkin, “grandpa,” who hopelessly crows about his antediluvian standards. Rather than achieving some form of egalitarian utopia, however, the *sídlště* (prefabricated housing estate complex) ends up a dystopian agglutination of connivance and complacency, seasoned by skepticism towards fostering contact, let alone community.¹¹⁷ Hints of Chytilová's scholastic stints in the fields of architecture and philosophy seem to seep into this panoramic motion picture that Peter Hames identifies as “one of the most critical films” of the Normalization era.¹¹⁸

Several characters who interact with the passenger car in *Panelstory* expose their egocentric agendas. As an inanimate object, the automobile is of course indexical, but in the frenzied social atmosphere of this housing estate, the object triggers tenants' self-gratifying myopia. Such sentiments arise when a resident actor who cannot get his car to start approaches a table of construction workers drinking beers in the canteen. One of the workers asks if the actor has a Saab, likely indicating some interest in status symbol attached to the brand. When the

116. The term *panelák* refers to prefabricated residential tower block structures that were popular housing design schemes during Communism.

117. Andrew James Horton connects the trope of paradise throughout Chytilová's oeuvre—seen in Edenic allusions, from her New Wave *Daisies* and *Fruit of Paradise* to the later *The Apple Game* and *Expulsion from Paradise*—and mentions the how Jižní Město complex of *Panelstory* comes short of achieving an envisioned socialist paradise. Horton, “Against Destruction.”

118. Hames, *The Czechoslovak New Wave*, 254.

worker first encounters the actor's yellow Saab 99, he knocks on its shell and chides that he has seen better. The actor, who concedes he knows nothing about cars and does not wish to get dirty, agrees to the payment request by his impromptu helper of both Russian (Soviet) and Polish vodka.

Soon enough, the worker is seen sitting in the driver's seat, reading a newspaper and sipping a vodka bottle, until "grandpa" lumbers by to interrupt him.

Grandpa: Can't get it to start?

Worker: That's right, grandpa.

Grandpa: If I were you I'd fix it.

It takes barely a minute for the senior to crack open the hood, diagnose a part that is dry and prescribe it distilled water, only to the protest of the construction worker. Fixing the problem disrupts his lackadaisical flow.

The Saab 99 again becomes the nucleus of self-centered tendencies during a subsequent episode when a pregnant mother goes into labor. The television actor and another resident, Marie (with whom he started a causal romantic relationship), become involved in emergency efforts to rush the mother to the hospital. After an ambulance is called, the actor resumes his personal interests of polishing his Saab's windshield and yelling at a construction vehicle in vain. Marie, unaware of the ambulance being called, comes running hastily down through the mucky mounds.

Marie: Is that your car?

Actor: Sure.

Marie: Why didn't you offer to drive her?

Actor: But she could have given birth . . .

Marie: Aha! You've got new covers. I forgot your love of beauty.

With a desirable car model at their disposal, the flip from caring about others to personal gain jerks instantly.

The car becomes a divisive prospect within the familial unit of the aforementioned elderly man, who lives with his daughter, her husband and their son. This grandfather's rocky transition from his country life to the *sídlišťe* environment provokes him to constantly complain about anything from women having too much free time thanks to washing machines to too many useful items being discarded in the dumpsters. One day, a family fight that breaks out in their home culminates when the grandson shouts to his parents: "Grandpa ought to know you want to swap his house for a new car!" This climactic point incenses the old man to pick up his suitcase

and leave for his other dwelling. In the market of this social sphere, people become valued in terms of their material worth.

The level of car ownership rises significantly in Chytilová's last feature film, *Pleasant Memories* (2006). The work comments on a period after the free market economy had developed and notably advanced denizens' consumer choices. Alas, inherent to the increase of drivers comes the increase of risk and responsibility. The collateral effects become immediately clear in how the movie introduces the main character, the psychologist Hana, driving through a traffic jam and rear-ending another car. Hana's smashing into the other automobile enrages its driver to get out and curse belligerently about her poor driving skills. The event also negatively affects Hana's family affairs. With her car in the repair shop, Hana's husband drives her to work and gives her grief about the accident, so she has him drop her off early, and remarks it will be the last time she rides in with him. It may seem sensible that each working family member having a car connotes would some form of progress, yet when unpleasant moments arise, they break people apart.

Parking spots are designated in front of Hana's workplace. At one point, a Volkswagen with a "CZ" sticker pulls up into a space. Out come a bickering Czech wife with her German husband who argue all the way into the office. The wife yells that she is sick of his systematic German ways. Chytilová seems to ridicule the male character by having him ask Hana "Sprechen Sie Deutsch?" and point to a portrait to inquire if it is Sigmund Freud. The scene could be interpreted as commentary towards Czech European re-integration and economic development—with Volkswagen buying Škoda and revitalizing the company in 1991, followed by the country's entrance into the European Union in 2004—that seem to amount to discord on the personal level. The convenient parking spot stood as a port of call for the couple's inter-cultural, interpersonal conflict.

Many of the movie's visual surveys of Prague fixate over the automotive infrastructure and the plethora of vehicles that pass through it. Sequences of traffic standstills and streams of headlamps emit a sense of anxiety. The phenomenon personifies when a member of city council enters Hana's office one afternoon and breaks down over the idea that concrete is paving over the entire country as it transforms into a big, red traffic light. It appears that Chytilová focused on the car's repercussions on the cityscape to comment on the chronic frustrations humans still battle as they search for meaning within themselves, or for a greater society.

11.2.4 Social Status and Fulfillment in Věra Chytilová's Avatars of Bolek Polívka

In Věra Chytilová's constructions of characters played by Czech actor Boleslav (Bolek) Polívka (b. 1949), the car emblemizes how notions of success and merit can come into conflict with perceptions of personal satisfaction.¹¹⁹ The Normalization-era film *Calamity* [*Kalamita*] (1981) centers on the life and times of Honza Dostál, played by a young Polívka, after he drops out of university and trains to work as a railway operator. Away from the books, Dostál opts for a simpler, small-town lifestyle whereby he shares a room, dines in canteens with colleagues and attempts to invigorate the mundane atmospheres that enwrap him. The train-driver-to-be does not have a car.

Dostál's social stature, and lack of his own vehicle thereof, comes into sight when he interacts with women. One female character notices Dostál strolling through town, grins, and slides into her parked car. Unable to start her vehicle, Dostál opens the hood and immediately repairs her problem, remarking that it was an easily detected issue. She offers for him to hop in for a ride to a "beautiful place" called Kameničky. Amid cruising through the woods, she asks Dostál "aren't you glad you came with me?" This sequence of events shows that even though Dostál proves manually proficient, the vehicle he fixes is still of *her* possession, and so while it is up and running, she resumes control of the power to transport the train-driver-to-be according to her own will; he is not master of his own destiny.

Dostál's low rung on the social ladder also surfaces when he treks through the woods and finds his casual partner Majka sauntering with another man: a sociologist. Dostál's competition bears a professional title that represents achievement in the universe of academia and intellect from which he departed. The envy amplifies when Majka walks up to the sociologist's parked car and asks, "Do the seats fold back for sleeping?" They drive off, prompting upset Dostál to ask where they are going and stumble into a stream. It is clear in this situation that an educated member of society with the benefit of his own mobility gains advantage.

Dostál's function in society also places him at the service of others. During his first train drive through the wintry tracks, an avalanche cascades onto the side of the vehicle, halting its movement. A storm of stress flurries inside the locomotive cabin, and of course the railway employees bear responsibility for helping the passengers. Dostál's attempts to dig the riders out

119. This chapter does not include observations about Polívka's role as a director in *Expulsion from Paradise* [*Vyhnání z ráje*] (2006). Analysis about this character and film can be found in the Money as Power section.

from the natural disaster do not go undisturbed by their hysterical demands. Rather than having freedom to go his own way at will, the carless Dostál must provide the mechanisms of mass motion for society. *Calamity* seems to disclose a sense of stagnancy and banality that pervaded the atmosphere of the time.

Chytilová cast Polívka as the crass anti-hero, Bohus, in *The Inheritance or Fuckoffguysgoodday* (1992), which dissects the post-Communist transformational program of restitution, i.e. compensating original owners of property before the 1948 coup. Bohus inherits his deceased father's property and immediately engages in unfettered debauchery and indulgence that amounts to amassing material items (a behavior that will be further explored in the Money as Power section). Still drunk, lazy and stupid, the license-less upstart acquires a BMW convertible for his elderly companion to chauffeur him around town. The car becomes a chariot to expedite Bohus' endless, unsophisticated consumption fiasco that encompasses anything from arranging a feast to mourn a dead goat to installing a backyard pool full of filthy water.¹²⁰ Barely an autonomous item, the fancy personal taxi of Bohus acts as yet another product that facilitates ephemeral pleasure before he searches for his next buyable thrill.

In Chytilová's last feature film, *Pleasant Memories* (2006), Bolek Polívka personated the meta-character, Bolek Polívka. Despite having the visage of the readily recognized Czech actor, Polívka requests the alias "Dub," and claims that he is only a lookalike. Dub first interacts with main character of the film, the psychologist Hana, after witnessing her highway accident. He brakes his BMW SUV to fetch her dismembered hubcap to return to Hana at her workplace. Dub eventually confesses to the psychologist that even with his collection of luxurious automobiles and personal aircraft to travel anywhere he desires, everything bores him. The extravagant car and celebrity identity only function as a mask for Dub, for even with all of the opportunities of transit and trappings, he still feels deficient. This character tells Hana that she interests him because of her honesty.

Hana decides to give into Dub's flirtations after all. She drives to his home and awaits his arrival at the driveway. Dub pulls up to park in his two-car garage. However, he ends up rejecting Hana, commenting that he thought she was pure, but was really only attracted to his

120. Though clearly a commentary on the spoils of capitalist society, *The Inheritance* is not the first of Chytilová's works to involve the phenomenon of incessant consumerism. Characters in *Panelstory* endlessly fetishize the new supermarket inventory. Going back to the 1960s, the two anti-heroines of *Daisies* eat to no end, never becoming satiated.

wealth and status like everyone else. Pursuits of individual happiness through owning material items like the car fail to fulfill Polívka's self-referential Dub in *Pleasant Moments*. The experience of car ownership in the scope of the three characters discussed herein suggests Chytilová's insights on how members of society interacted with aspirations of material achievement throughout Normalization (the demeaned Dostál), the early transformation (the vulgarian Bohus) and the transformed era (the crisis-fraught Dub). The implications of not owning a car, acquiring one without earning it or procuring one after becoming successful all confront these characters' existential faults and their notions of *amour propre*.

11.3 Cross-Auteur Analysis: Car Culture in Czech Contexts

Jiří Menzel and Věra Chytilová both rendered romantic episodes within cars as key scenes of their first post-New Wave films. In Menzel's *Who Looks for Gold?*, the elation that augments during the young couple's reunion ride nullifies as the man comes to realize a better purpose, detached from his decadent partner and her car. Chytilová's directorial treatment of cars in *The Apple Game* conveys perennial messages about temptation and reckless sexual endangerment, albeit in a transitory fashion, reflective of a certain time.¹²¹

Unheroic driver figures that enter into both auteurs' oeuvres suggest ways in which they interpreted indigenous social environments. Menzel's debasement of the driver, from the foolish father to the haphazard doctor, puts into motion his identity conception of the Czech character, who is humble and not congratulatory. Even in *I Served the King of England*, the milieu of industrialists accompanying fancy cars are less than commendable, given their overt, libertine overindulgences. Chytilová's styling of irresponsible or malevolent (male) drivers exhibits everlasting conditions of selfishness that crystalize in conjunction with phases of societal evolution. She also plainly demonstrated shortcomings of car owners who still face a multitude of obstacles on their roads to personal fulfillment despite their possibility of personal mobility, on the road or within society.

The theme of social status under socialism presents itself in both Czech directors' works. Chytilová highlighted hierarchical concerns in *Calamity* with how car ownership played a role in determining a man's standard. Meanwhile, Menzel's jeers about the Trabant as a commonplace,

121. Chytilová often speaks of ideas pertinent to problems in "our society" as the impetus for why she carries out a work, implying that she is thinking of Czech society. She also inquires Forman about why he always uses "foreign" themes in his work. "Věra Chytilová" in *Golden Sixties* documentary series; Brt 'kunstzaken' and Iblis Films, *Chytilová Versus Forman*.

active vehicle only make sense in the Cold War context. Created out of compressed cotton and fiberglass—and deemed as an epitomical symbol of socialist backwardness—the East German Trabant barely lasted in production after the fall of the Berlin Wall.¹²² Cars come into play in the directors' works about Normalization-era real estate tropes—the 3+1 *panelák* urban apartment model (in Chytilová's *Panelstory*) complemented by the rural *chalupa* satellite (in Menzel's *Seclusion by a Forest*)—proving that both filmmakers considered the placement of the automobile as instrumental for cinematically forging these unique environments.

The automobile functions as a device for both directors' procedures of communicating with society through film. Menzel sought to render lighthearted escapes from the ongoing state of affairs while Chytilová delivered heavy messages addressing them. Cars help shape Menzel's filmic personifications that construct and conserve the identity of the Czech people as well as Chytilová's detections of moral defects that chronically accompany shifting societal climates. It seems that when characters lack cars in Menzel's films, situations arise in which they find ways to get around with others. Carless conditions in Chytilová's films amount to feeling a lack of worth, becoming vulnerable to sinister predators or exposing conflicts on public transportation vessels.

12. Car Culture in American Contexts

12.1 Car Culture: Miloš Forman

12.1.2 Rebellion and Contradiction

Car access comes about in Miloš Forman two films concerning American counter-culture youth movements, *Taking Off* (1971) and *Hair* (1979). Both stories juxtapose hippie scenes in New York City with the well-to-do suburban societies from which the younger generation rifts. *Taking Off* follows rebellious teenager Jeannie running away from her parents' suburban domain to hang out with musicians and roam the city streets. She shows up sporadically to her cushy family home before she takes off from the comfortable, middle-class world all over again. At one point, police officers call her parents to report that Jeannie has been arrested upstate, alarming them to immediately drive northward with the intention of collecting her. The fact that Jeannie's concerned parents have the instant mobility to get into a car and ride to rescue their daughter

122. Daphne Berdahl, "'Go, Trabi, Go!': Reflections on a Car and Its Symbolization Over Time," *Anthropology and Humanism* 25, no. 2 (December 2000): 131–141, DOI: 10.1525/ahu.2000.25.2.131.

emphasizes the access to resources their quotidian lifestyle allows. Jeannie can always revert to this mundane sphere in spite of her quest for independence. *Hair* features large coterie of hippies who convene in Central Park as they experiment with drugs and free love while protesting against the Vietnam War. A couple of outliers who mingle amidst this scene include Claude, a draftee from Oklahoma, and Sheila, a daughter from an upper-class family in New Jersey. When the hippies learn that Claude has gone to Nevada to train for the war, they move to abduct Sheila from home and steal a car from her brother in order to drive out West to visit their friend. A freewheeling cruise across the open desert, reminiscent of the road scenes in *Easy Rider* (1969), proceeds. The technology flinched from the upper echelons of mainstream society enables the hippies to liberally plunge through great distances.

12.1.3 Pride and the Ford Model T

Miloš Forman made the main turning point of *Ragtime* (1981) focused on the mistreatment of a Ford Model T owned by the character Coalhouse Walker. This mosaic period piece that fuses fact and fiction takes place in the American Northeast during the early twentieth century.¹²³ Walker, a black pianist, drives his new car through the suburban city of New Rochelle, New York, where a group of white firefighters prevent him from passing down the road and charge him with obviously arbitrary toll fees. Walker leaves his vehicle to tell police officer O'Donnell, but when he returns, discovers that his Model T has been vandalized with horse feces. Walker stubbornly protests to the fire chief Conklin and officer O'Donnell:

Walker: I want this cleaned up.

Conklin: I don't blame yer, helluva shame, brand new car like that.

Walker: I want it cleaned up.

Conklin: Go ahead, clean it up.

Walker's obstinacy to stand with his cause, which quickly inflames his counterpart to utter racist remarks, gets him (but not Conklin) arrested. Upon the musician's release, he finds his car even more damaged. The restive Walker embarks on a string of escalatory attempts to gain justice, defying discouragements as he engages in terror and occupies the Morgan Library, a monument of material riches, demanding that his car be returned in its original state.

123. Forman's film adapts E. L. Doctorow's historical fiction novel *Ragtime* (1975).

Walker's steadfast quest for restoration of the encapsulation of his private property and pride, his car, resonated with Forman and his interpretation of differences between Czech and American culture:

I had a gut knowledge of Walker's dilemma from the old country: in the everyday life of Communist Czechoslovakia, you constantly felt yourself before ignorant, powerful people who didn't mind casually humiliating you, and you risked your livelihood and maybe your life by defying them. Squeezed between the Hitlers and the Stalins in Central Europe, the Czechs had to laugh a lot to keep their sanity, so theirs is an ironic, nothing-is-sacred sense of self-preservational humor.

Forman wrote that whereas a "Czech would probably clean up the backseat" during a stream of grumblings about socialism and the decline of Western civilization,¹²⁴ "Coalhouse Walker Jr., however, is an American" who demands satisfaction. Forman continued:

I suppose that what drew me to the story more than anything else was this wildly romantic American gesture. I had just become an American citizen, and maybe, in some way, I was trying the righteous and violent American psyche on for size.

Coupled with Forman's understanding of the American spirit is the material product that he placed into the fulcrum of this incredibly American period piece: the Ford Model T. The premier car to be produced on Henry Ford's assembly line, the technology immensely reduced the time it took to create the vehicle as well as its cost for consumers. Dubbed as the "universal car," the affordable Ford Model T metamorphosed the country's socio-economic structure, equipping many members of the middle class with physical mobility.¹²⁵

The aforementioned incidents that involve cars substantiate the impetus of the struggle between the individual and the institution that pervades Forman's American films:¹²⁶

. . . we all are—and want to live like—individuals, yet we need institutions to help us live. . . by the law of nature . . . institutions always have a tendency to dominate us and control us rather than the other way around. We create something to help us, we pay for it, and we end up being owned by it.¹²⁷

Forman conveyed the contradictions of hippie youth as acting contrary to the conformity of mainstream society while still reaping select benefits that materialize from its mechanisms, e.g.

124. Forman's description of the Czech attitude could be applied to how Menzel makes fun of Trabants and their effluvia in his Normalization-era films. Consumers who realized the shoddiness of the East German variant of the "everyman car" offered by socialist-era market chose to make light of the situation through sarcasm.

125. Bernadette Zbicki Heiney, "Ford Model T," *Salem Press Encyclopedia Research Starters*, 2013.

126. The concept of individual versus institution is palpably demonstrated in Forman's *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1975), which is set in a psychiatric ward.

127. Harlan Kennedy, "Ragtime: Milos Forman," *American Cinema Papers*, 1981, accessed March 30, 2018, http://www.americancinemapapers.com/files/RAGTIME_1981.htm.

automobiles. Apropos Coalhouse Walker, a black piano player earns his own money in order to enable his ownership of the iconic Model T, however, the structure of societal order suppresses him. He rebels to assert his own place in society and righteousness of material and social mobility.

12.2 Car Culture: Ivan Passer

12.2.1 Chaos in 1970s New York

Ivan Passer's two earliest American motion pictures work closely with the topography of New York City as they demonstrate how the urban traffic twists into its controlled chaos. Audio-visual effects Passer entered into his first release, *Born to Win* (1971), communicate how palpably the automobile inlays into Manhattan's mega-metropolis pulse. Areal shots of Times Square capture two streams of flowing headlights coming to a confluence below the iconic, glitzy tower of stacked commercial billboards; horns honk and sirens squeal amid noise and conversation of the throng. Passer even included several scenes of characters interacting with the cityscape by jaywalking, crossing through middle of the street and improvising ways to dodge oncoming cars, a custom integral to New York City pedestrian culture. The sensorial touches suggest ways in which Passer observed denizens navigating the spatial network of the bustling locality.

Cars play an important role in the plot of *Born to Win*, for which the auteur tackled the topic of drug addiction, a social phenomenon completely alien to him as a recent immigrant. The dark comedy's narrative follows the heroin junkie Jay in his engagements with crime and mafia circuits as he robs and scams to get his next fix. During one incident, Jay navigates through a row of parallel-parked cars in an attempt to steal one by trying out different car keys from a sizable set he possesses. Enter Parm, a woman who passes by on foot, looks into the vehicle and requests a ride home. They chat in the front seats as he continues to tinker with the keys.

Parm: Is this your car?

Jay: Yeah.

Parm: It's all plastic.

Jay: Yeah, I asked for leather all over here, and they gave me the vinyl.

Parm: Right.

Jay: But it's better to have a car than not to have a car.

Parm: That's true . . . would you like a key? *[laughs]*

Jay: I bet this is your car?

Parm: Want the key that starts the car?

Laughter ensues before they drive through the dark night, passing slick streets beneath beams of neon lights, to Parm's apartment.

The car theft encounter becomes contributory in establishing Jay's romantic relationship with Parm together with entangling her into his involvements. When he needs to "take care of a job" at John F. Kennedy airport, Jay attempts to execute the task in Parm's car solo, but he relents to her protests to accompany him. They drive off to the gargantuan world transit hub where incoming aircraft add another layer of meanings to mobility in America. Parm strolls through the terminal and stops to peruse a board of destinations while Jay leads a man to her parked vehicle in order to place a briefcase of contraband into the backseat. When Parm reunites with Jay in the front seats, they speculate about a getaway to Bermuda before riding back to a Manhattan parking lot to drop off the package. Parm asks if the men that surround them in the lot are mafia, but Jay assures her that they are square, respectable business types. However, upon their attempt to exit, several other cars swerve to trap them in, triggering Jay to yell, "They're cutting us off, move it!" A suspenseful parking-lot chase scene proceeds with Parm speeding up the structure's spiral to the roof. The mafia men follow and abduct Jay, who later escapes and returns to Parm's apartment.

Parm attempts to lure Jay away from the dead-end life he leads by offering alternate routes via her automobile, suggesting "We can go away somewhere. We can get in the car and go anywhere, right away." Under a leaden sky, Jay and Parm pass through a grim highway stretch, belting the hook of "Worried Man Blues."¹²⁸ Jay's downtrodden state evaporates during the ride as they nuzzle against each other, prompting him to react that something about the naive "smooching" lifts his spirits, like being a teenager again. Beyond the fact that he's an old, heroin-addicted junkie, he can find happiness in having his own girl and being on the road.

Jay and Parm cruise out to the geographic limit whereby they cannot pass any farther: the ocean. The sandy beach and crashing waves at the open shoreline at first heighten their moods, but as time passes, Jay's longing for his next fix mentally and physically consumes him. The pair board into Parm's car to return to Manhattan for Jay to continue with his felonious existence.

128. The American folk song "Worried Man Blues" focuses on the topic of imprisonment after a person falls asleep by the river and wakes with shackled feet. The lyrics seemingly carry implications for not only the worryment Parm and Jay face, but also the self-imposed prison the latter locks himself into via drug addiction.

Passer's insights regarding personal liberty versus choice in the US seem to stand at the core of these scenes. The ironies inherent to the sequence of automotive episodes of Jay and Parm echo the auteur's later remarks concerning American drug culture:

I didn't know anything about drugs, so I learned a lot of new things, did research. It interested me because here in the country of freedom—for me who came from a country of restricted freedoms—there are these people who voluntarily give their freedom away, and are enslaved by drugs. That fascinated me.¹²⁹

The couple has the privilege to drive to the international airport and toy with the possibilities of places afar, or even embark on a shorter, spontaneous trip to the Atlantic Ocean—destinations likely inconceivable to the reality in 1970s Czechoslovakia, the landlocked country behind the Iron Curtain from which Passer emigrated. The roguish American Jay is presented with an outlet for satisfaction, in being intimate with a loyal partner who grants him mobility, using the exact car he tried to steal. Such prospects only go so far before he caves into his unpropitious urge for narcotics. It appears that Passer, by showing the self-imposed limitations of a heroin junkie's encounters with the car, was trying to make sense of the dynamics of boundlessness and personal binding intrinsic to Americans' actions.

Law and Disorder (1974) barely paints a brighter picture of 1970s New York City. Passer's second post-New Wave work illustrates America's most populous urban locale as crime-ridden and corrupted enough to rouse a milieu of middle-aged, lower-middle-class men to become auxiliary police officers. The first few minutes of the movie survey a *mélange* of illegal actions within public and private spheres: a flasher exposes himself to women seated on benches; a burglar breaks into an apartment to rob a television set.

Car-related criminality provokes regular people to instill order into their surroundings. Cy, one of the film's main characters, owns a hairdresser's studio in front of which he parks his automobile that immediately becomes targeted by a group of thieves riding a truck. They stop in front of his car, unhinge its doors, remove the seats, take off the tires and gut parts beneath the hood. Cy runs back out from his business to discover a shell of the vehicle he had just parallel parked. He angrily recounts his theft story to an apathetic police officer who offers the suggestion of starting an auxiliary effort.

Passer introduced the feud-fraught practice of dealing with car insurance in America when Cy and his friend Willie, a taxi driver, take lunch at an archetypical, greasy spoon diner

129. Bergan, "Still Free."

(akin to visual depictions by photographers Stephen Shore and William Eggleston). Willie relaxes at the counter while Cy busies himself by the payphone, shouting vehemently: “Listen to me, are you insurance guys trying to screw me or something? Because it’s been four weeks since those animals picked my car apart and I ain’t seen a dime yet!” Regardless of Willie’s attempts to lure his companion back to the counter to enjoy a free pastry, Cy continues yelling about forms and money until he retreats from his battle to conclude, “I’m lucky I’m getting any coverage at all.”

For all of the efforts that Cy puts into managing his own business and personal property, he remains vulnerable to the counterbalance of nemesis forces infringing on his ability to reap sufficient benefits from his labors. Lawbreakers gut his car, law enforcement barely cares and the insurance company avoids resolving the financial repercussions. Such misfortunates may suggest that Passer aimed to bring into *Law and Disorder* the shortcomings of pursuing one’s path in a free country when society, the establishment and private interests become deleterious towards an individual who pursues happiness.

12.2.2 Instrument of Corruption

As the members of the auxiliary troop of *Law and Disorder* tailor themselves as upholders of the law, a car is added into the equation. Cy leads Willie out to the back lot of his salon to introduce his friend to a new blue vehicle. The sight alerts Willie.

Willie: What the hell is it, a police car?

Cy: No! It’s a car that looks like a police car.

Willie: Where’d you get it?

Cy: A friend. Wait until you see this!

They argue as Cy places a spinning light on top of his fashioned police car and sets off a siren. By arming himself with this instrument, Cy conjures up feelings of empowerment, happily determined to design his alter ego as an authority figure.

The auxiliary cops’ use of power rapidly steers towards abuse, and their car ultimately becomes a target of destruction. As a theatrical gesture to introduce the pseudo police car to his peers, Cy aggressively peels it through a community sports field, irking one of the men to remark that his son plays ball on that turf. The group grows elated when they ride together in this car and decide to disregard red traffic lights because they are “officers of the law.” Things go askew during an attempt to chase down a juvenile criminal in a rough city neighborhood. In shielding themselves within their vehicle, the men suffer when their protection proves inadequate;

individuals on the street shoot at its shell and smash its windows. Passer's inclusion of this stylized police car represents how members of a societal system become swiftly corrupted by self-prescribed powers. Their illusory order only suffices to a limited extent, as evidenced by the car's damage.

12.2.3 Reckless Drivers on Both Coasts

Passer illustrates reckless driving in America through the actions of Willie, who is a taxi operator by profession in *Law and Order*. He and Cy get intoxicated at a bar and continue out to Willie's cab without regard for drunk driving rules or risks. When they motor into a parking garage, Willie backs up into a car but brushes the incident off because "the same son of a bitch hit me last week." Even though a vigilante cop should hypothetically respect laws against driving under the influence or damaging property, Willie does not bring these principles into practice. It is possible that Passer sought to display the behavioral fissures that threaten the legal framework meant to maintain society.

Passer also rendered reckless driving in Southern California settings for *Cutter's Way* (1981), a neo-noir piece that he deems as perhaps his "most American film." Crippled Vietnam veteran Alex Cutter suffers from alcoholism, and his drunk driving worries Mo, his listless, careworn wife.¹³⁰ Cutter drives home one day straight into his next-door neighbor's Toyota that blocks his driveway. The neighbor comes out screaming and smacking Cutter's car that smashed repeatedly into his own. Intoxicated Cutter meanwhile hobbles inside to crack off-color, bigoted jokes about picking up hitchhikers while Mo reminds him about his lapsed car insurance and expired driver's license.

Ineffective institutional justice consequently results in Passer's "damaging account of a nation that has lost its final illusions in the Vietnam War and of a society eaten away by corruption."¹³¹ A police officer shows up to question Cutter, who, in spite of all his wrongdoings, manages to talk his way out of serious comeuppance. The cop assigns the two parties to work out the vehicular issues between one another. Outraged, the neighbor shouts to the cop that he is a taxpayer, to which the unfazed cop reacts "so am I." The neighbor calls the cop a fascist as the officer drives off. Cutter irreverently tells his counterpart "Forget it pal,

130. Mo is also a depressed alcoholic who mostly stays at their home.

131. Bergan, "Still Free."

Toyota's a shitty car anyway.” The upshot of this accident demonstrates how the establishment fails to assign responsibility to those who flout the law.

12.2.4 Social Hierarchy and Cars

In *Law and Disorder*, Willie’s dissatisfaction with his position as a cabdriver within the societal hierarchy arises recurrently throughout the film.¹³² He grieves about finding an alternative job, speculates about opening a business or laments about unrealized opportunities for entrepreneurial ventures. During Willie’s driving shifts, he grapples to push his way through the anxiety-ridden urban jungle of New York. One scene in which the cabdriver cruises through bustling traffic includes a bus driving him off course, followed by its driver cursing at Willie upon verbal confrontation.

The extent to which Willie remains at the service of other ingrates hyperbolizes when he drives a wealthy British couple to John F. Kennedy airport. They harass him for not taking Park Avenue; the husband bemoans that he could have ridden in a limousine or helicopter to make their check-in while his bumptious wife tells Willie he should not be driving a cab. Willie rebels against their pretentious castigation by stopping his car in the middle of the bridge and walking off into ongoing traffic. Willie’s taxi betokens his staid status throughout the film, representing a subservient position in which he felt stuck.

The luxurious car as an indicator of success in livelihood comes up in *Creator* (1985), a California film based on a medical professor Harry Wopler who attempts to clone his deceased wife in his home laboratory. Wopler’s jealous rival, professor Sid Kuhlenbeck, takes stock of his own self worth at a party: “What good is my yacht, and my Porsche and my European ski villa—not to mention my reputation as a world-class scientist—if I don’t have a woman?” When a young woman repeats “Porsche” without affecting the “e” at the end, Kuhlenbeck immediately corrects her. This professor’s hubris that comes off through this pronunciation nuance shows how important his car is to his identity construction that is seeped in conventions of social status and trappings representing virtue.

12.3 Cross-Auteur Analysis: American Car Culture

In their post-New Wave works, Miloš Forman and Ivan Passer incorporated as purveyors of the American culture into which they immersed and penetrated professionally. Each director

132. *Law and Disorder* predates *Taxi Driver* (1976), a classic American film that follows the gritty lifestyle of a New York City cab operator.

dealt with elements of social status in the US, as seen in Passer's portrayal of car troubles that coincide with lower-middle-class dissatisfaction in *Law and Disorder*. His *Creator* highlights the accretion of material success for a pompous—but spouseless—professional. Forman's *Ragtime* deals with a dogged effort to assert oneself in an ascent into the middle class by connecting a Ford Model T to a character's dignity. Meanwhile, his 1970s portrayals of American hippie culture exhibit tendencies of youth living on the fringe of society enjoying access to middle- and upper-class resources, i.e. automobiles.¹³³

Forman's filmic use of the car demonstrates dynamics of individual strife at odds with the mechanisms of American societal order. Passer's films tend to probe into more divisive matters that paralyze denizens' aims. Characters' ambitions vis-à-vis their cars—exercising freedom of movement, finding fulfillment or maintaining an orderly lifestyle—face challenges brought on by societal forces and personal shortcomings. Both directors included iniquitous situations with law enforcement, however, their objectives for doing so appear divergent. Whereas Forman focused more on the integrity of the individual within American society, Passer drew attention to systemic and self-limitations.

13. Cross-Cultural Analysis: Car Culture in Czech and American Contexts

The car pervades all four directors' post-New Wave films as a criterion of characters' personal pride and worth. Forman had Coalhouse Walker ruthlessly buck for the restoration of his Ford Model T, the iconic American industrial product that testifies to his personal rise into the middle class, in the early twentieth century. Menzel represented a badge of accomplishment in *My Sweet Little Village* when a town doctor replaces his shandrydan with a brand new Škoda—upon which he exercises his poor driving skills. Chytilová demonstrated how not having a car in the early 1980s makes a young man unattractive to women and accentuates a drab existence through *Calamity*.¹³⁴ Her later films show how getting chauffeured in an unearned

133. By the late 1970s, the time that Forman rendered the musical *Hair* into a film, the director noted that certain values of the 1960s counter-culture had become mainstream while others were disregarded or co-opted. Such an observation suggests that Forman read into the evolution of the social environment in how it absorbed the 1960s rebellious spirit. Forman, *Turnaround*, 230.

134. A loose association can be drawn between the situations of Dostál in Chytilová's *Calamity* and Willie in Passer's *Law and Disorder*. The former operates a passenger train while the latter drives a taxi. Escorting others by trade, both men feel diminished senses of self-worth and ranking on the social scale.

BMW (*The Inheritance*) or even driving a justly acquired one (*Pleasant Memories*) do not elevate the flawed characters from their deficiencies. Passer pointed to materialistic superficiality when he had a smug professor in *Creator* flaunt his Porsche.

Czechs and Americans who disparage car models signify the state of affairs at specified junctures. Menzel's films find characters poking fun at Trabants during the 1970s and 1980s, showing a tendency during late Communism in Czechoslovakia to chastise the Eastern Bloc's infamously unreliable automobile. Regarding Passer in the US, the scene in which Cutter belittles his neighbor's damaged Toyota demonstrates an opinion coming from a middle-class American in the early 1980s. Chytilová's assignment of an old, broken-down Škoda for the *Traps* victim Lenka—along with the Renault driver's patronizing remark—enunciates the troubles the Czech nation was facing around the late 1990s.

Characters appear to drive the most recklessly in Passer's American films. Men he depicted driving drunk include Willie, the cab-driver-cum-auxiliary-cop from *Born to Win* and Cutter, the crippled Vietnam veteran from *Cutter's Way*.¹³⁵ Plausibly, the fact that the figures represent agents of government institutions suggest the systemic hypocrisy the director detected. Acts of criminality in his American films also signify widespread disaffection. In terms of Czech comparisons, Chytilová's inclusion of the car as a stage for a rape crime in *Traps* also shows how the automobile can serve as a device for violent, horrific acts by perpetrators.

Menzel and Forman both captured fathers as ineffectual head-of-family figures who command cars. Prager Oldřich from *Seclusion Near a Forest* gets upbraided by his little daughter for letting junky Trabants pass him or taken advantage of by his peasant landlord. The father figure in *Taking Off* drives from the New York City metropolitan area to upstate New York in attempt to find his daughter, who keeps running away from the standard, middle-class American home bubble that ensconces his family. Both figures represent members of normal society (from Czechoslovak Normalization to the American Dream) whose car ownership embeds into the mainstream goals of the 1970s climates in which they participate.

Capturing stressful urban auras that trace frenzied automobile traffic finds way in Passer's 1970s New York City films as well as Chytilová's last feature in 2006. Likewise, both

135. For all of the barbaric drinking that occurs in Chytilová's Czech films, even the most antagonistic individuals observe caution by announcing that they are driving before taking shots of liquor, e.g. Dr. John from *The Apple Game* or Petr from *Traps, Traps, Little Traps*. In *Panelstory*, the worker who demands alcohol as payment for fixing a Saab is shown drinking it in the front seat, but never maneuvering the vehicle.

auteurs made use of the highway infrastructure. The throughways outside of the city in Passer's *Born to Win* represent the accessible travel opportunities that awaited American drivers in the 1970s. The highways that cut through Prague in 2006 illustrate more recent states of development that still cause complications for dwellers.

Romantic car scenes in the first post-New Wave works of three directors include episodes of escape from customariness, albeit in different circumstances. An early driving scene in Menzel's post-New Wave *Who Looks for Gold?* captures young love finally reunited after the boyfriend fulfilled civic duties of army service. In Chytilová's *Apple Game*, the car enables the characters to flee from the realms of work expectations, exposure to crowds and domestic life—before they suffer the consequences of their sexual affairs. The lead character of Passer's first American release *Born to Win* finds temporary refuge from his drug-addicted and delinquent existence by riding down the highway with his girlfriend, pleasures that do not surmount his (largely self-imposed) destruction.

Throughout the four directors' post-New Wave films, the iconology of the car signifies varying degrees of dealings with societal customs: conformity, celebration, defiance, disregard. As such, it can be concluded that Passer and Chytilová portrayed more criticism of the social atmospheres with which they interacted, especially in showing pessimism towards automotive infrastructure and repeated occurrences of characters' hubris and selfish—often illicit—actions. The works of Forman and Menzel strike a more upbeat note, adding a sort of perseverance for characters to continue with their pursuits in American and Czech culture, despite the contradictions or challenges at hand. Both auteurs' inclusions of historical models—the Praga or the Model T—underscore their pride in the societies they decided to partake in subsequent to the 1960s.

Money as Power

Money as power will be examined as a pattern in the four Czech directors' post-New Wave careers. Though immaterial, the concept of clout's linkage to wealth comes not only perceptible in the material composition of social environments but also the cultural products that these environments manifest. The film medium testifies for the level of resources input into a product, with variables like access to shooting sites, casting of actors and technology for special effects all taken into account. In a film's substance, the economic status of characters often

embeds into their comportment and capabilities: what class they fall into shapes their outlook; whether they prosper reflects how well they deal with the mechanisms of their time and place. Mozart's zealous pursuit of pure artistic genius did not gain him financial stability in eighteenth-century Vienna, as built upon in Forman's *Amadeus*, which the director prided as a popular moneymaker.¹³⁶

Films and film movements exhibit many levels of pecuniary matters. The Czechoslovak New Wave occurred under the peculiar conditions of “strong state sponsorship” fused with “the inability of the sponsor, a weak state, to have things its way” in the 1960s.¹³⁷ According to Jiří Menzel, the compatibility of “ideological ease” and “economic irresponsibility” enabled young directors like him to enter the field risk-free.¹³⁸ Keeping in mind that Menzel, Chytilová, Forman and Passer all continued their careers as film directors subsequent to New Wave—an ephemeral confluence of minimized monetary and governmental pressures—it thus poses a relevant question for how these auteurs interpreted money as power working on both sides of the Iron Curtain, before and after its fall.

Notions of finance are inherent to the tradition of American motion pictures. Budgets and box-office figures often pose as automatic metrics by which a film product is judged. Forman plunged into the tumultuous sea of American commercial deal-making for *Taking Off* (1971), a dumbfounding system compared with the simpler forces at play in Czechoslovakia, where “people are not paid so highly, so there is less jealousy and not so much shark behavior.”¹³⁹ The journey entailed hearing the script get blasted, negotiating with agents and learning that paperless, word-of-mouth agreements are meaningless. To land an agreement with Universal Studios, Forman pulled out of a deal with original backer Paramount, ended up owing them \$140,000 for previous expenses and signed mysterious contracts written in English (before his language skills were adequate) all before squeezing down a production budget from \$1,300,000 to under \$900,000.¹⁴⁰

136. Forman, *Turnaround*, 278.

137. Antonín J. Liehm, “Czech and Slovak Cinema,” *Cinéaste* 19, no. 4 (1993): 62, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41687248>.

138. Buchar, *Czech New Wave Filmmakers in Interviews*, 38.

139. Miloš Forman, John Guare, Jean-Claude Carriere, John Klein, *Taking Off* (New York: Signet, 1971), 16–17.

140. *Ibid.*, 19–23.

In the following analysis, money as power will be examined in terms of how film characters prioritize currency and what it brings out in them. When applicable, characters' rise into wealth, or failure to do so, will be assessed. The influence that affluent figures hold over others will be discussed. The post-New Wave films of Menzel and Chytilová will be examined in the matter of how money as power immersed into their Normalization-era films compared to those after the change in regime. All four directors' quotes will be referenced as a means to make sense of their individual standpoints. Directors' attitudes (and actions) related to economic elements in their countries will also be explored. Binary auteur and country analyses will follow in order to congeal a broader evaluation of how the four Czech directors interpreted money as power in their social landscapes from the 1970s to 2000s.

14. Money as Power in Czech Contexts

14.1 Money as Power: Jiří Menzel

14.1.1 Normalization-era Films

Personal interest in gaining prosperity and influence does not widely pervade Jiří Menzel's directorial output during the Normalization years. In his first post-New Wave work, *Who Looks for Gold?* (1974), the young Láda gets a job at a dam construction site in order to earn a higher income. However, this socialist-realist piece does not see his personality constructed as eager to augment his power; rather, he finds solace in his workplace environment as opposed to pursuing an alternate city life in Prague. Characters bring up money in Menzel's village-centric creations like *Seclusion Near a Forest* (1976) and *My Sweet Little Village* (1989), but the theme pertains to topics such as cottage real estate or wasting earnings on a fancy tombstone.

14.1.2 Post-1989 Films

Money as power is central to the plot of Menzel's *I Served the King of England* (2006), a film whose realization came complicated by issues related to finance. Peter Hames describes the "most widely reported incident of the Karlovy Vary Film Festival" in which Menzel:

seized a stick and drove his current producer from the main hall. In what seemed like a planned "coup de theatre," he planned to draw attention to the way in which the rights to film Bohumil Hrabal's novel . . . [I Served the King of England, 1980] had been sold behind his back. Whatever

the rights and wrongs of the case, it demonstrated the ways in which the practices of the “free market” had still to be fully assimilated.¹⁴¹

Menzel later told the *Guardian*, “I had to go to the police later and pay a fine, but I was glad I had done it.” Several years down the road, the veteran director attained the rights to bring the film to fruition.¹⁴²

Menzel’s *I Served the King of England* features Dítě, a doltish character (whose minuscule frame explains his name, meaning “child” in Czech), who, at the beginning of the movie, reflects upon his youthful aspirations: “My whole life, I aspired only to being a millionaire.”¹⁴³ His dreams had involved buying a hotel, finding a rich wife and pooling their resources so that “everyone would recognize me as a rich man as a millionaire.” Dítě’s first job experience of peddling sausages at the train station not only gives him a taste of what it is like to earn his own cash, but also the things humans will do for a few coins: “they’ll bend over, kneel down, even crawl on all fours.” With this knowledge, Dítě exerts this playful, benignly sadistic control over others by periodically tossing coins on the floor to watch them crouch down and collect them. The experiment works anywhere from the street to the pub to the finest of dining establishments.

Both the plot progression and visual composition of *I Served the King of England* are gravid with the motif of money. As a juvenile sausage seller, Dítě is continuously pictured folding bills into his pants and jacket pockets. While employed at a hotel pub, he delivers a tray up to Mr. Walden, a stout businessman pictured lying upon a burgundy carpet across which he systematically lays hundreds of bills. Mr. Walden asks his awestruck server: “Ever seen anything more beautiful?” He guides Dítě: “I’ve also seen what you do with your loose change. But you have to know how to throw your change away so that it comes back as banknotes” and “Money can lay the world at your feet!” It is apparent Dr. Walden revels in the power he holds to offer advice to his eager listener. Dítě follows Mr. Walden’s lead by placing his earnings on the floor to “arrange an image of my abilities, my power” after his shifts.

141. Hames, “Czech Cinema: From State Industry to Competition,” 63.

142. Steve Rose, “Irony Man,” *Guardian*, May 9, 2008, accessed April 25, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2008/may/09/1>.

143. The film employs a dichotomous style as the story oscillates between an older Dítě released from prison reflecting upon a younger version of himself during the late First Republic leading into the Second World War.

The monetary symbolism accelerates during Dítě's stint at the sumptuous Hotel Tichota. The character caters to a party of wealthy, middle-aged male industrialists who hedonistically gorge on gastronomic and carnal pleasures while taking breaks to negotiate business deals or light up a cigar on a flaming banknote. Dítě reckons, "I never saw happier men than those rich industrialists. Like all rich people they were as playful and merry as puppies." As one guest, Mr. General, checks out, the hotel owner reads from the lengthy list of decadent items from his bill, such as three champagne bottles, a roast goose, two dozen oysters and so on. The aloof guest hands the owner several thousand crowns from his immense wad, shoves a bill down the chambermaid's shirt and then hands the bulky remainder to Dítě.

The payment empowers Dítě to climb the service industry ladder to land a job at Prague's Hotel Paris, whose grandiose interior is given a bedazzling introduction that surveys sparkling crystal flutes, florid art nouveau murals and gilded chandeliers that droop over the spacious restaurant hall. Dítě works towards his goals and becomes headwaiter at Hotel Paris during the time that the Germans occupy Czechoslovakia. Somehow unaware of their exploits, he sympathizes with the Nazi occupiers over what he sees as Czech rabble-rousers, begins a relationship with a highly indoctrinated German teacher from Cheb¹⁴⁴ and receives special permission to procreate with Aryan blood. Dítě's Czech coworkers, who feel more and more the effects of the occupation, scold Dítě for being a traitor and a bad Czech, to which he seems unfazed.

After his Hitler-crazed girlfriend returns from Poland with bundles of valuable stamps looted from deported Jews' evacuated dwellings, Dítě behaves at first dumbstruck until she elaborates about their future of becoming millionaires with the power to buy a "Hotel Dítě." Following the end of the war, Dítě sells the stamps to buy the property of Hotel Tichota, and he lines the wall using a collage of bills so that other millionaires can gawk. The timing for this purchase renders his domain ironically temporary, for come the Communist coup in 1948, state officials enter and seize the hotel. Dítě gets thrown in jail for fifteen years due to his assets, an environment where he finally gets to be among millionaires. While the money from stamps was not "lucky," it put him in a position that he wanted to be, among the upper (albeit obsolete) echelons of society. Upon the completion of his sentence, Dítě is released into a drab,

144. Cheb is a Western Bohemian city that used to have a German-majority population before Germans were expelled after World War II.

Communist atmosphere and assigned to renovate a run-down building in the Sudetenland.¹⁴⁵ Dítě's "rise" to wealth and power that he desired to achieve proves short-lived and realized via absurd, abhorrent tactics.

What Menzel's most expensive film *I Served the King of England* says about the director's interactions with Czech social landscapes seems open-ended.¹⁴⁶ Does Menzel's penchant for projecting himself onto persons in his films¹⁴⁷ take some form even through Dítě? Compared with the main character of *Closely Watched Trains*,¹⁴⁸ Menzel relates: "It's the same hero. But after 40 years, you know better who the man is. What is at first view innocent, later you see is more complicated. But he is just like the rest of us. Nobody is perfect."¹⁴⁹ Of course, Dítě's Czech colleagues reinforce the vileness of the character's Nazi-collaboration oblivion, but certain auteurist self-insertion tendencies arguably emerge in this case, e.g. his sexual escapades, youthful, dull-witted demeanor¹⁵⁰ and utterance "We Czechs don't fight wars." To that extent, with financial aspects so interlaced into the form and content of *I Served the King of England*—not to mention the film's dispute, production and promotion—it can be postulated that Dítě personifies a type of *raisonneur* reacting to the amoral or immoral essence of money's pervasion into the rights to realize matters.

14.2 Money as Power: Věra Chytilová

14.2.1 Normalization-era Films

Money as power arises in Věra Chytilová's Normalization-era works, but exists more as a supporting theme rather than a guiding concept in their plots. A young mother in *Panelstory* (1979), which satirizes a *panelák* building community, projects the fiction of her fairy-tale marriage framed within her prefabricated chamber. The façade begins to crumble as her husband

145. The Sudetenland refers to the areas of the former Czechoslovakia largely populated by Germans prior to expulsions.

146. According to Adam Blenton, Menzel secured "a relatively huge budget for a Czech film (84 million crowns or \$4 million." Television station Nova, the main backer, ran "massive advertising campaign" to promote the movie. Blenton, "TWO CZECH KINGS," 52–53.

147. Menzel often includes in his films an innocently smiling, small-framed, sexually curious male character, e.g. Miloš Hrna in *Closely Watched Trains* (1966) or Pavel in *Larks on a String* (1969). Menzel also acts as Arnošek the tightrope walker in *Capricious Summer [Rozmarné léto]* (1968), a New Wave film he directed.

148. The Oscar-winning *Closely Watched Trains* (1966) that was made during the Czechoslovak New Wave was also based on a Hrabal novel written about a young man's sexual discovery amid Nazi occupied years.

149. Rose, "Irony Man."

150. Menzel, the youngest director of the Czechoslovak New Wave, has consistently described himself as less intelligent than peers. Glasgow University, *The Kids from FAMU*.

arrives home for dinner and gropes her in the kitchen as he says, “Welcome home the breadwinner.” She grows annoyed with her unappreciative spouse—not to mention his desire to dash off to the pub—prompting her to assert, “I’m going to find a job” while setting the table. He dismisses the statement in disbelief and their quarrelling takes all sorts of turns towards their unrealized ambitions. In *Calamity*, the young railway driver trainee Dostál (played by a young Bolek Polívka, a recurrent actor in Chytilová’s films) has to err on the side of humility when he borrows money from his father to take a girl on a date.

14.2.2 Post-1989 Films

In Chytilová’s four post-1989 works, it becomes apparent that when access to money augments in the social environment, so does her virulent commentary towards the arrivistes that flock to it. Characters in these works come across as charged with avarice, undeserving of compensation or obsequious towards the wealthy. As an emboldener, money drives individuals to manipulate others or pursue selfish endeavors but does not save them from imploding from their emptiness.

In Chytilová’s comedy that ridicules the regime-transitioning climate, *The Inheritance or Fuckoffguysgoodday* (1992), hillbilly Bohus (played by Polívka)¹⁵¹ becomes a surprise case of restitution. Bohus experiences an electrifying strike of ascent upon being informed by the attorney Dr. Ulrich that he is the heir of his deceased father and thereby set to receive a great deal of assets. Realizing his instant leverage in social and economic status, Bohus declares, “I’m rich! I won’t have to answer to anyone!” The euphoria drives him to sloppily frolic across into country fields to parade his richness to a tableau of grain-shearing peasants. Bohus’ ignoble dominion extends also to several nearby property sites listed in the inheritance package. He enters the grounds of his newly acquired brickworks, chastises laborers for standing around smoking and complains to a veteran on-duty manager about too many “bricks lying around.” Bohus gives the same condescending treatment to a cashier working in a small convenience store by refusing to stand in line behind the other customers or pay for liquor in *his* shop. Dr. Ulrich finds himself in an uncomfortable position in which he has to talk things out with the workers while still honoring Bohus’ prerogative.

151. In correspondence with the previous analytical section on car culture, several of the characters played by Czech actor Polívka exemplify strong responses regarding money as power before and after the change in regime.

The illogicality of Bohus' instant rise reiterates on the street when the parvenu, by happenstance, spots famous pop singer Karel Gott and drunkenly barges up to him with an overly familiar greeting of "Kaja!" Gott calmly turns down a drink offer from Bohus and continues on his way. The encounter suggests that the auteur may have sought to emphasize the musician's efforts to earn star status, in actually accomplishing a career, juxtaposed to Bohus' sloth. By placing this country boor as an unprincipled, uncredentialed authority figure over competent partakers of civilization, the question comes up of whether his acquisitions equate to justice or lucre in the transitional landscape.

Bohus' sway extends into his personal surroundings and social life. He manages to get two girlfriends, a local barkeeper and a prostitute, to move in with him onto his property, a mostly dilapidated rural estate also boarded by his elderly aunt. The two young women at first fight over Bohus until they team up and manipulate him for spending money. Amid an unproductive odyssey of shopping and stupor, Bohus' ride on the power crest crashes hard when Dr. Ulrich informs him that his position is void: it turns out that the "father" was not his biological parent, thus he is not entitled to the inheritance. Riches evaporate in conjunction with Bohus' charisma, popularity and influence over others. Alas, while the destitute Bohus sits downtrodden at the pub, an ethereal force named "Dr. Guardian" emerges through the door to let Bohus know that he shall receive "roughly ten million dollars" from his blood father. Power conjures in this character once more, culminating in a confrontational scene for the very last shot of the film. Bohus break down the fourth wall to utter, "Now I can buy you all."

Power dynamics related to money weave into Chytilová's *Expulsion from Paradise* (2001), for which Polívka played Rost'a, the director of a pseudo film (within the film) production set on a nudist beach. Characters' "off-screen" interactions appear to represent the issues Chytilová faced regarding the post-1989 changes that pervaded her professional field. She stated that "investors realized there was no money in film here because the Czech Republic is such a small nation" and "producers are only interested in big money" all while actors became expensive.¹⁵²

Having to deal with an independent backer to realize a creative project seemingly incarnates with Igor, a wealthy and voluble Russian producer who finances the movie. Igor first enters *Expulsion from Paradise* as Rost'a and the screenwriter sit at an outdoor restaurant

152. Buchar, *Czech New Wave Filmmakers in Interviews*, 52, 54.

debating whether humankind is innately good or evil. They ask Igor's opinion, to which he dismisses the relevance of their discourse before coming to the conclusion: "The most important thing in the world is money. That is my opinion."¹⁵³ Igor argues with them, "You're acting stupid, you would not be here if it were not for money." The screenwriter's rebuttal that human civilization would function without money gets countered by Igor's retort: "We would still be monkeys if there were not money."¹⁵⁴ The three men continuously debate throughout *Expulsion from Paradise*, oftentimes about the direction of the film they are creating. Opinionated Igor consistently puts forth his visions of an "erotic lovestory" as the screenwriter waxes philosophic while Rost'a seeks to fulfill artistic goals and manifest allegorical Adam-and-Eve scenes.¹⁵⁵

When Rost'a's wife, Valerie, an actress from the West,¹⁵⁶ enters the lakeside landscape during a live shoot, her presence completely disrupts the tempo. The nudist actors become intrigued by her aura as a well-known figure from abroad. They wonder whether she will act with them. A nudist man quickly dismisses the idea by reasoning, "It is always a question of money and—how is it said in Czech? *Kariéra*." The nudists' dialogue engendered by Valerie's entrance brings forth questions regarding payment and prowess. The mystique of her persona emits a general notion of power over them and their perception of hierarchic worth.

On multiple occasions, Rost'a's directions come across as dictatorial or exploitative towards the actors, spurring him to justify that they are getting paid. During a shoot for an infernal nighttime scene, actors encircle a pig spit whose bonfire emits a crimson glow on their bare bodies and sandy backgrounds. Valerie sits to the side visibly disturbed by these theatrics. Rost'a seeks to amplify the primitive visuals of the scene by rubbing bloody pork on the actors' flesh. The first canvas is a little boy, who cries for his mother in protest. A woman emerges and insists, "Leave children be," to which Rost'a replies, "Leave it be, madam, or you will not get paid." She too receives the bloody flesh treatment that extends to the rest of the bare cast. The crew films them picking off the fiery swine, wrestling in the sand and catching bits of meat as it is tossed at them by Rost'a. These bestial operations perturb Valerie to the point of interrupting

153. Author's translation from Czech to English.

154. The tone of this conversation is underscored when a naked man runs throughout the restaurant (of clothed patrons) hysterically searching for a doctor.

155. Dora Viceníková, "Naked Allegory: Věra Chytilová's *Vyhnání z ráje* (*Expulsion from Paradise*, 2001)," *Kinoeye* 2, no. 8 (2002), <http://www.kinoeye.org/02/08/vicenikova08.php>.

156. Polívka's real-life ex-wife, French actress Chantal Poullain, played Valerie in *Expulsion from Paradise*. The nudists wonder if she worked in America.

and imploring the director out loud, “How can you manipulate people like that? Are they monkeys or what?” The nudists justify their acquiescence; a man admits, “We are paid for it.” There is a clear power competition rippling through the diabolical drama with the component of payment as an indelible element.

The French actress and Russian producer try to discharge influence upon the fictive Czech film shoot. They can connote adventitious players on the Czech stage and how money as power entwines into the mechanisms. The construction of Igor’s character as a rich Russian could convey that even with the Soviet Union collapsed, influence from the East may still trickle in, albeit in a financial variant, rather than the ideological one alive during the Cold War. The French actress personifies a Western appeal with an air of perceived wealth that has the power to bewilder. She and Rost’a clash over what authority he holds over the nudists, and he stands by his privilege in terms of being their boss. Power struggles intertwined with payers and payees rupture the clothed characters’ relations throughout *Expulsion from Paradise*.

In Chytilová’s *Traps, Traps, Little Traps* (1998), a dark comedy that takes place in the late 1990s, the characters Dohnal and Petr speak of their personal aspirations and reservations connected with money. Their outlooks towards travel possibilities reflect their inner ruminations in this regard. While having sex with his wife, Dohnal, a MP, reacts to her suggestion that they vacation in the Canary Islands by exclaiming, “I’m not a millionaire!” When Petr and Dohnal cruise through the open countryside, Dohnal takes notice of a nice house and asks Petr his opinion. Petr seems less than enthused:

Petr: No . . . marriage, mortgage—over my dead body.

Dohnal: So what do you fancy?

Petr: Money. Loads of it. I’d jack it all in and travel, and travel!

Both men harbor notions that a good level of money would grant them the power to traverse borders. The prospect of travel shows how Dohnal feels limited whereas Petr feels unlimited for following his self-centered, indulgent pursuits. The pair, despite their dissimilar levels of confidence, perceives money as a huge player in assuming command over their lives.

The clout of the wealthy businessman Bach infiltrates into many of the character’s actions throughout *Traps*. A party set at his home displays all sorts of splendor as guests feast upon a resplendent banquet while touting champagne flutes. They make sure to affect themselves properly in front of Bach as they utter comments like “That’s Dr. Bach. He’s so stinking rich he even buys debts.” Dohnal bestows upon Bach an energetic, bootlicking introduction:

Dohnal: We meet at last. I'm always hearing about you: "Bach's behind this. Bach's behind that." Always Bach! You've got quite an influence out there. How do you do it?
Bach: I model myself on you.
Dohnal: Me? An ordinary, unassuming chap like me?
Bach: That's the trick.

The "easily corrupted" MP's sycophantic priorities solidify as he "ignores the interests of his office, preferring to cultivate a good relationship with a *nouveau riche*."¹⁵⁷ Bach pushes Dohnal, who works as deputy to the Ministry of Ecology, to make possible the construction of a ring road on protected land in order implement Bach's plan of building a motel and gas station next to the prospective highway. Bach reviews Petr's proposed advertising graphic to promote another business endeavor, chocolate bonbon "Bach Balls," and calls it "rather lewd," embarrassing the usually arrogant Petr in front of his boss. The wealthy man's ultimate pinnacle atop of the power pyramid overrides the workings of Petr's workplace.

Money acts as a schismatic or isolating player in interpersonal relationships throughout *Pleasant Moments* (2006), Chytilová's final film about the psychologist Hana and the characters whom she advises. Bolek Polívka, masking his famous self as alias "Dub," laments over the pall of terrible boredom and loneliness that engulfs him after becoming a millionaire. A domestic dispute between Hana and her husband is reminiscent of the aforementioned scene in *Panelstory*, in which he reminds her that she barely earns any income compared to his salary, a statement that stiffens his dominance at home.

One couple that comes into Hana's office fights over their finances:

Wife: My husband borrows for everything. Then, because he can't pay it back, he has to make bets. And now he wants to take out a loan to go to Tahiti.
Husband: She thinks I can't pay for it. I want to have fun before we're old.
Wife: We've got loans for everything—kitchen, car, pool.

The idea of money at his disposal, whether he earned it or not, gives the husband the power to dream about adventures, a tendency that fuels a power battle in the couple's matrimonial life already entangled with debts. An artist in a later scene breaks down crying over the fact that her husband got rich and left her. Even if people strive for capital, when it comes into their presence, they find themselves unable to overcome their problems or are faced with alternative ones.

Chytilová post-Communist films' messages attest to the auteur's disappointments with the change in regime:

157. Dominková, "We Have Democracy, Don't We?"

I expected that after a period of enforced materialism that we would have a spiritual period, and spiritual problems would become a priority. No! Today we have materialism, that is more materialistic than Marxism ever was. Now it's simply a fight for money. Before we had an ideology of propaganda, today we have an ideology of money. That's it.¹⁵⁸

Chytilová's character constructs of the corrupt MP, greedy businessman and empty celebrity seem to act as archetypes for failed material (and materialistic) fulfillment, with blatant flaws innate to their positions of power. Financial problems in familial life already brought up in *Panelstory* only heighten when members of Czech society gain loftier goals that amount to cyclical matrimonial power struggles seen in *Pleasant Memories*. The virtuousness of constitutional transformations after 1989 gets deconstructed when an inferior member of society receives restitution compensation and abuses his *carte blanche* idiotically. Capitalist conventions infringing upon Czech movie production are alluded to in *Expulsion from Paradise* with questions of what actors will do for money and how foreign backers influence directorial interests, underscored by the mystique of filmmaking in the West. The director still tries to fabricate a paradise, however doomed it may be.

14.3 Cross-Auteur Analysis: Money as Power in Czech Contexts

Only in the post-Communist works of Věra Chytilová and Jiří Menzel does money as power appear as a prominent feature. Both Czech directors dealt with aspects of the pivotal historical occurrence of property seizure that took place after the 1948 coup, exemplified by Communists confiscating Dítě's hotel in *I Served the King of England* and Bohus gaining restituted estates in the 1990s in *The Inheritance*. Both anti-heroes exhibit questionable forms of gathering assets and power through unearned money, but in notably different fashions, eras and contexts.

While Menzel's 2006 movie takes place during World War II and Communism, its provenance is tightly connected to the capitalist filmmaking structure that came into force after the Velvet Revolution. The ambiguous morality of money as power might be linked to Menzel's attitudes in making a (comparatively) high-budget film for which he physically fought over deceit linked to finance and ownership. Chytilová's post-Communist works more directly reflect a litany of moral problems regarding the current state of affairs like corrupt politicians and privatization of the national film industry not to mention the ills of material and self-indulgent

158. Buchar, *Czech New Wave Directors in Interviews*, 51.

interests. The gist of her recurrent domestic power struggles involving bickering over money retains many of the same traits as her Normalization-era scenes, however, after 1989, people's consumer aspirations heighten, as evidenced in her 2006 *Pleasant Memories*.

15. Money as Power in American Contexts

15.1 Money as Power: Miloš Forman

15.1.1 *Kafkárna* in American Affluence

As recorded in his memoir, it took a few years for Forman to adjust his lens to properly examine the mechanisms inherent to America's commercial apparatus. While on assignment to direct an advertisement for Royal Crown cola, what he thought would be a simple shoot by nature dropped him into "the rabbit hole of corporate America," tunneling through "an endless chain of meetings as the simple idea ballooned into a nightmare of logistics." The producers decided to switch the location from New York to London so that each background in the commercial would feature the royal symbol hanging in English theaters.

Though the preoccupation over the easily reproducible effect did not make a "milligram of sense" to Forman, he nonetheless kept quiet during "absurdist deliberations" in order to travel to London and complete the task:

I soon found myself flying first-class across the Atlantic with thirty other people. The executives were bringing their wives along. It was a massive junket. "It's only money" was the trip's refrain. I had a day of prep in London, shot the footage the next day, edited it for a few more days, and pocketed \$10,000.

The experience brought the immigrant an epiphany inspired by the spirit of a certain literature composed in his Bohemian homeland:

I discovered that I didn't have to go back to Prague and its Communist bureaucracy to find myself in a pure *Kafkárna*. I had just spent years making a feature film [*Taking Off*] for \$810,000, whereas a one-minute rip-off of it cost one million dollars to produce. I was starting to catch up to speed in America.¹⁵⁹

When he originally traveled to the United States in 1967, Forman had the idea of adapting Franz Kafka's speculative fiction novel *America* for Paramount, but the plan never came to fruition.¹⁶⁰ At the same time, it could be speculated that the director's real-life detections of the Kafkaesque found in the financial forces of the American system proved far more crucial for the

159. Forman, *Turnaround*, 199–200.

160. *Ibid.*, 170.

development of his US career. Dollars also played a vital role in what allowed the director the means to go back to Communist Czechoslovakia in the “normalized” 1980s to shoot his epic *Amadeus* (1984) on European streets still “unspoiled by commercialism.”¹⁶¹

15.1.2 Realizing Goals

Forman’s embracing of American *Kafkárna* (the absurdity the excesses that dollars make possible) and the crux that flows through the marrow of his American works (the individual versus the institution) coalesce in his 1990s movies. *The People vs. Larry Flynt* and *Man on the Moon* are both based on controversial entertainment-industry figures—a pornography publisher and a provocateur “song and dance man”—and the stories cover their rise to fame while illustrating the ways that income affected their goals. Wealth emboldens Flynt for his purported societal missions yet puts Kaufman in an ambivalent position wherein he grapples with his limitations in gaining “creative control.”

In *The People vs. Larry Flynt*, Forman made the thirst for wealth a significant trait of the title character’s personality. The pornographer-to-be is first depicted during boyhood pedaling moonshine (homemade liquor) through the Kentucky boondocks with his brother. Their entrepreneurial interests carry into their adult lives when they work as strip club owners in Cincinnati, Ohio. Larry, balancing the books at the end of the night, seems to lose some of his spirit by conceding that the business is doing poorly and listing an array of unwise managerial decisions like giveaways, limousines and letting friends drink for free. After Larry prints the first issues of his pornography magazine *Hustler*, his sibling incessantly pesters him about its price tag and financing. The brothers, with their bickering over budgeting, both seem to yearn for the power to luxuriate and push their interests forward, designating money as the tool to do so.

As Flynt develops *Hustler*, its market success affects his confidence and the way that people treat him. Grim prospects emerge in the magazine’s early days when it sees an unsatisfactory sell through. Flynt’s romantic and business partner Althea tells him “Larry, you said yourself, it’s not so bad to be poor and in debt in the first place,” to which he nastily reacts about the reality of the situation. Flynt does not wish to be told to be humble, but yearns to break

161. Ibid., 261–2; Radka Production, “Amadeus,” *Milos Forman*, <https://milosforman.com/en/movies/amadeus> (accessed April 18, 2018). In addition to funding the big-budget *Amadeus*, American backers paid Communist authorities in order for Forman’s crew to shoot in Czechoslovakia under the control of State Security.

out of the barriers that would hold him in such a position. The obscene magazine starts gaining traction, and a breakthrough takes place when Althea and Flynt stay up late crunching numbers:

Althea: Larry, take off your pants.

Larry: Why?

Althea: Because I've never fucked a millionaire before.

The figure "1,000,230.57" is pictured typed onto the accounting paper.

Flynt's power to accrue material wealth and entourages accelerate in conjunction with his money. He throws an extravagant Fourth of July celebration at his mansion decked out by marching band processions, bursting firework shows and soaring American flags. His parents arrive at this event that is teeming with partiers, inspiring his impressed mother to ask who all of the people are. Flynt answers her simply: "Lots of money, lots of friends." The character's wealth galvanizes him to acquire real estate, pomp and popularity.

While Flynt persistently runs into trouble with opponents, judges and legal sentences, there are notable instances in which he uses his assets to toy with the establishment, boasting, "I got money and that gives me the power to shake up this system." He executes one of his antics when *Hustler* gets pulled off shelves in Georgia. Flynt flies to the state, enters a store and hands the cashier \$1,000 to run shop for a day and push his publication—a gesture for which he is promptly arrested. Flynt proves a riveting but frustrating case for his lawyer Alan Isaacman, as a wanton client who disrespects the nation's legal institutions; he wears a "Fuck this court" shirt to court and throws an orange at its judge. After the said judge forbids Flynt from leaving his resident state of California, the pornographer is pictured in front of his personal plane, where Isaacman tries to abort his protest travel mission. Flynt attempts to dilute his lawyer's concern by reminding him "I'm rich, I'm the most fun, and I'm always in trouble."

At play in Forman's fashioning of Flynt is the crux of individual versus institution. The smut magnate conforms to the establishment by acquiring the wealth its economy circulates and yet uses this affluence as a weapon to fight its mores, i.e. when society strikes back at what it perceives to be his hideous livelihood and vile conduct. Forman repeatedly proclaimed that he was neither a consumer of *Hustler* nor a fan of its content; he retorted opinions that he sugarcoated Flynt because movie shows that his magazine is "tasteless," "vulgar," "offensive"

and “doesn't have any redeeming value.”¹⁶² For however much the director (or the characters in his film) stressed the loathsome nature of the pornography, it still seems that the remunerative results of its publication empower the founder to hire a deft, loyal lawyer to pull the strings of the system for a laudable cause.

The individual-versus-institution angle resurfaces in Forman's construction of American comedian Andy Kaufman in *Man on the Moon* (1999). Unlike Flynt, Kaufman strives to excel as an artist (rather than an entrepreneur)¹⁶³ and become “the biggest star in the world,”¹⁶⁴ a mission that comes into conflict with business-oriented actualities. At a comedy club in the pre-television days of Kaufman's career, the owner complains that Kaufman's annoying act drives customers out the door, emphasizing, “It's show business, without the business, there's no show!” Talent agent George Shapiro tries to break Kaufman into the entertainment industry. He proposes to his client “a once-in-a-lifetime, very lucrative opportunity to star on a primetime network sitcom,” *Taxi* on ABC. Kaufman impulsively rejects the offer because he abhors sitcoms, “the lowest form of entertainment.” He truly aspires to generate his own material. However, he relents and starts acting on *Taxi*.

Soon enough, Kaufman attempts to break away by taking up a busboy position in a deli:

Shapiro: Andy, this is ridiculous. Take off that apron.

Kaufman: No. I'd rather work here than at ABC.

Shapiro: I'm sorry. They're a bunch of assholes.

Kaufman: Yeah.

Shapiro: Look, we work in a creative business. There's no telling what people are going to like or dislike.

Kaufman: The only reason why I did *Taxi* was so that I could have my own special.

Shapiro: I know. Well I'll tell you what. Let me book you some colleges now. Then I'll take the special around. I'll show it to people and see if anybody wants to buy it.

Kaufman: A garage sale!

Kaufman plays power games while he enjoys the stability of starring on *Taxi* and appearing on the popular television show *Saturday Night Live*. His pranks and toils for creative authority bear mixed results. He passes through the wrestling phase of his career, first fighting women, then traveling to the American South. As a Hollywood figure from New York, he taunts

162. Joseph McBride, “Director Milos Forman defends The People vs. Larry Flynt against charges that it's porn-friendly,” *The Director's Chair Interviews*, accessed January 18, 2018, http://www.industrycentral.net/director_interviews/MIFO01.HTM.

163. In *Man on the Moon*, Forman employs a flashback-style scene to portray a young Andy Kaufman, using a style similar to the way he introduced Larry Flynt during boyhood. Little Kaufman cracks jokes alone in his bedroom, which irks his father to insist that an audience is imperative to being a comedian. The father-and-son interaction foreshadows Kaufman's professional struggle with creative control.

164. Kaufman announces this mission to George Shapiro at their first dinner.

spectators in the traditionally poorer, less educated region: “I make more money in one day than you do in your entire lives!” Kaufman and professional wrestler Jerry Lawler fight in the ring and then during a shoot of *Late Night with David Letterman*. On air, Kaufman lashes at Lawler: “If you were a man, you'd apologize to me right now, but you're not, you're just poor white trash.” In the end, their bouts are revealed to be a hoax to an upset Shapiro. Kaufman soon loses his spot on *Saturday Night Live* and job at ABC when *Taxi* is cancelled.

It is inferable that Forman’s rendering of Kaufman’s livelihood in the entertainment sector bears some similarities to the director’s own experiences throughout his American career. He admitted that without his award-winning “*Cuckoo's Nest* it would be very difficult for me. It gave me a cushion to live at my artistic pace and not fear I wouldn't have money to live on.”¹⁶⁵ Realizing the absurd but necessary requirements he needed to conform to in the realm of commercial pressure, Forman needed to succumb to the reality of financial stability in order to gain free reign over creativity.

15.2 Money as Power: Ivan Passer

15.2.1 Aspirations on the Horizon

Ivan Passer molded the men of *Law and Disorder* (1974) as yearning for money as their gateway to new horizons. Members of the lower middle class in 1970s New York City, the characters feel inhibited by their economic realities, causing Willie, a cab driver, to excogitate schemes to overturn his burdens. When he stands with his comrade Cy, a hair salon owner, upon the shores of the East River, they fantasize about acquiring a boat and sailing off to nice new places like Riverdale, an affluent Bronx neighborhood whose composition is more suburban.

Barely a minute passes until they translate this dream into a monetary equation, with Cy saying sarcastically that they should each write a check for \$10,000 (an amount not easily obtainable for people of their stature). Willie responds: “You don't need that kind of money. All you need is a couple of grand down. That's why I say we get into a business together. We can make something of each other.” Willie persistently jockeys to convince Cy to advance themselves as entrepreneurs. He machinates plans like selling his cab to buy a diner with Cy, renovating the building and employing his wife to serve customers. Willie’s audience listens

165. Henry Kamm, “Milos Forman Takes His Cameras and Amadeus to Prague,” *New York Times*, May 29, 1983, accessed April 17, 2018, <https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/packages/html/movies/bestpictures/amadeus-ar1.html>.

unexcitedly to his lofty business plans to turn the eatery into a “goldmine like Nathan’s,”¹⁶⁶ and matters stay staid.

Small business owners project their malcontent throughout the film. The hapless owner of the diner Willie eyes complains about bad customers either not paying or consuming very little. Cy laments over the “Goddamn shopping center” taking away all of his business but surmises that circumstances will improve. His assistant Gloria pays him no respect whatsoever. When he scolds her for taking a long lunch, she deconstructs his right to do so, retorting that she earned more when she worked as cocktail waitress and complaining about how boring it is to sit in the salon all day waiting for customers. The winner of the scuffle becomes clear when Gloria locks Cy in the back room, teases him (and her hair in the mirror) and exits the building before she can hear “You’re fired!” It is surmised that if Cy’s salon offered a steadier and more stable flow of income, he could probably assume better power over his domain, including the whims of his discourteous employee.

Passer’s rendering of the American lower middle class may suggest ways that he read into denizens interacting with a capricious free market. *Law and Disorder* was released the year before New York City declared bankruptcy in 1975, meaning that chaotic elements of economic dissatisfaction could have felt especially amplified, with a malaise of distrust towards the power structure weltering. The climate probably gave rise to a great sense of culture shock for an ex-employee of Barrandov Studios in 1960s Czechoslovakia: “We never thought of money in any possible way. We were on a payroll. Every month the studio paid us if we made movies or not, and we got a little bonus when we made a movie.”¹⁶⁷

The director displayed in this film the futile efforts of lower-middle-class individuals to actualize the American myth of mobility. Cy faces the disregard of his salon assistant while Willie remains trapped in his less-than-satisfying situation as a cab driver whose close ones invest no faith in his visions. Perhaps the men’s failure to prosper in 1970s New York—coupled with the perception that the city robs them “blind with taxes” yet remains rife in “perverts, thieves, junkies, sexual deviants”¹⁶⁸ among other reprobates—adds to why they wished to gain authority in an alternative manner, by becoming auxiliary cops.

166. Nathan’s Hot Dogs is an iconic American fast food chain.

167. “Interview with Ivan Passer on ‘Intimni osvetleni’ (Intimate lighting).”

168. Cy drums up support to fight criminality during a community meeting.

15.2.2 Schemes Involving Money

In *Cutter's Way* (1981), Passer portrayed characters scheming to gain control over the outcome of a murder case when money is added into the equation. This Southern California drama sees the character Richard Bone accidentally witnesses a teenage girl's dead body thrown into an alleyway's trashcan. Bone believes that the wealthy oil magnate, Cord, committed the crime. After Bone's best friend Cutter and the deceased's sister catch news of the imputation, they design a plan to blackmail Cord demanding money for his alleged offense. With cash involved, relationships destabilize: Bone tells Cutter to deliver the threatening message alone and forget about splitting the payment; Cutter's wife Mo scolds the trio for capitalizing on the killing.

The limitations to these middle-class characters' power surface as the plot progresses. Cutter returns home one day only to discover that his house has been burnt to the ground. The act of presumed arson kills his wife, too. Cutter confesses to Bone a chilling revelation that he should never have underestimated the power of the rich, i.e. Cord. It is then revealed that Cord murdered the father of Bone's boss, explaining why the latter behaves so obsequiously towards this shady tycoon. Though Passer left the questions of who killed the two women unsolved, frightful distrust towards Cord abounds concerning how he uses his money to ruin others.

Passer made supreme the conceptual essence money as power in *Silver Bears* (1977) by having characters navigate through deceptive world-finance labyrinths rife in mirages and trap doors. American mafia boss Joe Fiore seeks to "invest" (launder) profits in a Swiss bank. He assigns British financial maverick "Doc" Fletcher to bring along Albert Fiore, Joe's loser son, and their associate to travel to Europe and realize his proposal. Joe complains about needing to bail Albert out of trouble after he was caught stealing cars in California, and even though Fletcher protests against including the crooked relative, Joe reasons that there is "nothing wrong if a man wants to put his son into a respectable business." Joe, because he pays Fletcher, reserves the power to throw his problematic offspring into devious operations.

When the trio lands on European soil, Albert acts oafishly, asking their greeter, Prince di Sircusa, whether they are in Switzerland or Italy. The svelte, smartly clad prince, their new bank's chairman, escorts the men into the city of Lugano, where Albert's rude behavior offends a woman enough to slap him in the face. When the arriving crew enters their newly acquired Swiss bank, they instantly become baffled at what turns out to be a few shoddy, disheveled rooms

above a restaurant with assets totaling 900 dollars. Incensed Albert accosts the prince about why they paid “three million bucks” to buy “that Goddamn dump.”¹⁶⁹

Preposterous property acquisitions continue in Lugano. Fletcher and the prince leave town to pursue another business venture of investing in an Iranian silver mine operated by the latters’ relatives. With the proper Briton and suave Italian gone, the two Americans are left to their own devices in the Swiss banking city, where they extend their domain built on illusion. Albert at first paces around their poky abode, playing with an unloaded handgun, whining that there “ain’t even a McDonald’s in this town” and how he wants “real” money so they can “get some Goddamn action.” It turns out the associate has counterfeited bundles of cash, which they use to buy a villa.

Doc, while working out the investment of the silver mine, acquires additional funds in order to move the offices of the Swiss bank to fancier quarters and throw a flashy party to introduce their venture, the American Bank of Lugano. Joe visits for the celebration, which begins outdoors with a lively procession of marching musicians clad in American-flag patterned garb.¹⁷⁰ Inside, Joe and Albert appear like big shots in front of circuits of wealthy investors, and their dealings in turn spark interests of international silver traders.

On top of everything, the silver mine itself turns out to be bogus. The metals are not extracted from under Iranian soil, but rather are smuggled from India. Additional layers of complications emerge when the First Bank of California seeks to buy the American Bank of Lugano. A representative from the former bank, Douglas, travels to Lugano for the purpose of negotiating this purchase. Fletcher ends up crafting a stratagem in which their American Bank is sold to the First Bank of California, the latter’s insurance company can cover up the fraudulent deal and silver investors receive bribes so as to avoid market disruptions. Even with his dishonorable demeanor, Albert ends up triumphant after this rocky ride. The fate of this American character seems to show special tendencies of the culture in crooked world finance circuits due to pure privilege.¹⁷¹

169. The Italian prince also ends up being moneyless.

170. In contrast to the jubilant display during the July Fourth party in Forman’s *The People vs. Larry Flynt*, the panoply of American flags in Passer’s *Silver Bears* carries duplicitous and unmeritorious connotations, especially with the Fiore as representatives of the US.

171. Douglas has to serve time in Swiss jail because he was the person who presented the case of fraudulent transaction. Fletcher’s scheming also prevails over this American banker in that the Englishman carries out an affair with Douglas’ wife and learns information through her.

Money grants the unsophisticated American mobsters of *Silver Bears* power to purchase a sham Swiss bank whose façade they emblazon with “American Bank.” A façade in itself, the American Bank of Lugano covers pseudo silver mining, money laundering, currency counterfeiting and calculations for fraud circumventing. Joe finances sleazy mafia operations and has say over the British brainpower for their logistics, Fletcher, who in turn has to deal with Joe’s entitled, arrogant son, Albert. The Fiore family members have the ability to prevail unscathed in their deceitful livelihood since they pay for proper guidance out from the smoke and mirrors.

Arguably, across the lines of money as power, the characters throughout the discussed post-New Wave works of Ivan Passer make up a disparate set that engages in a diverse array of activities. Certain patterns connected to money as power can still be identified throughout this hotchpotch. Members of the middle class fail to break out of their static confinements, be it never launching a business in 1970s New York or experiencing a blackmail attempt implode. In addition, a concentration on criminality prevails: men who are unsuccessful economically become auxiliary police authority figures; an oil magnate seemingly takes advantage of his clout to destroy others; and mafia figures who buy their way into and out of shady international transactions are insured by a clever personality’s gumption.

15.3 Cross-Auteur Analysis: Money as Power in American Contexts

Marked differences were detected in the treatment of money as power in the American careers of Miloš Forman and Ivan Passer. Forman profited from catching up to pace with the energies of absurdity innate to commercial filmmaking in the US that Passer persistently relented to fully accept. It is probable the Forman’s higher level of success played a notable role in his more sanguine rendering of money as power for his American movies.

In his two 1990s films, Forman depicted central characters’ journeys towards success, obstacles they faced along these paths and levels of control that acquiring money allows them (e.g. legal control, creative control). Passer highlighted lower-middle-class men burdened by their economic status and failing to make headway out of their lowliness. He also showed how criminality coincides with money as power in fashioning these power-poor men as auxiliary police officers; putting an imbecilic American in international mafia debacles wherein his privilege saves him; and showing how an oil magnate can use his sway to harm those in his way. Forman instead demonstrated public figures in positions of power utilizing their economic

advantage as leverage to penetrate the system. Even if results do not always work out victoriously, Flynt and Kaufman are empowered as personas able to avail themselves by disseminating their messages on the public stage.

16. Cross-Cultural Analysis: Money as Power in Czech and American Contexts

By examining money as power as a broad theme, a detected commonality was that all four directors included absurd cases of characters' ascendance to higher status, using means that could be described as expedient, undeserved, vulgar or criminal. Menzel's oblivious Dítě realizes his lifelong dream of becoming a millionaire hotelier after selling looted Jewish stamps collected by his Nazi partner in *I Served the King of England*. Chytilová's Bohus in *The Inheritance or Fuckoffguysgoodday* inherits restitution estates that enable him to boss others around and buy friendships as part of his barbaric dissolution. Forman emphasized the tastelessness inherent to the form of livelihood the pornography magnate pursues in *The People vs. Larry Flynt*, even though his profits grant him the means to hire a shrewd lawyer to defend unmannerly actions in front of the US Supreme Court. In *Silver Bears*, Ivan Passer featured the wastrel Albert persevering after a string of deceptive business deals because his Mafioso father had hired a crafty British financial wizard to broker their way through the quagmires. The aforementioned cases focused on the Czech Republic raise serious questions of ethics related to money as power and the seizure of property. As per the American movies, different notions of privilege through clout are emphasized in ways related to empowering oneself by means of profits or passively reaping benefits thanks to nepotism.

Chytilová and Forman both shed light on how creative personalities working in the entertainment field grapple with mechanisms of financial pressure. Chytilová's *Expulsion from Paradise* profiles a Czech director having to deal with the whims of the Russian producer financing the film as well as the influence of his French actress wife. She distracts the cast and scolds Rost'a that he exploits them, an argument he dispels due to the fact that they are receiving payment. Forman highlighted the tribulations of American comic Andy Kaufman clashing with broadcast television executives. Kaufman compromises to star on their show in order to earn enough capital and publicity for developing his own artistic visions. He struggles with gaining

authority to assume artistic dominion over his actions and suffers from outcomes when television networks cancel his appearances.

Chytilová's 1990s films exhibit parallel statements about decadence seen in works by Ivan Passer from the 1970s and 1980s. Apropos Passer, figures like Joe (the mafia boss in *Silver Bears*) and Cord (the oil magnate in *Cutter's Way*) perceivably commit convoluted criminal activities and evade consequences thanks to their powers of obfuscation made possible by the dollar. The influential Bach, a businessman in Chytilová's *Traps*, assumes the position at the top of Prague circuits that enables him to propel his selfish business interests across Czech societal and terrestrial landscapes. The characters mentioned personify greedy archetypes hungry to expand their empires by pulling strings behind the scenes of the free economy.

All four directors dealt with transitioning to a capitalistic system that pervaded their loci's social climates and professional field. Menzel left the most ambiguous case regarding the morality and meaning of money as power with the instance of Dítě in *I Served the King of England*.¹⁷² Chytilová arguably delivered the bitterest flavor regarding money as power, attaching it to anti-heroes and antagonists whose conduct degenerates. Her moralist consistency is exemplified in her portrayal of romantic partners who continuously bring up levels of income when they struggle over dominance of their domains. Forman provided examples of figures' expeditions to gain wealth and success and what their income entitles or enfeebles them from accomplishing. Passer offered in his American oeuvre various examples of vain struggles for wealth or illicit actions enabled by economic capacity.

Censorship

All four Czech directors came into prominence within a climate whereby degree of official censorship fluctuated until it was virtually lifted at the height of the Prague Spring, in June 1968. Intellectual activity flowered as information disseminated in conjunction with a proliferation of Czechoslovak media outlets. After the Soviets invaded in August 1968, the progressive Prague Spring reforms consequently nullified, reinstating strict censorship of free speech and press.¹⁷³ Many New Wave films, as products of the 1960s liberalized atmosphere,

172. The rich industrialists that Dítě serves appear far from graceful (though their gluttony pales in comparison to the vileness of Nazi hegemonic forces that prevail thereafter).

173. Anna J. Stoneman, "Socialism With a Human Face: The Leadership and Legacy of the Prague Spring," *The History Teacher* 49, no. 1 (November, 2015): 104–107, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24810503>.

became “anti-Socialist” specimens, hence “it seemed that a movement that had made Czechoslovak cinema world-famous was to be carefully eliminated from history.”¹⁷⁴ A blacklist that extended to more than one hundred movies materialized as the film industry underwent reorganization from 1969 to 1970.¹⁷⁵

As powers set the stage for Normalization, the conservative period of late Czechoslovak Communism, the logic for censoring the four directors’ New Wave works varied. In terms of lucid political parodies, Jiří Menzel’s *Larks on a String* was clearly among the foci in mid-1970, and three years later, Miloš Forman’s *Fireman’s Ball* was among the list of works “banned forever.”¹⁷⁶ Chytilová’s *Daisies* became prohibited for wasting food.¹⁷⁷ Ivan Passer rationalized that *Intimate Lightning* “was eradicated from the books” for two decades since it subtly hinted at problems of the time: highlighting the difficulties of home ownership, playing a religious song, alluding to a professor in prison. Passer claimed that only those living under Communist regimes could understand the risky undertones of the movie that may otherwise seem apolitical.¹⁷⁸

Stateside, 1968 saw the final abandonment of the Motion Picture Production Code, a set of rules meant for the film industry to abide by to avoid government censorship. Originally written in 1930,¹⁷⁹ the code was designed to prevent the lowering of moral standards by dissuading viewers’ sympathy with the side of “crime, wrongdoing, evil or sin” or disregard of the law. A list of “particular applications” forbade nudity, perversion, “pointed profanity,” miscegenation and ridicule of religion along with outlining principles for how to correctly portray scenes of crime or passion. Hollywood policed itself; filmmakers conformed to the code in order to screen their work in American theaters. The code was periodically rewritten, but its dominance began losing relevance after World War II, especially when audiences in the 1950s witnessed an inflow of foreign films as well as domestic TV shows that incorporated more racy forms of entertainment. Hollywood’s enforcement of the code eroded in the 1960s until the Motion Picture Association of America replaced it with a rating system meant to inform

174. Hames, *The Czechoslovak New Wave*, vii.

175. *Ibid.*, 2.

176. *Ibid.*, 240.

177. Dylan Rainforth, “This Film’s Going Bad: Collaborative Cutting in *Daisies*,” *Senses of Cinema* 44 (August 2004), <http://sensesofcinema.com/2007/cteq/daisies/>.

178. “Interview with Ivan Passer on ‘Intimní osvětlení’ (Intimate lighting).”

179. Also known as the Hays Code or Hollywood Code, these set of rules started becoming strictly enforced starting in 1934.

audiences for their own discretion.¹⁸⁰ The more relaxed environment of the commercial film industry was thus congenial for the themes that Forman and Passer pictured when they began their American careers in the 1970s.¹⁸¹

Bearing in mind the historical factors, during this study, it was found that only Forman made explicit use of censorship as a vital topic in his post-New Wave career. The other auteurs tended to show either minimal or negative regard for phenomena like the presence of media or unfettered expression. The following analysis will apply interview quotes, biographical data and information pertaining to the social environments in which the directors lived and worked as an attempt to understand these findings.

The interpretation of the First Amendment of the US Constitution will be examined for the American portion of the following analysis. The amendment's appertaining text reads "Congress shall make no law . . . or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." The analysis will seek to rationalize why this theme became so paramount for Forman in *The People vs. Larry Flynt* while being virtually unaddressed by Passer. Levels to which Chytilová and Menzel—who made their first comeback films later into the 1970s than Passer and Forman—exercised their abilities of expression in Communist Czechoslovakia will be assayed, as well as their reactions towards the state of affairs following the change in regime.¹⁸² Finally, patterns between the four directors' tendencies relating to censorship and freedom of expression will be distilled to forge a comprehensive discussion.

180. Bob Mondello, "Remembering Hollywood's Hays Code, 40 Years On," *NPR*, August 8, 2008, accessed April 18, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=93301189>; David P. Hayes, "The Motion Picture Production Code," *DH Writings*, accessed April 18, 2018, http://productioncode.dhwritings.com/multipleframes_productioncode.php.

181. Both Forman and Passer portrayed illicit drug use and rebellion against authority as central themes in their 1970s motion pictures.

182. "Censorship is not permitted" appears in Article 17 in Czech Republic's Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms. Issued in 1992, the charter guarantees "the freedom of expression and right to be informed" and reads "everyone has the right to express her opinion in speech, in writing, in the press, in pictures, or in any other form, as well as freely to seek, receive, and disseminate ideas and information irrespective of the frontiers of the State."

17. Censorship in Czech Contexts

17.1 Censorship: Jiří Menzel

17.1.1 Soft Criticisms, Skepticism Towards Resistance

The theme of censorship does not permeate into the works of Jiří Menzel, even though this form of suppression affected him professionally. Part of the explanation for this could be the director's opinions regarding unencumbered access to information. As he interacted with society evolving in the years after the 1989 Velvet Revolution, Menzel expressed negative feelings about how the glut of media engendered an atmosphere "flooded with propaganda from the other [Western] side, which is much more sophisticated," informing the "free individual who can do whatever he wants, who can break anything he wants." The youngest member of the New Wave waxed nostalgic about the "innocent" 1960s era that granted filmmakers a sufficient amount of liberty, meaning "there wasn't total freedom, so there was a stimulus for creativity to break the ideological barrier."

Menzel also held that pushing through a script during Communism was simpler (compared to the system that superseded it) because directors developed a sense for the types of stories that would pass approval, learned ways to adjust problematic submissions and cultivated strategies to gradually circumvent censorship. The tactics fared poorly within the capitalist framework in which filmmakers have to "beg potential investors" to bring an idea to fruition.¹⁸³ Menzel also opined that "great films were made under censorship, even in the United States" and that constraints are necessary for art because "Freedom has this unlucky side effect that by making everything possible, you lack purpose and a direction."¹⁸⁴

Fear instilled into Menzel as a result of 1968 could have prevented the director from including the subject of censorship in his films. His actions after the New Wave ended did not involve a valiant crusade for freedom of expression. The director was among the signatories of the anti-Charter condemning Charter 77, a civic petition demanding for Czechoslovakia to adhere to the human rights standards under the Helsinki Accords.¹⁸⁵ It is quite possible that after

183. Buchar, "Czech New Wave Filmmakers in Interviews," 38–46.

184. Konstanty Kuzma, "Interview: Jiří Menzel on his Career," *East European Film Bulletin* 30 (2003), <https://eefb.org/countries/cssr/jiri-menzel-on-his-career/>.

185. Veronika Sedláčková and Ondřej Čihák, "Anticharta se podepisovala a podepisuje denně, říká režisér Jiří Menzel," *Český rozhlas*, January 12, 2017, accessed April 17, 2018,

undergoing the aftermath of the Soviet invasion, he did not wish to become blacklisted, see his films shelved or direct another deferential *Who Looks for Gold?* all over again. By 1977, Menzel was already able to satirize traits of the socialist social climate—i.e. making fun of Trabants and the *chalupa* craze—so perhaps anxiety about the crushing of mild satirical liberties loomed. Even during the dusk of the Communist regime in 1989, after signing a petition to free then-dissident writer Václav Havel from jail, Menzel reacted skeptically to the changing sociopolitical tide, admitting, “I can’t be an optimist. We Czechs just don’t have enough courage.”¹⁸⁶

Menzel nevertheless drew upon his judgment that “the Bolsheviks’ propaganda was hopelessly toothless” and “everybody knew it was stupid”¹⁸⁷ in his late Normalization-era *My Sweet Little Village*. A family sits at home with a television set playing in their kitchen. When they hear the speaker introduce the screening of an American movie as a “specimen from bourgeois society where the dollar’s the alpha and omega of life,” everyone stops what they are doing and gazes intently at the box broadcasting the enemy’s film. The scene suggests that such manipulative statements were not taken seriously in the private sphere. Menzel possibly refrained from boldly fighting against censorship because he felt comfortable with the leeway he was granted in the 1980s to insert subtly chiding scenarios into his films.

Moreover, it could simply be that Menzel did not consider censorship to be an inspiring topic for creative expression, unlike his usual keynotes: Czech literature, sexuality, beer, laughter and everyday poetics. It is difficult to speculate if he would have tackled more political themes had *Larks on a String* not been banned among a legion of his compatriots’ films. Whether or not explicitly including censorship in the surveyed films was deliberate, Menzel’s behavior corresponds with his inveterate typifying of the Czech who does not resist through force, but rather laughter.

17.2 Censorship: Věra Chytilová

17.2.1 Off-Screen Battles, Unrelenting Cynicism

Censorship does not stand as a palpably identifiable theme across Věra Chytilová’s oeuvre, but at the same time, the director’s battles for opportunities to express herself are integral

http://www.rozhlas.cz/plus/proaproti/_zprava/anticharta-se-podepisovala-a-podepisuje-denne-rika-reziser-jiri-menzel--1687996.

186. William Echikson, “A Czech Artist Speaks Out Again,” *Christian Science Monitor*, July 11, 1989, accessed April 10, 2018, <https://www.csmonitor.com/1989/0711/pczech.html>.

187. Buchar, “Czech New Wave Filmmakers in Interviews,” 41–42.

to the provenance, production and distribution of her films. Chytilová recounted initially succumbing to fatalistic feelings after the Prague Spring ceased, even self-censoring in the West when journalists inquired about the invasion.¹⁸⁸ The attitude lasted until “making films then became a mission”¹⁸⁹ insofar as “it was necessary to realize that we could somehow speak up” through “critical reflection”:

I saw that everything they did during what they called “normalization” was what they wanted the rest of the world to believe—that nothing wrong was going on here. They wanted everything to be done quietly. And I understood that it would irritate them if I screamed loudly. So I scandalized everything anyway I could. I loudly passed everything to the newspapers or called abroad.

Elements in the auteur’s creations not only testify for her insights but also her dealings with bringing materials to the screen. According to Chytilová’s accounts, she hysterically barged into Barrandov Studios to fight against managers suppressing her and ultimately overcame clashes with the directors of the studios about their problems with *The Apple Game* (1977) (such as its inclusion of extra-marital affairs), which became her first post-New Wave work.¹⁹⁰ She also recounted arguments between producers dealing with the Politburo regarding the script for *Calamity* (1981), for instance, substituting a crass word (“condom”) or agreeing to refrain from adding helicopters into a train wreck scene because the aircraft evoked the Soviet invasion.¹⁹¹

Keeping all of these factors in mind, one can easily observe how “loudly” the auteur censured the prescribed lifestyle of the Normalization period in *Panelstory* (1979). Within this cross-sectional reprimanding that targets various levels of the prefabricated housing community’s ecosystem, proletariat construction workers are far from spared from the choleric director, who paints them as indolent, downing beers at lunchtime, or unscrupulous, wishing for more squatters to move in and install their own appliances. Given such a strong—and in some ways, egalitarian—berating of the late Communist social strata, it comes as no surprise that this film fell subject to censorship, getting banned in Czechoslovakia and being transported for screenings abroad in the trunk of the director’s car.¹⁹²

Chytilová also described dealing with Barrandov’s censorship against nudity in her first post-New Wave work:

188. “Věra Chytilová” in *Golden Sixties* documentary series, directed by Martin Šulík, et al. (2009; Prague).

189. During her ban, Chytilová worked *sub rosa* making commercials under her husband’s name. Buchar, *Czech New Wave Filmmakers in Interviews*, 58.

190. *Ibid.*, 57–59.

191. *Ibid.*, 64–65.

192. Horton, “Against Destruction.”

You couldn't show naked breasts. Actually, you could show only one naked breast, not both. In my film *The Apple Game*, actress Dáša Bláhová sits by the fire and takes off [her top] . . . This scene raised hell. They said it was pornography and tried to ban the film.¹⁹³

She recounted attending a screening of the film, whose cinematographic progression is punctuated with sexual scenes and footage of live births, at the Karlovy Vary Film Festival:

I was not invited but I went there on my own anyway, just to make a scandal. I went to a party, pulled out the General Manager Jiří Purš and . . . asked him “What jerk came up with an idea that only one breast can be shown on the screen?” And Purš said, “That was my idea.” . . . It was a funny situation and he was ashamed.¹⁹⁴

Decades later, Chytilová faced issues of corporeal censorship in Germany when creating her penultimate work, *Expulsion from Paradise* (2001), which revolves around a fictional film shoot on a nudist beach. Police arrested the director, her cameraman and technician for suspicions of pedophilia after the crew captured Chytilová's naked granddaughter running through the waves of the Baltic Sea. The rest of filming took place lakeside “on a secret location in south Bohemia”—adding an interesting twist to her resolute assertion in 1974 (penned into her open letter “I want to work”) that she had always wished to pursue films at home, never abroad.¹⁹⁵

In the scope of her post-Communist career, Chytilová drew more upon responses to the masquerade of the liberties ensured by the new regime as opposed to praising institutions like free speech or free press. To give an instance, in *Traps*, the protagonist Lenka's best friend works as a journalist who is investigating a scandal related to a member of parliament involved with the construction of a new ring road. After Lenka sees the article printed, she tells her friend that the photograph shows the man who raped her, causing the journalist to inform Lenka that her case is futile, due to his MP immunity. Lenka's companion is barely a positive force in *Traps*; self-interested, she carries out an affair with Lenka's boyfriend. In general, portrayals of news and commercial media emit an invasive air of tension in *Traps*. Energetic hordes of press follow public personalities while sleazy advertising offices render pornographic images that pervade the landscape.

Lenka is ultimately silenced by the corrupt society with which she stands at odds. She eventually confesses to her boyfriend that she castrated her rapists. He reacts disconcertedly,

193. Buchar, *Czech New Wave Filmmakers in Interviews*, 60.

194. *Ibid.*, 61.

195. Kate Connolly, “Bohemian rhapsodist,” *Guardian*, August 11, 2000, accessed April 17, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2000/aug/11/culture.features2>.

declaring that they have laws to govern society. In her emotional protest, she exclaims that the law would not charge or convict an MP “today,” meaning that she had to take justice into her own hands. Anguish crescendos when Lenka makes a scene out in public with the rapists, her boyfriend and journalist friend, screaming that the MP violated her. In response, the MP uses his power to get her rushed out by ambulance and cast away to a mental hospital. Given such a denouement, it can be inferred that the auteur did not hold much faith in the system that was supposed to protect its members and their right to express themselves freely.

17.3 Cross-Auteur Analysis: Censorship in Czech Contexts

In this study, censorship did not come across as a conspicuous trope within the surveyed films of Jiří Menzel or Věra Chytilová, who both experienced government efforts to mute them. Nevertheless, the auteurs’ Normalization-era works attest for efforts in pursuing confrontation (Chytilová) or avoiding it (Menzel) to go on professionally. It is possible that after 1989, the country’s two “best-known filmmakers” did not wish to emphasize the dispelling of censorship under decommunization because within the capitalistic structure that succeeded, new struggles to express themselves emerged, e.g. privatization of the indigenous studios and the inflow of Hollywood releases that caused competition with “national” films.¹⁹⁶ Both directors’ negative reactions towards the superfluity of media can also help elucidate why they would not focus on the theme of censorship in their work.

18. Censorship in American Contexts

18.1 Censorship: Miloš Forman

18.1.1 American Censorship Through Czech Eyes

Forman’s *The People vs. Larry Flynt* (1996) contains a breadth of cues about the place of censorship in American sociopolitical fabric.¹⁹⁷ The plot follows a sequence of the controversial pornography magnate’s legal combats against censorship that travel all the way to the Supreme Court. When Larry Flynt first takes the pitch for his smutty magazine to a print shop, an employee reacts skeptically that printing such content will get himself and Flynt in trouble

196. Hames defines “national” cinema as “one that emerges from a national culture and deals with issues arising from the national experience.” He stresses that the model is not nationalistic in the Czech sense and that it does not necessarily imply Communism, noting that nationalization of the Czechoslovak film industry took place three years before the 1948 Communist coup. Hames, “Czech Cinema: From State Industry to Competition,” 63–64, 68.

197. The mentioned examples from the movie are by no means exhaustive.

“because there are laws.” During a photo shoot of a young woman, Flynt convinces a photographer to bend rules that prohibit showing genitalia.

As Flynt’s vulgar magazine, *Hustler*, circulates around the state of Ohio, a community attempts to ban it. The case goes to court, where Flynt disputes that the interest in setting standards for the community is “just a disguise for censorship.” His lawyer, civil liberties specialist Alan Isaacman, argues to the jury that part of the price for living in a free country is that sometimes people have to “tolerate things we don’t necessarily like.” Isaacman reiterates that he does not like the content that his client produces, an opinion he let Flynt know upon first introduction. On the contrary: “If we start throwing up walls against what some of us think is obscene, we may wake up one morning and realize that walls have been thrown up in places we never expected and we can't see anything or do anything. And that's not freedom.”

The movie brims with celebrations of the First Amendment’s guarantee of free speech in the US. Flynt orates at event put on by “Americans for a Free Press”—revealed as a sham organization that is actually just Flynt, paying for the spectacle—in a Cincinnati arena. Beneath extravagant displays of spangled ribbons and flags, audience members hold up First Amendment protection placards as they listen to Flynt deliver a tirade against the hypocrisy of a country that allows heinous war scenes to be portrayed and readily accessible by the press while forbidding sexual content.

Isaacman defends Flynt in the Supreme Court after the latter contests getting charged for emotional distress because *Hustler* printed a Campari advertisement with (obviously fictional) text about televangelist Jerry Falwell committing incest in an outhouse.¹⁹⁸ When speaking in front of the justices, Isaacman argues that the US has a long tradition of satiric commentary and how “unpopular speech is vital to the health of our nation.” Isaacman then calls Flynt to read text from the victorious decision:

At the heart of the First Amendment is the recognition of the fundamental importance of the free flow of ideas. Freedom to speak one's mind is not only an aspect of individual liberty but essential to the quest for truth and the vitality of society as a whole. In the world of debate about public affairs many things done with motives that are less than admirable are nonetheless protected by the First Amendment.

Forman detailed his judgment in a television interview with journalist Charlie Rose not only for the message of the movie, but also how his life growing up in Czechoslovakia before

198. Flynt was originally charged for emotional distress and libel, but a lower court ruled that he could only be charged for the former. He took the case to the Supreme Court.

coming to America influenced his vantage point.¹⁹⁹ For one, he labeled the American Supreme Court, not Flynt, as the real hero because the justices rose to “their best” when challenged by ruling in favor of “the right to satirize and mock public figures in the press.” Forman ascribed his garnering of this attitude from his own experience and knowing that legislatures in the cultured, civilized countries of Central and Eastern Europe “buckled and opened the door for censorship” when confronted by Nazis and Communists. The danger, according to Forman, was that censorship would begin against an unpleasant target so “everyone would applaud” and then escalate until anyone against the official ideology, tastes and regulations of the state would be deemed an enemy. Forman therefore esteemed freedom of the press as the “cornerstone of democracy”:

It’s not elections. They can be manipulated if you don’t have a free press. It’s not a free market. Hitler had a free market. It’s the freedom of the press. And if you open the door to the censorship a crack, it will never stay open a crack. When you let the genie of censorship out of the bottle, you’ll never put him back, and it will have a devastating effect on the quality of life—not only that life becomes very boring, but . . . very cruel.²⁰⁰

In the film, Larry Flynt and his wife Althea are designed as public figures subject to frenzied press attention, and their utterances seem to buttress their pride. After Flynt is jailed in Ohio, a journalist asks Althea if she feels ashamed, to which she responds, “I am not ashamed of Larry. I never would be. I’d rather have a man who stands up for what he believes in.” When the Supreme Court trials conclude, Flynt delivers to the public a statement that if the First Amendment will protect “a scumbag like me, then it’ll protect all of you. ‘Cause I’m the worst.”

Forman’s opinion regarding the importance of parodying public figures appears to take root from his experience in Communist Czechoslovakia, for example, getting in trouble for “ridiculing a representative of the state” during a television interview. Broadcast lines were supposed to be scripted, approved and memorized verbatim. As such, Forman sent the guest, powerful Communist Comrade Homola, written questions but received no response. Forman’s boss told him to compose his counterpart’s answers and “remind him to learn them by heart.” Plans shook off course on live television: “When the red light went on and I asked the first question, he reached into his pocket, took out my answers and started to read them, awkwardly

199. The director repeatedly stressed that the film is not about *Hustler* and he never bought the magazine. He also argued that the film emphasizes the magazine’s tastelessness.

200. Miloš Forman, interview by Charlie Rose, 1997, *The Charlie Rose Show*, PBS.

and obediently—including my inadvertent grammatical mistakes.”²⁰¹ Forman received the blame for this mishap; the director’s persistent reference to the experience evidences how resonant it became for him.²⁰²

In terms of how the film’s content reflects the director’s interactions with the American landscape, he made clear that he cared to counter indifference: “I don’t know if I should say it’s fortunately or unfortunately, but I know what it is to live in a country where censorship was just running loose. So I am afraid that in this country we really are taking our freedoms for granted, that it’s something you don’t have to pay for, that it’s for free.”²⁰³ Considering the gamut of *The People vs. Larry Flynt* and Forman’s experience on both sides of the Iron Curtain, it is implicit that the director felt responsible for using his tools and experience to bring forth his opinions about the First Amendment to American society.

18.2 Censorship: Ivan Passer

18.2.1 Threats of Commercial “Censorship,” Yellow Press

Ivan Passer does not emphasize censorship in his American career. Although his fear of the Communist strangleholds spurred him to leave Czechoslovakia in 1969, the director encountered an alternative ambit of professional challenges on the American side with its commercial mechanisms. Passer faced problems with the United Artists studio after he completed *Cutter’s Way* (1981). The director compared his struggles within the “hysterical atmosphere” of the Hollywood industry to “walking through a mine field,” given the unforeseeable high turnaround of staff,²⁰⁴ their sensitivity to bad critical reviews and attempts to abort the distribution of movies. He equated corporate executives’ actions to censorship:²⁰⁵

201. Miloš Forman, “Obama the Socialist? Not Even Close,” *New York Times*, July 10, 2012, accessed April 10, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/11/opinion/obama-the-socialist-not-even-close.html>.

202. Before the 2012 op-ed (cited above), Forman had described this incident in his memoir *Turnaround* as well as in a 1997 interview. National Security Archive, “Interview with Milos Forman,” *Red Spring*, Episode 14 (the Sixties), January 18, 1997, accessed April 9, 2018, <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/coldwar/interviews/episode-14/forman4.html>.

203. McBride, “Director Milos Forman defends *The People Versus Larry Flynt* against charges it’s porn-friendly.”

204. Passer told *The Washington Post*: “The people who had put their necks out for ‘Cutter’ were gone when it was released in New York at three theaters with a total advertising budget of \$63,000. That’s a form of censorship—of assassination.” Fred Schruers, “Ivan Passer: Making It ‘Cutter’s Way,’” *Washington Post*, December 13, 1981, accessed April 20, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/style/1981/12/13/ivan-passer-making-it-cutters-way/a1f98194-1584-4373-8a5c-a1ee96ee311d/?utm_term=.9a83e02cb6bb.

205. Jonathan Rosenbaum, “Ivan the Bearable,” *Jonathan Rosenbaum*, July 15, 1981, accessed April 20, 2018, <https://www.jonathanrosenbaum.net/1981/07/ivan-the-bearable/>; Schruers, “Ivan Passer,” 1981.

Jerry Esbin [UA senior domestic sales and marketing vice president] looked at our film [*Cutter's Way*] and decided it was something he could not sell. And for whatever reason, he in effect committed what in a totalitarian country would be called censorship. Because he didn't give it the chance to fail on its own—he made it a failure.²⁰⁶

The movie itself portrays a somewhat negative reflection on a facet of the First Amendment, the free press, by making visible its sensationalistic tendencies. While passing through a hazy alleyway, Richard Bone stumbles upon a shady figure discarding a teenage girl's dead body into a garbage pail. Shortly after, police show up to where he is staying to question his whereabouts that night, and newspapers print portraits of Bone to accompany stories identifying him as the suspected murderer. The media response depicted suggests that journalists sought to capitalize on selling a story rather than taking the time to let due process run its course.

Passer perhaps found other aspects of American culture more thought-provoking and inspiring to bring into his films than the topic of censorship. Themes that prevail in the surveyed cluster of his US-centric creations—corruption, destruction, indifference towards opportunity, misuse of power, connections with international finance—do not coincide with the protection of First Amendment rights. In fact, it was found that Passer highlighted the Second Amendment by portraying a raucous civil community meeting addressing criminality in *Law and Disorder*. Cy, a hairdresser-cum-auxiliary cop, ineloquently rants about the Constitution before he picks up a book titled *Story of America* and reads aloud “‘no state shall deny any person the equal protection of the law.’ And then it also says ‘the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.’” Applause follows from the rowdy crowd before it erupts into a clattering of conspiracy, racist proclamations and chaos that Cy cannot quell. People exercising their right to assemble enjoy the right to speak, but few have anything constructive to say.

Nostalgia for the bygone days of 1960s Czechoslovakia, when Passer (and Forman) learned how to evade censors by creating comedies, may have permanently colored his outlook towards what the American cinematic culture allowed:

The role of filmmakers in America is seen differently from how we were looking at it back in Czechoslovakia. Filmmakers in Czechoslovakia were seen as [creators of] film art. Filmmakers in America are professionals who know their craft perfectly but don't consider themselves to be artists They call it an industry here. The film is a product made for a purpose, namely, to be sold. This is a concept that was to us (and to me still, to this very day) somehow unfit.

206. Richard T. Jameson, “Passer’s Way,” *Film Comment* 17, no. 4 (July–August, 1981): 21, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43452612>.

Decades into his post-New Wave career, Passer anticipated that improvements in technology would open the opportunity for people “to have more freedom than in the past because it will cost less to produce a film.” The fact that Passer linked freedom with financial concerns, rather than those of expression, shows an ongoing apprehension towards the domain of filmmaking within the grand scheme of American society.²⁰⁷

18.3 Cross-Auteur Analysis: Censorship in American Contexts

Nothing of the type of First-Amendment trumpeting seen in Forman’s *The People vs. Larry Flynt* occurs in the films by Passer screened for this study. In certain scenes of *Flynt*, Forman styled the press as a platform that emboldens the main characters. However, in *Cutter’s Way*, Passer painted the press as something of a weapon against the character Bone in an unsolved murder case. Forman displayed sophisticated use of legal knowledge and argument to support the right to publish tasteless material, but on the other hand, Passer portrayed civilians acting crassly when reciting lines from the Constitution and boorishly invoking their rights to speak and assemble.

It seems probable that Forman’s better integration into the American system at large (compared to Passer) engendered a more optimistic stance towards the country’s institutions of expression. Whereas Forman became an eminent member of the New Hollywood movement,²⁰⁸ Passer remained more on the periphery, attributing Forman’s success as not only the gateway that let them leave Czechoslovakia in the first place but also the reason the latter was able to work there again during the Cold War.²⁰⁹ While Passer looked back fondly at his filmmaking days in 1960s Czechoslovakia—when commercial success was alien and political regulations were relatively mild—Forman long maintained that he preferred commercial pressure to the ideological sort. Passer reasoned that “a little oppression is good for art”²¹⁰ and films of the New

207. Buchar, *Czech New Wave Filmmakers in Interviews*, 144–150.

208. The so-called New Hollywood movement took place around the late 1960s and 1970s, when a younger generation of filmmakers like Steven Spielberg, Francis Ford Coppola and Martin Scorsese directed innovative motion pictures. They were inspired by European cinema as well as classic American genres. Members of the New Hollywood movement enjoyed loosed censorship standards (after the 1960s) as they worked within the mainstream film industry. Forman’s *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest* is considered a constituent of the New Hollywood ilk. James Mottram, introduction to *The Sundance Kids: How the Mavericks Took Back Hollywood* (New York: Faber and Faber, 2006), xvii–xix; Andrew Pulver, “One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest director Miloš Forman dies aged 86,” *Guardian*, April 14, 2018, accessed May 1, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2018/apr/14/milos-forman-one-flew-over-the-cuckoos-nest-director-dies-aged-86>.

209. Bergan, “Still Free.”

210. Passer accredits this principle to Orson Welles.

Wave era served as an outlet to channel the public's criticism; on the contrary, Forman described dealing with ideological compromises as "crippling to your own freedom of thinking and creating" not to mention transmuting towards "the final results."²¹¹

19. Cross-Cultural Analysis: Censorship in Czech and American Contexts

Jiří Menzel and Miloš Forman worked with markedly different scales of satirical tradition in Czechoslovakia and America. Menzel's films bring forth comical situations about the status quo during the Communist era, exemplifying the extent to which he was able to do so during the later years of the regime while remaining in his home country. By examining the fictional farces in his films, it can be deduced that the regime found making fun of bureaucrats and the shoddy goods on the consumer market acceptable. Forman's *The People vs. Larry Flynt*, however, profiles a controversial, factual figure who satirizes a public person, an act that becomes the subject of a Supreme Court case about the importance of parody for democracy in the society to which Forman immigrated.

The presence of the press differs notably between Věra Chytilová's *Traps* and Miloš Forman's *Flynt*, which were released within two years of each other. Chytilová constructed the journalist friend of the film's main character Lenka as dishonest by having sex with Lenka's boyfriend behind her back. The journalist unveils the scandal of the MP that raped Lenka, whom she reactively tells her case will be in vain because of his power. Swarms of the paparazzi's flashing cameras and hungry journalists jabbing microphones appear in both films. However, in Forman's, there are scenes that convey Larry and Althea standing up for their causes in front of the reporters, touches that align with the film's favorable representation of the press in America.

Ivan Passer and Věra Chytilová appeared to be the most critical towards their host societies when examining their lack of including censorship in their post-New Wave oeuvres. Passer showed the media jumping to unfair suppositions in *Cutter's Way*, an early 1980s production whose volatile path to distribution the director compared to totalitarian censorship. Judging by the examples in *Traps*, it is conceivable that Chytilová possessed a bitter view

211. "Interview with Ivan Passer on 'Intimní osvětlení' (Intimate lighting)"; Tasha Robinson, "Interview: Milos Forman," *AV Club*, April 24, 2002, accessed April 17, 2018, <https://www.avclub.com/milos-forman-1798208216>.

towards the actualization of society's constitutional transformations and prioritized the urgency of morality in interpersonal interactions over institutions like free press.

It seems that Passer, Chytilová and Menzel would not include censorship in their films partially because of their skepticism towards commercial cinema. Forman, in contrast, repeatedly asserted his preference for directing under commercial pressure over dealing with ideological influence. Passer's yearning for the filmmaking paradigm of 1960s Czechoslovakia has some parallels with Menzel's, as both directors reminisced about a period that offered the right amount of freedom whereby making profits did not infringe upon creative visions. All of the directors faced censorship and had films banned in the wake of the Soviet invasion, but their post-New Wave career trajectories exhibit variations in how they dealt with resisting restrictions against expression and displaying the praxis of free speech in their societies.

Conclusions

The purpose of this thesis was to determine the ways in which directors Jiří Menzel, Věra Chytilová, Ivan Passer and Miloš Forman interacted with their social environments after the Czechoslovak New Wave ended. It sought to grasp how the pivotal members of this film movement, who continued their directorial careers through the 2000s, dealt with the dynamics of their landscapes either in the Czech lands or in the United States. Auteur theory was applied as a tool for reading films as texts authored by the four figures. The material trope of the car and the immaterial concept of money as power were examined as detectable consistencies. The presence and absence of censorship between the directors' works was also explored.

As a result of applying auteur theory to this thematic troika, it was found that Jiří Menzel's films maintain a humor that reveres Czech culture in a "non-heroic" fashion, as exemplified by his genial mockery of well-to-do characters' haphazard driving skills or failure to control situations. The director also tended to satirize facets of the Normalization-era daily life ranging from rickety automobile models to "toothless" Communist propaganda. His propensity of turning away from societal pressures through erotic sojourn is even enunciated in his one compromising, socialist-realist release.

The more confrontational works of Věra Chytilová underline an array of issues detected in Czech society, such as timeless problems like irresponsible relationships or timely topics like restitution during the post-Communist transition period. The personalities that populate her films

keep vainly trying to fabricate geotic variants of paradise even after the inflow of capital reconfirmed, and reshaped, material interests. The director demonstrated how characters' car ownership testified for their ranking as society evolved along with how certain models symbolized ability, vulnerability, foreignness or shallowness. In the films surveyed, the tendency of Chytilová's characters to view the state of affairs through the prism of complacency never falters.

Miloš Forman exhibited mainly positive, patriotic notions of American society while displaying elements such as personal pride, rebelliousness, free speech and an embracing of the enriching, though absurd, institution of the dollar. He portrayed a range of schisms and symbioses that infused phenomena from generational differences to logistics of the legal system. Forman, in applying the theme of the individual versus the institution, built upon contradictory aspects of American society such as dealing with market forces in an effort to realize creative freedom.

Ivan Passer demonstrated a less positive interpretation of his interactions with the American environment by focusing on topics like rampant criminality and the poor use of freedom and money. Passer constructed characters in inferior economic ranks as either failing to break out from their unfavorable states or seemingly falling prey to more moneyed powers of higher influence. He conveyed cars as instruments of infinitesimal opportunity that people only take for granted by opting instead for destructive vices. Numerous characters in Passer's works drive recklessly, sometimes while intoxicated. Passer also displayed an example from the American spoils system as channeled through an entitled young man disseminating his unwarranted arrogance while in the Old Continent.

This research confirms and elaborates upon the proposed auteur-centric and cross-cultural hypotheses. The films of Forman and Menzel exhibit the most supportive pictures of the scenes in the United States and Czech lands, respectively. Forman embraced the commercial filmmaking dynamics after realizing their absurdist, *Kafkárna* nature, celebrated American society through material relics like the Ford Model T and championed civic conventions such as the free press. Menzel seemingly applied his perceived identity onto his renditions of the Czech experience, often set in villages and aimed at entertaining nostalgic emotions. The situational and dialogic ironies found in his films attest for relatable, humanistic sentiments. Both directors

appear to have sought to project qualities of the national idiosyncrasies they observed upon their work.

The films of Věra Chytilová and Ivan Passer elicit the most scold towards the societies in which these directors immersed after the end of the Czechoslovak New Wave. Chytilová's display of a morally corrupt community populating late Communist housing units is no less bleak than the crime-infested streets of New York City constructed by Passer. Both directors incorporated the ubiquity of cars in urban environments to illustrate stressful and chaotic realities. Chytilová and Passer dwelled on decadence and illusory freedoms when members of society become easily corrupted; they also made clear cases of money empowering undeserving individuals.

Forman's emphatic trumpeting of the First Amendment might reveal that he found himself the most in his element in discovering the means to express himself via the American motion picture industry. While the other three New Wave directors also experienced transitions to commercial systems, they did not commend the profit-oriented mechanisms as boons to their creativity. Both Passer and Chytilová portrayed the media in a negative light, rendering situations that reflect the press abusing their powers rather than responsibly exercising their capacity to express or expose. Menzel may have felt satisfied with the level of social commentary allowed in the Normalization climate all the while remaining apprehensive about openly battling against censorship. Other than Forman, who held that ideological pressure was noxious, the directors deemed the variable of money as an adverse force for reifying their ideas.

The researcher hopes that these findings will develop alternative angles for examining individual Czechoslovak New Wave directors' post-New Wave outputs. Another, more encompassing aim is to harmonize understandings of how this generation of creators used filmic language to articulate their interactions with spatial-temporal contexts that go beyond the atmosphere they historically encapsulated in 1960s Czechoslovakia. This thesis seeks to put forth its systematic mapping and analytical clustering as a mode of reading the 1970s–2000s oeuvres of Jiří Menzel, Věra Chytilová, Miloš Forman and Ivan Passer in a detailed, unified manner.

Souhrn

Režiséři Československé nové vlny Jiří Menzel, Věra Chytilová, Miloš Forman a Ivan Passer ukazovali ve svých filmech liberální náladu své doby. Vlivné hnutí skončilo kvůli sovětské invazi v roce 1968, avšak čtyři režiséři pokračovali ve své kariéře, buď překonáváním zákazů nebo emigrací do Ameriky. Výzkum studuje motivy v jejich filmech od roku 1971 do roku 2006 a poskytnuté rozhovory cílem dosáhnout sociologické interpretace jejich filmů. Diplomová práce má za cíl přinést unikátní metodologii, která interpretuje jejich filmy jako demonstrace společenských interakcí. Práce využívá kvalitativní analýzy a teorie samotných autorů.

Analytická struktura textu má tři hlavní témata: kult automobilů, peníze jako známku moci a cenzuru. Automobilový kult je konkrétní motiv, peníze jako známka moci je abstraktní koncept, ale cenzura je nekonzistentní pojem, proto výzkum analyzuje, proč se tímto tématem zabývá pouze Forman. Výsledky jsou prezentovány pro každého režiséra zvlášť, společně s kontexty z Československa, případně z USA. Text se zabývá normalizací v Československu a vývojem po sametové revoluci. Také je zde New York v 60. a 70. letech 20. století a americké instituce jako ústavní práva a soudy. Analýza dodatečně zkoumá reakce na komerční filmový systém v obou zemích.

Výzkum naznačuje, že filmy Jiřího Menzela evokují jeho bezstarostnou a nekonfrontační osobnost, zatímco díla Věry Chytilové ukazují, jak režisérka interpretovala a konfrontovala soudobé problémy. Miloš Forman se v USA zaměřil na Kafkovy motivy a absurdní činy související s bohatstvím ve společenském systému, Ivan Passer měl naopak zájem o situace, kdy lidé mají svobodu, ale nepoužívají ji správně. Na závěr práce ukazuje, jak se Jiří Menzel i Miloš Forman v celém svém díle věnovali úctě ke kultuře v Čechách, respektive v Americe. Naopak Věra Chytilová a Ivan Passer byli během své kariéry nesmlouvavými společenskými kritiky. Tato diplomová práce doufá, že může svým inovativním přístupem přinést nové pochopení filmů od českých režisérů nové vlny.

Bibliography

Primary sources

- Andelman, David A. "New Czech Film Has Drama in Its Own History." *New York Times*, March 12, 1978. Accessed April 17, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/1978/03/12/archives/new-czech-film-has-drama-in-its-own-history-a-tribute-to-intensity.html>.
- Bergan, Robert. "Still Free: An Interview with Ivan Passer." *Film Comment*, July 13, 2016. Accessed April 17, 2018. <https://www.filmcomment.com/blog/still-free-interview-ivan-passer/>.
- Buchar, Robert. *Czech New Wave Filmmakers in Interviews*. North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2004.
- Carling, Andy. "Interview: Oscar-winning Jiri Menzel." *Andy Carling*, June 17, 2015. Accessed April 18, 2018. <http://andyinambleside.blogspot.cz/2015/06/interview-oscar-winning-jiri-menzel.html>.
- ČT24. "Nový dokument chce ze srpna 1968 zachytit 'ten okamžik': Prožil ho i Jiří Menzel." *Česká televize*, November 3, 2017. Accessed April 20, 2018. <http://www.ceskatelevize.cz/ct24/kultura/2292637-novy-dokument-chce-ze-srpna-1968-zachytit-ten-okamzik-prozil-ho-i-jiri-menzel>.
- Chytilová, Věra dir. *Chytilová Versus Forman: Consciousness of Continuity*. Brt 'kunstzaken' and Iblis Films. 1981; Belgium.
- . "I want to work." *Index on Censorship* 5, no. 2 (1976): 17–20. DOI: 10.1080/03064227608532516.
- Connolly, Kate. "Bohemian Rhapsodist." *Guardian*, August 11, 2000. Accessed April 17, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2000/aug/11/culture.features2>.
- Echikson, William. "A Czech Artist Speaks Out Again." *Christian Science Monitor*, July 11, 1989. Accessed April 10, 2018. <https://www.csmonitor.com/1989/0711/pczech.html>.
- Forman, Miloš. Interview by Charlie Rose. 1997. *The Charlie Rose Show*. PBS.
- Forman, Miloš, John Guare, Jean-Claude Carriere and John Klein. *Taking Off*. New York: Signet, 1971.
- Forman, Miloš and Jan Novák. *Turnaround: A Memoir*. New York: Villard, 1993.

- Forman, Miloš. "Obama the Socialist? Not Even Close." *New York Times*, July 10, 2012. Accessed April 10, 2018. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/11/opinion/obama-the-socialist-not-even-close.html>.
- Forman, Miloš and Richard Porton. "Porn Again: The People vs. Larry Flynt: An Interview with Milos Forman." *Cinéaste* no. 4 (1997): 28–32. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41688954>.
- "Interview with Ivan Passer on 'Intimni osvetleni' (Intimate lighting)." YouTube video uploaded by user Anything I like. Accessed April 10, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/embed/fImR0sZQ4Vw>.
- "Interview with Vera Chytilova." *Europe of Cultures* on France 2, February 1, 1994. Accessed February 11, 2018. <http://fresques.ina.fr/europe-des-cultures-en/fiche-media/Europe00213/interview-with-vera-chytilova.html>.
- Jameson, Richard T. "Passer's Way." *Film Comment* 17, no. 4 (July–August 1981): 18–19, 21. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43452612>.
- Johnston, Rosie. "Ivan Passer: Czech New Wave Filmmaker at Helm of Karlovy Vary Jury." *Radio Prague*, July 7, 2008. Accessed April 9, 2018. <http://www.radio.cz/en/section/one-on-one/ivan-passer-czech-new-wave-filmmaker-at-helm-of-karlovy-vary-jury>.
- Kamm, Henry. "Milos Forman Takes His Cameras and Amadeus to Prague." *New York Times*, May 29, 1983. Accessed April 17, 2018. <https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/packages/html/movies/bestpictures/amadeus-ar1.html?scp=4&sq=ragtime&st=cse>.
- Kennedy, Harlan. "Ragtime: Milos Forman: Obstructing the Road." *American Cinema Papers*, 1981. Accessed March 30, 2018. http://www.americancinemapapers.com/files/RAGTIME_1981.htm.
- Kuzma, Konstanty. "Interview: Jiří Menzel on his Career." *East European Film Bulletin* 30 (2003). <https://eefb.org/countries/cssr/jiri-menzel-on-his-career/>.
- Leschtina, Jiří. "Jiří Menzel." *Hospodářské noviny*, October 24, 2003. Accessed May 2, 2018. <https://archiv.ihned.cz/c1-13549820-jiri-menzel>.
- Markham, James M. "Jiri Menzel's Bittersweet 'Village.'" *New York Times*, January 11, 1987. Accessed April 20, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/1987/01/11/movies/jiri-menzel-s-bittersweet-village.html>.
- McBride, Joseph. "Director Milos Forman defends *The People Versus Larry Flynt* against charges it's porn-friendly." *Industry Central*. Accessed January 19, 2018. http://www.industrycentral.net/director_interviews/MIFO01.HTM.

- McCarthy, Todd. "Milos Forman Lets His Hair Down." *Film Comment* 15, no. 2 (March–April 1979): 17–21. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43451040>.
- National Security Archive. "Interview with Milos Forman." *Red Spring*, Episode 14 (the Sixties), January 18, 1997. Accessed April 9, 2018. <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/coldwar/interviews/episode-14/forman4.html>.
- Pawilkowski, Pawel. dir. *The Kids from FAMU: Tales of Prague*. Glasgow University. 1990; Glasgow, United Kingdom.
- Radka Production. "Amadeus." *Milos Forman*. Accessed April 18, 2018. <https://milosforman.com/en/movies/amadeus>.
- Robinson, Tasha. "Interview: Milos Forman." *AV Club*, April 24, 2002. Accessed April 17, 2018. <https://www.avclub.com/milos-forman-1798208216>.
- Rose, Steve. "Irony Man," *Guardian*, May 9, 2008. Accessed April 25, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2008/may/09/1>.
- Rosenbaum, Jonathan. "Ivan the Bearable." *Jonathan Rosenbaum*, July 15, 1981. Accessed April 20, 2018. <https://www.jonathanrosenbaum.net/1981/07/ivan-the-bearable/>.
- Schruers, Fred. "Ivan Passer: Making It 'Cutter's Way.'" *Washington Post*, December 13, 1981. Accessed April 20, 2018. https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/style/1981/12/13/ivan-passer-making-it-cutters-way/a1f98194-1584-4373-8a5c-a1ee96ee311d/?utm_term=.44877518ada8.
- Sedláčková, Veronika and Ondřej Čihák. "Anticharta se podepisovala a podepisuje denně, říká režisér Jiří Menzel." *Český rozhlas*, January 12, 2017. Accessed April 17, 2018. http://www.rozhlas.cz/plus/proaproti/_zprava/anticharta-se-podepisovala-a-podepisuje-denne-rika-reziser-jiri-menzel--1687996.
- Spáčilová, Mirka. "PORTRÉT: Věra Chytilová byla královna ryzí zarputilosti." *iDnes*, March 13, 2014. Accessed April 27, 2018. https://kultura.zpravy.idnes.cz/portret-chytilova-0no-filmvideo.aspx?c=A140313_101349_filmvideo_ts.
- Šulík, Martin. et al., dir. "Jiří Menzel" in *Golden Sixties* documentary series. 2009; Prague.
- . "Věra Chytilová" in *Golden Sixties* documentary series. 2009; Prague.
- Vaughan, David. "Jan Novák: The Man Who Lived Miloš Forman." *Radio Prague*, December 31, 2011. Accessed April 17, 2018. www.radio.cz/en/section/books/jan-novak-the-man-who-lived-milos-forman.
- Vidal-Hall, Judith. "Jiří Menzel." *Index on Censorship* 24, no. 6 (2007): 119–122. DOI: 10.1080/03064229508536003

Secondary sources

- Berdahl, Daphne. “‘Go, Trabi, Go!’: Reflections on a Car and Its Symbolization Over Time.” *Anthropology and Humanism* 25, no. 2 (December 2000): 131–141. DOI: 10.1525/ahu.2000.25.2.131.
- Blažejovský, Jaromír. “Bones, bones, bone-eater . . .” *Kinoeye* 2, no. 8 (2002). <http://www.kinoeye.org/02/08/blazejovsky08.php>.
- Blenton, Adam. “TWO CZECH KINGS.” *New Presence: The Prague Journal Of Central European Affairs* 9, no. 1 (2007): 52–53.
- Bluestone, George. “Jiri Menzel and the Second Prague Spring,” *Film Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (Autumn 1990): 23–31. DOI: 10.2307/1212696.
- Bren, Paulina. *The Greengrocer and His TV: The Culture of Communism After the 1968 Prague Spring*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2010.
- Buchar, Robert. Introduction to *Czech New Wave Filmmakers in Interviews*. North Carolina: MacFarland & Company, Inc., 2004.
- “Czech New Wave.” *Time* 89, no. 25 (June 23, 1967): 107.
- Dominková, Petra. “We Have Democracy, Don’t We?” in *Past for the Eyes*, ebook, eds. Oksana Sarkisova and Péter Apor. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2013. <http://books.openedition.org/ceup/678?lang=en>.
- “Homepage.” *FAMU*. Accessed May 5, 2018. <https://www.famu.cz/>.
- Gery, John. “‘Cutter’s Way’ and the American Way: Heroic Alienations.” *Literature/Film Quarterly* 16, No. 1 (1988): 58–64. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43796338>.
- Greenspun, Roger. “Born to Win: Czech Film on Addict Shown in Festival.” *New York Times*, October 11, 1971. Accessed February 17, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/10/11/archives/born-to-win-czech-film-on-addict-shown-in-festival.html>.
- Halík, Radim. “The Screen of Laughter and Remembering.” PhD Dissertation. Charles University, Faculty of Social Science, 2011.
- Hames, Peter. *Czech and Slovak Cinema: Theme and Tradition*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009.

- . “Czech Cinema: From State Industry to Competition.” *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 42, no. 1–2 (2000): 63–85. DOI: 10.1080/00085006.2000.11092238.
- . *The Czechoslovak New Wave*. London: Wallflower Press, 2005.
- . “Obituary: Věra Chytilová.” *Studies in Eastern European Cinema* 5, no. 2 (July, 2014): 216–218. DOI: 10.1080/2040350X.2014.929318.
- Hayes, David P. “The Motion Picture Production Code.” *DH Writings*. Accessed April 18, 2017. http://productioncode.dhwritings.com/multipleframes_productioncode.php.
- Heiney, Bernadette Zbicki. “Ford Model T.” *Salem Press Encyclopedia Research Starters*. 2013.
- Hitchman, Scott. “Peter Hames on Věra Chytilová.” *NewWaveFilm.com*, February 2015. Accessed February 11, 2018. <http://www.newwavefilm.com/interviews/hames-on-chytilova.shtml>.
- “Homepage.” *Kinoeye*. Accessed March 30, 2018. <http://www.kinoeye.org/>.
- Horton, Andrew James. “Against Destruction.” *Kinoeye* 2, no. 8 (2002). <http://www.kinoeye.org/02/08/horton08.php>.
- “Jiří Voráč.” *Masaryk University*. Accessed March 1, 2018. <https://www.muni.cz/lide/2750-jiri-vorac/zivotopis>.
- Just, Daniel. “Art and everydayness: Popular culture and daily life in Communist Czechoslovakia.” *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 15, no. 6 (2012): 703–720. DOI: 10.1177/1367549412450637.
- Liehm, Antonín J. “Czech and Slovak Cinema.” *Cinéaste* 19, no. 4 (1993): 62. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41687248>.
- . Foreword to *Czech New Wave Filmmakers in Interviews*. North Carolina: MacFarland & Company, Inc., 2004.
- Mondello, Bob. “Remembering Hollywood's Hays Code, 40 Years On.” *NPR*, August 8, 2008. Accessed April 18, 2018. <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=93301189>.
- Mottram, James. Introduction to *The Sundance Kids: How the Mavericks Took Back Hollywood*. New York: Faber and Faber, 2006.
- Quart, Leonard and Barbara. “‘Ragtime’ Without a Melody.” *Literature/Film Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (1982): 71–74. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43796186>.

- Owen, Jonathan. "'Heroes of the Working Class?' Work in Czechoslovak Films of the New-Wave and Postcommunist Years." *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media* 53, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 190-206. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41552307>.
- "Passer in America, Part I." *Film Comment* 17, no. 4 (July–August 1981): 20. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43452613>.
- POMO Media Group s.r.o. "TGM Osoboditel," *Česko-Slovenská filmová databáze*. Accessed April 25, 2018. <https://www.csfd.cz/film/1544-tgm-osoboditel/komentare/>.
- . "Žebrácká opera," *Česko-Slovenská filmová databáze*. Accessed April 25, 2018. <https://www.csfd.cz/film/6673-zebracka-opera/prehled/>.
- Přádná, Stanislava. "The Czech Cinema After the 'Velvet Revolution.'" *Art Margins*, January 30, 2002. Accessed February 18, 2018. <http://www.artmargins.com/index.php/film-a-screen-media-sp-629836893/332-the-czech-cinema-after-the-qvelvet-revolutionq-1990-2000>.
- . *Miloš Forman: Filmař mezi dvěma kontinenty*. Brno: Host, 2009.
- Pulver, Andrew. "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest director Miloš Forman dies aged 86." *Guardian*, April 14, 2018. Accessed May 1, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2018/apr/14/milos-forman-one-flew-over-the-cuckoos-nest-director-dies-aged-86>.
- Radka Production. "Unrealized Projects." *Milos Forman*. Accessed April 27, 2018. <https://milosforman.com/en/about/projects>.
- Radkiewicz, Małgorzata. "Angry Young Girls." *Kinoeye* 2, no. 8 (2002). <http://www.kinoeye.org/02/08/radkiewicz08.php>.
- Rainforth, Dylan. "This Film's Going Bad: Collaborative Cutting in *Daisies*," *Senses of Cinema* 44 (August 2004). <http://sensesofcinema.com/2007/cteq/daisies/>.
- Smyth, J. E. "Against the Beat: *Ragtime*, Black History, and Postmodernism." *Film Quarterly* 67, no. 1 (Fall 2013): 7–13. DOI: 10.1525/fq.2013.67.1.7.
- Stoneman, Anna J. "Socialism With a Human Face: The Leadership and Legacy of the Prague Spring." *The History Teacher* 49, no. 1 (November, 2015): 103–125. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24810503>.
- Viceníková, Dora. "Naked Allegory: Věra Chytilová's *Vyhnání z ráje* (*Expulsion from Paradise*, 2001)," *Kinoeye* 2, no. 8 (2002). <http://www.kinoeye.org/02/08/vicenikova08.php>.
- Villa Decius Association. "Małgorzata Radkiewicz." *Visegrad Summer School*. Accessed March 30, 2018. <http://visegradsummerschool.org/experts/ma%C5%82gorzata-radkiewicz>.

Voráč, Jiří. *The Story Teller of Diversities: The Films of Ivan Passer, from Intimate Lightning to Nomad*. Brno, Host: 2008.

Film Theory Literature

Bordwell, David. *Making Meaning: Inference and Rhetoric in the Interpretation of Cinema*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991.

Braudy, Leo and Marshall Cohen, eds. "The Film Artist" in *Film Theory and Criticism*, Sixth Edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Hayward, Susan. *Cinema Studies: The Key Concepts*, Fifth Edition. New York: Routledge, 2018.

Sarris, Andrew. "Notes on the Auteur Theory in 1962" in *Film Theory and Criticism*, Sixth Edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Wollen, Peter. "The *auteur* theory." Accessed November 20, 2017.
<http://artsites.ucsc.edu/faculty/Gustafson/FILM%20162.W10/readings/wollen.auteur.pdf>.

Filmography

Chytilová, Věra. *The Apple Game* (1976).

— . *Panelstory* (1979).

— . *Calamity* (1981).

— . *The Very Late Afternoon of a Faun* (1983).

— . *The Inheritance or Fuckoffguysgoodday* (1992).

— . *Traps, Traps, Little Traps* (1998).

— . *Expulsion from Paradise* (2001).

— . *Pleasant Memories* (2006).

Forman, Milos. *Taking Off* (1971).

— . *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1975).

— . *Hair* (1979).

— . *Ragtime* (1981).

— . *Amadeus* (1984).

— . *Valmont* (1989).

— . *The People vs. Larry Flynt* (1996).

— . *Man on the Moon* (1999).

— . *Goya's Ghosts* (2006).

Menzel, Jiří. *Who Looks for Gold?* (1974).

— . *Seclusion Near a Forest* (1976).

— . *Cutting It Short* (1981).

- . *The Snowdrop Festival* (1984).
- . *My Sweet Little Village* (1985).
- . *I Served the King of England* (2006).

Passer, Ivan. *Born to Win* (1971).

- . *Law and Disorder* (1974)
- . *Silver Bears* (1977)
- . *Cutter's Way* (1981)
- . *Creator* (1985)
- . *Nomad: The Warrior* (2005)