RECOLLECTING VERSUS REMEMBERING: ON THE ERA OF THE NEW FOLK SONGS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA DURING THE TOTALITARIAN REGIME

Lucie Uhlíková

Within the whole field of music folkloristics, the topic of memory represents one of the most important aspects. Whole generations of people, initially collectors and scholars, and the theoreticians who followed, would encounter the issue of memory during their study of transmission, transformation, and the variability of the folk song, or while observing the song as a bearer of historical memory. They sought answers for questions like how long songs survive in the folk memory, how memory influences the emergence of still new variants of individual songs, what people remember better and worse, and which songs reflect historical events. In this paper, I am going to explore folk singing from a different point of view: I will focus on the issue of cultural politics during totalitarian Czechoslovakia and its impact on the emergence of newly composed songs within the folk tradition. At present, I've been a member of a grant project team focusing on the research of the folklore movement in the Czech lands in the second half of the 20th century (see the end of the paper). While interviewing contemporary and past members of folk ensembles, we studied the role of the folklore movement in the cultural politics of communist Czechoslovakia, the transformations of the approaches of ensembles to folk heritage caused by the ever-present Soviet model, and the motivations of individual people within this leisure time activity. Also we dealt with the extent of the fulfilment of their individual needs and their own understanding of their commitment within a sphere which, on the one hand side, was considered 'a shop window of socialism' (directed, controlled, and fully funded by the state) and, on the

other hand, a space for self-fulfilment (for the self-development of a person, as an escape from a dullness of the everyday reality of the totalitarian regime). Last but not least, a membership provided one of the few possibilities how to travel abroad.

From the study of personal narratives as well as period documents, it is obvious that the most contradictory period of the development of the Czech folklore movement were the 1950s.[1] Over the course of Czech history, folk culture was frequently the subject of use and misuse[2]. In the first decade of the commencement of the communist dictatorship, folk culture was allotted a completely new role (which could be called re-contextualization in today's scholarly terms): it was transformed into a symbol of the culture of the working class by the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Various texts from the period speak about the creation of a new society and a new person who needs a new culture. The new person could not come out of nowhere: they had to be cultivated. That is why the society put stress on working with youth, or, rather, the manipulation with and (re-)education of youth. The aims of the ruling communist party are well reflected by the noted ideologist Václav Kopecký (then Minister of the Information) in his speech on the tasks of the education of the public: "We've been living in new times, which means that we must also initiate joy and beautiful entertainment. This is a rewarding mission, especially if we are able to organize a new life for our youth following the Soviet model." (Kopecký in Laudová 1954: 22)

1. This paper deals with the Czech folklore movement only. It does not discuss the Slovak folklore movement, although both movements developed within the former Czechoslovakia.
2. On the topic, see e.g. Pavlicová, Martina. 2011. Lidová kultura volně k použití. Zamyšlení nad její ochranou a využíváním [Folk Culture at Free Disposal. Some Thoughts on its Protection and Use]. In: *Od folkloru k world music: Cesty za vizí,* edited by Irena Přibylová and Lucie Uhlíková, 28-38. Náměšť nad Oslavou: Městské kulturní středisko; Pavlicová, Martina – Uhlíková, Lucie. 2013. Folklore Movement and its Function in Totalitarian Society (for an example of the Czech Republic in the 2nd half of the 20th century). *Národopisná revue / Journal of Ethnology* 23, no. 5: 31–42. Available from: <http://revue.nulk.cz/pdf/r5-2013.pdf>.

Within the intentions of the new cultural politics, following the Soviet model, Czechoslovakia developed a basis that consisted of the creative activities of the masses, which were monitored and guided (or rather, directed) by the regime. Since its inception, it included non-professional theatre groups, social groups, folk dance ensembles and various genres of music. This platform was labelled 'the people's artistic creativity' and was methodically directed by a professional body.[3] Nevertheless, the name did not fully cover all the leisure time activities which it included. As shown by Zdeněk Jírový in his publication *Osvětou k svobodě* (*With Enlightenment to Freedom*), the Czech term "lidová tvořivost", or, the people's creativity, was in fact a word for word translation of "narodnoje tvorčestvo" from Russian. In the Soviet context, the term was understood primarily as "a label for the people's folk creativity, and it did not include the sum of other activities and fields, which were put inorganically under the term 'lidová tvořivost', the people's creativity in Czechoslovakia" (Jírový 2005: 119). It was not until the late 1960s that the country adopted a more precise term, "zájmová umělecká činnost" (artistic special interest activities), which has been used to this day.

Since the beginnings, this significantly state-manipulated area also included folk ensembles, which at that time were called ensembles of folk songs and dances and ensembles of the people's artistic creativity. The principles of their functioning, both negative and positive ones, were the subject of a recent independent study by Martina Pavlicová and the author of this paper. Both authors made reference to the requirements of state ideologists, which especially stressed the need to follow the Soviet models. As regards to folk ensembles, the requirements were as follows:

3. In 1948, a coordination body was established for the Centre of the People's Creativity under the Ministry of Information and Education of the Masses. In 1951, the Centre was transformed into a professional institution, which in 1953 was renamed to the Central House of the People's Creativity, and in 1961 the Central House of the People's Artistic Creativity (Jírový 2005: 118–119).

1) artistic character, which was represented by the stylization of both music and dance manifestation (in case of Soviet ensembles, they were well-known for the acrobatic artistry of their male dancers; local ensembles could hardly match this level of artistry in the Odzemek dance);

2) respect for folk traditions that were defined as progressive traditions by the regime (all manifestations of folk culture related to Christianity were excluded);

3) creation of new art, national and folk in form and socialist in content (Pavlicová – Uhlíková 2018: 182).

The first two items presented no problem within the Czech context. Because of the respect for folk traditions, there already was a platform in the 19th century that focused on preserving (safeguarding) and maintaining selected folk traditions (especially folk songs and dances and related activities aimed at preserving or reconstructing folk dress, folk customs and folklore festivals, and so on).[4] The requirement for artistic character was dealt with, to a certain extent, as far back as the Czech-Slavonic Ethnographic Exhibition in Prague (1895).[5] Consequently, it developed following the social transformation during the first half of the 20th century, namely with the emergence and increasing influence of the mass media.

A crucial turn in the development of what we today call the folklore movement was the requirement for the creation of new art. Ensembles were required "to use artistic means in order to manage to express the new lifestyle, as well as all their troubles, joys, and daily lives…" (Bartošová 1957: 22). This was the only

4. They were associations or more or less organized groups linked closely with the traditional countryside and its gradually vanishing culture (dancers, musicians and singers from the countryside who were ready to present folk culture publicly on request at various festive occasions).

5. See Pavlicová, Martina – Uhlíková, Lucie. Mimo svůj čas, prostor i význam – lidové tradice na jevišti [Out of their time, space and meaning: Folk traditions on stage]. In *Od folkloru k world music: Na scéně a mimo scénu,* edited by Irena Přibylová and Lucie Uhlíková, 9-24. Náměšť nad Oslavou: Městské kulturní středisko, 2015.

way how to defend the ensembles' activities, how to avoid being accused of "mere conservation, copying and clinging to rigid traditions, which can provide no help at present", or being labelled as "non-progressive associations and groups, which loudly speak about 'ethnography' or 'ethnographic ideas' but in reality represent nothing but the remains of bourgeois nationalistic and middle class thinking" (Laudová 1954: 28). In the forthcoming era, the folklore movement was not intended to be a space for recollecting (reviving and keeping the vanishing or perished manifestations of folk culture); instead it was to develop into a weapon of political propaganda. The political apparatus established basic goals for an area of people's artistic creativity: these included **support for efforts to construct socialism, fight for peace, and an education of the new, socialist person.** Ensembles of the people's artistic creativity were expected to be "evidence of the wealth of lifestyle under socialism, evidence of the fact that socialism did not destroy national art. On the contrary, it developed and enriched it" (Laudová 1954: 21). The creativity of the people's ensembles was to develop and extend folk traditions, not only to preserve them. It was to reflect on contemporary problems in society and the transformation of the countryside. Today it is quite evident that the task of the people's ensembles was political propaganda, aimed primarily at the conservative agricultural countryside and its strong religiosity and relationship with the land. To control the countryside presented a difficulty for communists: unlike farmers, city workers had nothing to lose; they could only gain. Farmers lived under different conditions. The collectivization of the countryside meant primarily the loss of their possessions (the land, farm animals, and agricultural machinery). Only with difficulty could they accept the advantages of collective farming. To persuade them was the task of the people's ensembles: they presented a kind of a cultural bridge in this respect. In their programmes, the people's ensembles combined the manifestations of the romantically imagined world of folk culture, and the new, politically committed creativity that was inspired by the folk

heritage. The new songs, music and dance programmes depicted the gains of the socialist village, or rather, of life in socialist society: life in peace, with enough food, the modernization of agriculture with the resulting improvement of farming conditions, and the benefits of cooperative management.

Today we cannot doubt the fact that a call for composing new songs had a positive response among the young members of the people's ensembles. This is evident in their narrations, as well as in their songs. Perhaps the most visible icon of the new era, who managed to combine traditional folk music and socialist-construction topics in her songs, was **Anežka Gorlová** (1910-1993), a native of Boršice in the Slovácko Region. This ordinary country woman was gifted with a talent for many fine folk arts (she was a skilled embroiderer, she decorated Easter eggs, toys, and the exterior walls of houses with fine folk ornament). She was also a great storyteller and writer of fiction. Gorlová penned more than 70 song lyrics, mostly on the social and political topic of the day; most of them were published in songbooks.[6] She composed her own melodies, or she borrowed folk tunes, as most of her song lyrics were set to music composed by other authors (such as Mojmír Vyoral, Bohuslav Bída, Štěpán Lucký, and Josef Berg[7]). In the 1950s, Gorlová cooperated with the Hradišťan folk ensemble, and it was mostly due to this cooperation that in 1952 the ensemble gained the Laureate of the Klement Gottwald State Award.; nevertheless, her songs were included in the repertoire of many other collectives (Uhlíková 1997).

6. Songs by Gorlová were published in many songbooks, including *Dobré je* (Praha 1954), *Veselo muziko, ešče lepší bude* (Praha 1954), as well as in separate volumes *Nech sa dobre darí* (Praha 1951), *Písně Anežky Gorlové* (Praha 1955), *Dožínky* (Beroun 1976), and *Písně a říkanky naší vesnice* (Praha 1979).

7. See. Havránková, Karolína 2012: *Josef Berg a jeho snaha o tzv. novou lidovou píseň / autorská tvorba a spolupráce s Anežkou Gorlovou a dalšími* [*Josef Berg and his Idea of New Folk Songs /own compositions and collaboration with A. Gorlová and others*]. MA thesis. Brno: Ústav hudební vědy FF MU.

Even today, we consider Anežka Gorlová the type of person who for a certain period blindly followed the communist ideology and believed its promises about better tomorrows. She herself gave evidence about her motivation in numerous texts (see Gorlová, 1953, 1955); it is obvious that her creative activity sprang from her inner need to engage in the social situation of her time in the village. Gorlová lived in a family of twelve; she lost her father at the age of six and had to work on a farm from childhood. Later, in 1934-45, she worked in the Baťa Works in Zlín as a decorator-painter of toys and embroiderer of pictures. After the war, she returned to Boršice, where she and her husband established a family shop that made wooden painted goods. Later, the communists took over the shop and nationalized it. After that, Gorlová held various manual labour positions: in the United Farmer's Cooperative in Boršice, the Moravian Iron Works in Olomouc-Řepčín, and the Vlára Machinery Plant in Slavičín, among others.

In 2015, Czech Radio Plus broadcast a programme on the life and work of Anežka Gorlová by Petr Slinták.[8] Based on the narrations of witnesses, the programme brought interesting information about the motivation of Gorlová to compose songs with farming cooperative topics. These included the fact that one of her older brothers had left for the USA before the war in search of work. There he became a large-scale farmer, who owned a threshing machine, combine harvester, reaper-and-binder machines, tractors; he was able to provide employment to people as he was a large-scale plant-grower and agriculture producer. Her younger brother Josef managed to visit him before the war and quickly understood the benefits of this type of farming. The real life in his native village differed distinctly: in the Czech lands, people ploughed mostly with cows; few people owned horses;

8. Broadcast by Český rozhlas Plus on February 14, 2015. Available from: <https://prehravac.rozhlas.cz/audio/3316129>.

the productivity of work was low and did not match the effort and drudgery involved. After the communist coup in 1948, Josef turned to the idea of cooperative farming based on his American experience. Being a role model for his sister, she adopted the same idea. Hence her compositions are not fictitious, but true reflections of the daily life around her. When she would write a song about an old-time farmer and hard work in the fields, she was documenting the life of her childhood and youth. When she praised combine-harvesters and tractors, she was reflecting on the American experience of her brother and her belief in the better and easier life of a village farmer in her country too. When she would adore Stalin and the communist regime, she really believed (under the influence of the war impressions of her generation) in the life of peace and the righteous society. Nevertheless, we may realize how difficult a 'revelation' this was for her later.

After depicting the context of Anežka Gorlová's work, we may ask if it is right to refer only to her when speaking about the new song and whether her songs fit such a label best. As shown by music folklorists Olga Hrabalová (Kadlčíková 1953, Hrabalová 1954) and Věra Thořová (Stiborová 1959, 1960), Gorlová represented the distinct bearer of folk singing tradition, and at the same time she was a folk composer who followed folk expressive means that she had gained in the family and community via natural transmission. She also wrote songs with no propaganda content, and they always reflected her experience and emotions. She lived in an area where folk activities partly continued to survive. Writing new songs in her region was still connected with the traditional variation process and folk creativity. Under the influence of the folklore movement, this approach gradually turned into a unique and intentional creative activity. The above-mentioned Věra Thořová (Stiborová 1959, 1960) has gathered evidence about numerous other composers, who reflected daily life in a similar way to Gorlová. As an example, see the following song by Jan Ňorek from the Horňácko region, set to the tune of a folk song:

Dajte vy, národy	**Oh, the Nations, Put Together**
1. Dajte vy, národy, huavy dohromady, reknite si šeci, reknite si šeci, že nescete vojny.	Oh, the nations Put your heads together Tell everyone Tell everyone That you don't want war
2. Vojna je drahý špás, páni z ní bohatnú, že ju oni nescú, že ju oni nescú, to oni nereknú.	War is an expensive pastime It makes lords richer They would not say They would not say That they don't want it
3. Lesci s vojnú prijdú, šeci odpovíme, jejich tvrdé huavy, jejich tvrdé huavy až k zemi skuoníme.	If they come with the war We all will answer it We will bend their hard heads We will bend their hard heads Down to the ground

(Mišurec 1954: 149)

There was still another group of composers of new folk songs. They were the representatives of the intelligentsia and members of the people's ensembles from the urban environment. The extent of their follow-up of folk traditions differed, as did their life experience. Some of them wrote songs in the style of Anežka Gorlová, others responded to commissions for composing that were published in periodicals focused on the people's artistic creativity, or commissions which individual methodological establishments sent directly to ensembles. Selected methodologists insisted on the creation of the new folk song. In 1956-1959, the international folklore festival in Strážnice advertised in its programme a competition for the best new folk song. These songs were broadcast on radio, recorded by gramophone companies and published in magazines, as well as in specific songbooks.

Frequently, their topics included the progress of the economy linked with the existence of agricultural cooperatives, as well as criticism of those who refused to join in the communal work or who did adhere to the old ways of farming; some topics related to the white dove as a symbol of peace[9]. Still others celebrated the communist regime and its representatives. Concerning their texts and melodies, the level of quality differs enormously. Many song lyrics use word clichés. Some songs are successful revivals of folk songs; some song lyrics are amateurish doggerels, sometimes even embarrassing.

Analysing the songs today, one may ask how to perceive these as evidence of the period. Did songs in this vein always reflect the composers' own views, or were they a necessary evil and required sacrifice to the higher-ups, a way to meet given demand, or even a result of calculated self-interest? The answer might not be as simple as it may seem at first sight. Both the past and present research show that the songs primarily reflected the world the way their authors saw it, or wanted to see it. In retrospective, it is hard to say whether the songs really reflect the demand of the society or connected rewards (such as prizes, holiday trips, and so on). Some of the composers prefer to forget their 'sins of youth'; some have difficulties to recall them. No matter what their motivation was, it was just a mere episode of their lives. As an example, here is a recollection of Jaromír Štrunc, one of the authors of new folk songs in the Radhošť Folk Ensemble from the town of Rožnov pod Radhoštěm.[10] He recollects a song which he composed with

9. Some of the songs were published by the Centre of Folk Creativity in a separate song book called *Holubičky míru lidových písní a tanců* [*Piece Doves of Folk Songs and Dances*]. Praha: Ministerstvo informací a osvěty, [1953].

10. Václav Bradáč and Vladimír Štrunc composed songs for the Radhošť Folk Ensemble. Most of the songs are derivates of older folk songs, with no adequate contemporary content and they were composed for the full dance programmes of the ensemble. If Bradáč the choreographer did not find a suitable folk song for a planned number (with a text on a specific topic), he himself wrote lyrics in the required vein and Štrunc set it to music, or even co-wrote the text (see Niklová 2009: 17).

his brother Vladimír Štrunc in 1954: The Sun Sinks Low. “It was a competition organized by the *Mladá fronta / Young Front* daily on the occasion of the Spartakiad (national gymnastics festival). We were the winners and got a radio as a reward. It was kind of a tendentious song. I wrote the lyrics; my brother, the melody. We have never performed it. We just sent it to the competition. It was our first radio, a very tiny little one. But I don’t even remember the song at all.” (Niklová 2009: 17) It is hard to say whether the author really has forgotten his song, or whether he did not want to remember it. Nevertheless, the song has been saved in the archives of the National Institute of Folk Song. It can be found in the collection of songs that were sent by individuals and/or ensemble leaders in response to the commission of the Regional House of the Education of the Public in what was then the town of Gottwaldov (today Zlín). The institution planned to publish a regional collection of new folk songs.[11] Nevertheless, the song was not included in the volume, but it will be published here, in the volume from the Náměšť colloquy.

1. Slunéčko sa níží,	The sun sinks low
ej, večera sa blíží,	Hey, the evening is coming,
kdo doorá polečko,	Who will finish ploughing?
Jura práce nechál,	Jura has left the field
co měl, neudělál,	Not doing what he was supposed to do
nedodržél slovečko.	He didn’t keep his promise.
2. Však jeho Hanička,	Anyway, his Hanička
ej, šikovná cérečka,	Hey, a skilful girl
lepší prácu zastala,	She managed to do better
krávy podójila,	She milked the cows
všecko pokludila,	She cleaned everything
na Juříčka čekala.	She waited for Juříček.

11. See Volavý, Vítězslav. [1957]. *Sborník písní lidových autorů gottwaldovského kraje* [*A Collection of Songs by Amateur Composers of the Gotwaldov Region*]. Gottwaldov: Krajský dům osvěty v Gottwaldově.

3. Už idú cestičkú, ej, s veselú notečkú o tej velkéj parádě, až sa všeci zéjdú, radovať sa budú na téj Spartakiádě.	Here they walk along the path Hey, with a jolly tune About a great parade When everybody will meet And will be merry At the Spartakiad.
4. Dyť všeci pojedú, ej, s bílú holuběnkú a přes městeček brány dovezú pozdravy do matičky Prahy až na samé Hradčany.	All people will go Hey, with a white dove And over the city gates They will bring greetings To Prague the Mother Up to Hradčany
5. Měsíček vysoko, ej, do rána daleko, všeci už dlúho spali, Juříček s Haničkú v noci při měsíčku polečko doorali.	The moon is high Hey, the morning is far Everybody has fallen asleep Juříček and Hanička Finished the ploughing of the field At night by the moon.

In conclusion: today, the texts of the new folk songs with propaganda content have more or less a comical effect; we tend to overlook their period context including the many examples of the tragic course of collectivization of the countryside, which by no means echoed the real life as it was presented in songs. The songs provide testimony of the period, as do the regime films like *Zítra se bude tančit všude / Tomorrow People Will Be Dancing Everywhere* or *Ještě svatba nebyla / A Wedding Has not Happened Yet* (to name the most known Czechoslovak films created with the assistance of the people's ensembles), and popular (Czechoslovak 1950s full length) films like *Anděl na horách / Angel in the Mountains*, *Císařův pekař – Pekařův císař / The Emperor's Baker – The Baker's Emperor,* and */ Hudba z Marsu / Music from Mars*. At present, many people watch these films with a certain nostalgia not realizing the harsh reality of the period in which the films originated on the demand of the totalitarian regime.

Nevertheless, as regards the new, politically committed songs written in the spirit of folk tradition, we may ask how these songs differed from other revival compositions, and why they were forgotten in spite of their previous, well documented popularity. We may wonder what the difference are between revival songs like "Vínečko bílé"/"White Wine" by Fanoš Mikulecký, "Vinohrady, vinohrady" / "Vineyard, Vineyard"/ by Jan Kružík, "Ty si, Janku, ty si zbojník"/ "You Are, Janek, You Are an Outlaw" by Milan Švrčina, "Za Moravú třešně sú"/ "There are Cherry Trees Beyond the Morava" by Jaroslav Smutný, and the peace song "Bílá holuběnko"/ "The White Dove" by František Mrlík, the propaganda Verbuňk song "Hore chlapci, hore sklénky" / "Glasses Up, Boys, Glasses Up" by Jaroslav Čech and Eduard Kavan, and "Kosénka"/ "Little Scythes" by Anežka Gorlová. In effect, these songs reflected the same that the authors of old had in authentic folk songs, when they sang about their sorrows and joys, their work, the countryside, war, social ills, and life philosophy – about the world they were living in. What makes politically committed songs different, what is offensive in them, what provokes laughter in them? Is the difference in the individual words like a combine harvester, tractor, or cooperative farm? Why are some other songs not effective in the same way, namely songs about ships in the harbour of Bremen, about the hard work in factories, in songs about migration to America and buying a pistol,[12] war and battle songs about rifles and cannons[13], or urban industrial songs about hard work[14]? What is the difference between a song about a tractor

12. See Pavlicová, Martina – Uhlíková, Lucie 2014: Vystěhovalectví do Ameriky a kulturní paměť (na příkladu moravské zpěvní tradice) [Emigration to America and Cultural Memory (Based on an Example of Moravian Singing Tradition)]. In *Od folkloru k world music: Svět v nás, my ve světě*, edited by Irena Přibylová and Lucie Uhlíková, 9-24. Náměšť nad Oslavou: Městské kulturní středisko.
13. See e.g. Zich, Otakar 1922: *Vojenský zpěvník československý*. Praha: Čsl. vědecký ústav vojenský.
14. See e.g. *Český revoluční zpěvník. Vybrané revoluční, lidové, dělnické a budovatelské písně od dob nejstarších až po dobu současnou* [*Czech Revolutionary Song Book:*

ploughing fields and a song about a lad who ploughed a little, because his wheel got broken?[15] Both songs speak about work in the fields, although each of them originated in a different period. Could the problem lie in the fact that the song was composed on demand? I do not think this could be the reason. There are many songs with a similar history in the past[16] and they were accepted without problems. Perhaps a more important issue here is the inappropriateness of the content and form. In the words of Slovak folklorist Soňa Burlasová (1977: 158), this is one of the basic features of a folk song. She says that a folk song is not only an expression of the life opinions and feelings of an individual, but that it reflects the feelings and opinions of a community. As history has proved, the folk have not identified with these songs, despite all the efforts of the totalitarian regime and the subsequent visions of certain professionals. Real life lagged behind the praised ideal too much.

Nevertheless, these songs should not be forgotten – they are not only topical songs, that existed in the folk tradition, but disappeared from the singing repertoire because they had lost their function (Burlasová 1980: 9), but they represent a peculiar document of their period, and provide evidence of how easily people can be manipulated, as well as how fast people are forget.

The study was written with the support of the grant GA17-26672S Tíha a beztíže folkloru: Folklorní hnutí druhé poloviny 20. století v českých zemích [The Weight and Weightlessness of Folklore: the Folklore Movement in the Second Half of the 20th Century in the Czech Lands].

Selected Revolutionary, Folk, Workers', and Socialist-construction Songs from the Early Days up to the Present], edited by Vladimír Karbusický and Jaroslav Vanický. Praha: SNKLHU, 1953; *Dělnické písně* [*Workers' Songs*], edited by Vladimír Karbusický and Václav Pletka. Praha: SNKLHU, 1958.

15. [The author refers to a Czech folk song called "Ach, synku, synku" ("Oh, My Lad") which in the country is also known to be a favorite folk song of the first Czechoslovak president, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk.]
16. This refers to broadside ballads which campaigned against migration from the Austrian monarchy; see note 12.

References:

BARTOŠOVÁ, Milada. 1957. Poučení z Hradce Králové [An Instruction from Hradec Králové]. *Klub,* no. 10: 21-23.

BURLASOVÁ, Soňa. 1977. K dialektike vzťahu folklórnej a estetickej hodnoty ľudových piesní [On Dialectics of the Relationship between Folk and Aesthetic Value of Folk Songs]. In *Premeny ľudových tradícií v súčasnosti 1*. Československo. Bratislava: Veda. 157-167.

BURLASOVÁ, Soňa. 1980. *Ej, prišli sme, prišli sme na pole družstevné. Ľudová písňová tvorba s tematickou jednotných roľníckych družstev* [*"Hey, we have arrived in the cooperative farm's fields". People's Song Creativity on the Topic of United Farmer's Cooperatives*] Bratislava: Príroda.

GORLOVÁ, Anežka. 1953. Jak vznikaly mé písně [How did my songs originate]. *Lidová tvořivost* 4, no. 3: 97-96.

GORLOVÁ, Anežka. 1955. *Písně Anežky Gorlové* [*The Songs of Anežka Gorlová*]. Praha: Mladá fronta.

HRABALOVÁ, Olga. 1954. Nová tvorba A. Gorlové [New compositions of Anežka Gorlová]. *Československá etnografie* 2, no. 2: 145-156.

JÍROVÝ, Zdeněk. 2005. *Osvětou k svobodě* [*With Enlightenment to Freedom*]. Praha: NIPOS.

KADLČÍKOVÁ, Olga. 1953. *Boršice. Příspěvky k historicko-ethnografické monografii moravskoslovenské obce* [*Boršice: Contributions to the historical and ethnographical monograph of the village in the Slovácko region*]. MA thesis, University of Jan Evangelista Purkyně.

LAUDOVÁ, Hana. 1954. Význam lidové umělecké tvořivosti v boji za mír a úkoly souborů lidových písní a tanců v budování socialismu v naší vlasti [The Meaning of the People's Artistic Creativity in the Process of Fighting for Peace, and the Goals of Folk Song and Dance Ensembles in the Building of Socialism in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic]. In Multiple editors: *O lidovém tanečním umění. Sborník pro práci souborů lidových písní a tanců.* Praha: Orbis: 9-25.

MIŠUREC, Zdeněk. 1954. *Veselo, muziko, ešče lepší bude*. *Práce v lidové písni* [*Be merry, music, there will be better times. Work in folk songs*]. Praha: Naše vojsko.

PAVLICOVÁ, Martina – UHLÍKOVÁ, Lucie. 2018. „Něco za něco…": Folklorní hnutí v českých zemích ve světle totalitární kulturní politiky ["Quid Pro Quo": Czech Folklore Revival Movement in the Light of Totalitarian Cultural Policy] . *Český lid* 105: 177-197.

STAVĚLOVÁ, Daniela. 2017. Zítra se bude tančit všude, aneb jak jsme se protancovali ke svobodě. Dichotomie tzv. folklorního hnutí druhé poloviny 20. století [Tomorrow, People Will Be Dancing Everywhere or How Did We Dance Towards Freedom. Dichotomy of the Folklore Revival Movement of the Second Half of the 20th Century.] *Český lid* 104: 411-432.

STIBOROVÁ, Věra. 1959. *Nově vznikající lidové písně v komparaci se staršími sbírkami* [*Newly emerging folk songs in comparison with earlier collections*]. MA thesis. Prague: Charles University.

STIBOROVÁ, Věra. 1960. Problematika nových lidových písní [Issues concerning the new folk songs]. *Český lid* 47, n. 4: 179-188.

UHLÍKOVÁ, Lucie. 1997. Gorlová Anežka. In *Od folkloru k folklorismu. Slovník folklorního hnutí na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, edited by Martina Pavlicová and Lucie Uhlíková, 33. Strážnice: Ústav lidové kultury.

Summary

The paper explores memory in connection with the new folk songs which originated in totalitarian Czechoslovakia within the folk movement. These songs were written in the spirit of folk tradition, but they had topical content, which often showed political motive and propagandist intent. The songs were mostly externally initiated, by requests of the political apparatus working via supervising institutions in the newly created area of *lidová umělecká tvořivost* or the people's artistic creativity. The supervising institutions established basic goals for ensembles, including the support of socialist-construction efforts, the fight for peace, and the education of the new, socialist man. Folk music ensembles were supposed to extend folk tradition, not to preserve them, and to further develop them by reflecting on contemporary problems within society and the transformation of the countryside. As a result, in their performances folk ensembles presented a romantically imagined world of folk culture with new, politicized compositions inspired by folk heritage. The new songs, as well as the full programmes of ensembles who performed them, presented a picture of village life in socialist society: living in peace, enough food, the modernization of agriculture and the resulting improvement of farm work conditions, and the benefits of cooperative work. In analysing the songs today, one must ask how to consider the people's artistic creativity within its context. Did songs in this vein always reflect composers' own views, or, were they a necessary evil and required sacrifice to the higher-ups, a way to meet societal demand, or even the result of calculated self-interest? The answer might not be as simple as it seems at first sight.

Key words: Folk song; totalitarianism; culture politics; folklorism; the misuse of cultural heritage.

Příloha / Appendix:

Anežka Gorlová (1910–1993), nejznámější česká autorka politicky angažovaných nových lidových písní / the most known author of Czech politically committed folk songs

Folklorní festival ve Strážnici, 1952 – čelo průvodu městem. Foto: ČTK, archiv Národního ústavu lidové kultury, Strážnice / Folklore Festival in Strážnice, 1952 – the head of the festive parade. Photo: ČTK, photoarchives of National Institute of Folk Culture, Strážnice