Four spaces four meanings: Narrating jazz in late-Stalinist Estonia

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Abstract

This study on Estonian jazz of late-Stalinist era argues for a comprehensive overview of jazz in Soviet society a view from multiple perspective is necessary. I present this view of Soviet Estonian jazz by applying a model of four cultural spaces of action. To introduce how jazz culture functioned at those different levels, and to explore the meanings framing the actions of cultural actors I examine four locations of jazz exemplified in four case studies. As I demonstrate, the meaning of jazz as it emerged in four distinct cultural spaces varies greatly. The case of Soviet Estonian jazz also tends to confirm the argument that Soviet power never achieved its totalitarian goals. Despite the trials of the regime to silence jazz, the music did not disappear from private realms in Estonian cultural space.

Introduction

I shall introduce my argument by paraphrasing the statement by Estonian jazz historian Valter Ojakäär (2008: 561) that ‘jazz was not allowed in the Soviet Union (SU) but it was never forbidden either´. This rather humorous and paradoxical statement conveys succinctly the contradictory nature of the Soviet era. The internal paradoxes of Soviet society are extensively discussed by anthropologist Aleksei Yurchak who tries to ´rehumanize´ life under socialism. He argues that Soviet life was a paradoxical mix of negative and positive values where ´control, coercion, alienation, fear, and moral quandaries were irreducibly mixed with ideals, communal ethics, dignity, creativity, and care for the future’ (2006: 10). This ´allowed-forbidden paradigm´, however, represents only the perspective from above—the tolerance or intolerance of political authorities toward jazz. In a society where the regulations and directives from above were not necessarily reflected in the lives of ordinary people, inevitable discrepancies existed between public and private realms. Regarding the state of jazz, my argument is that for a comprehensive overview of jazz in Soviet society it is necessary to take into account the views ´from below´ and ´from above´. To introduce how jazz culture functioned as a multilevel phenomenon, and to explore the meanings framing the actions of cultural actors, is the main goal of my study.

The second stage of my argument will challenge the popular simplification about jazz in the

Soviet Union that sees the music as a mode of resistance against the regime.[1] This description represents in the first instance the remnants of simplistic Cold War ideological binaries by which heroic jazz is juxtaposed with the horrifying power of the Soviet. The historical school of thought in the 1950s and 1960s that argued on the basis of Soviet ideology and high politics that this accurately reflected the everyday conditions of life, has been challenged, and it is now agreed that this approach was simplistic and lacked scholarly rigour (Edele 2012, 442). Its premise was that the Soviet populace was subjugated to totalitarian power and that people were, at the most, passively resistant to it. The second objective of this paper is therefore to develop a way of overcoming this schematic model to arrive at a more flexible understanding of the force field framing jazz in the Soviet Union.

Without delving into detailed discussions on the concept of totalitarianism, which can be found in the introduction of the volume, my argument regarding its application is that in the case of Soviet Estonia of late-Stalinist era the more dynamic and processual notion of totalitarisation is beneficial instead of static noun-based term totalitarianism. The dynamic nature of the period from 1944 to 1953 in Estonian history during which the society moved from liberal post-Estonian era to the final establishment of Soviet power in 1953[2] leads to the assertion that the period was rather a time of the application of totalitarian project in Estonian society than the retaining of it.

The understanding of jazz in today´s academic discourse is moving towards delineating the music as a practice developed through a range of influences and exchange (Whyton 2011, xx). The gradually increasing interest in intercultural dialogue and acceptance of pluralistic views can be seen as a paradigm shift leading to the globalisation of the discipline of jazz research (Reimann 2013). The area which had received relatively little scholarly attention is jazz in the territory of former Eastern bloc. The first event assembling the scholars working on Eastern European jazz was Warsaw´s conference 'Jazz Behind the Iron Curtain' in 2008. Based on the presentations the organisers of the conference Gertrud Pickhan and Rüdiger Ritter (2010) published a collection of articles. That Soviet jazz has attracted little interest of scholars is indicated by the low number of publications. The only extensive scholarly monograph on jazz in Soviet Union is still S. Frederick Starr´s *Red & Hot: The Fate of Jazz in Soviet Union* published in 1983. Other authors include Gaut (1991), Novikova (2003), Lücke (2004, 2010), Minor (1995), Feigin (1985), Beličenko (2006) as well as my own articles on Soviet Estonian jazz (2010a, 2010b, 2011). These help to extend the perspectives on jazz in the cultural space of former Soviet Union. Russian authors providing historical overviews on Soviet jazz include Batachev (1972), Konen (1977) and Feiertag (1981, 1999, 2010).

Jazz scholarship has a tendency to focus on empirical research rather than framing the studies with extensive theorisations. Some examples of theoretical perspectives are for instance Bruce Johnson´s (2002) use of diasporic theory, and Ingrid Monson´s (1996) attempt to apply poststructuralist cultural theory, literary criticism, linguistic anthropology, and ethnomusicology. My approach to the object of study combines the perspectives originating from Post-revisionist thought in Soviet studies synthesizing perspectives ´from above´ and ´from below´, Ann Swidler's (1986, 2001) theorisation of ´culture in action´, and Janken Myrdal´s (2012) idea of source pluralism. While a Post-revisionist-derived way of seeing the society from multiple perspectives helps me to exemplify the variety of cultural spaces in Soviet society, Swidler´s ´culture in action´ theory allows me to place the cultural actor or musicians and their actions in the centre of the study, and finally, source pluralism justifies the usage of wide range of sources.

In the first section of the study, I will introduce the conceptual models and the methodological tools framing the study. The subsequent sections are based on an examination of four locations of jazz exemplified in four case studies. First I will discuss the public media discourse as represented in jazz related texts of the Estonian cultural newspaper *Sirp ja Vasar*; second I will look at the way jazz appeared in the public musical space with the example of the state-sponsored Jazz Orchestra of Estonian State Philharmonic; third, I study an informal public realm through the jazz group Mickey's; and finally I survey the private space of the jazz-world through the jazz group Swing Club.

Conceptual and methodological background

The two concepts characterizing the historical period under the investigation in Estonian history are late-Stalinism and Sovietisation. To summarise succinctly: late-Stalinism[3] was broadly speaking the period framed by the Soviet victory from 1945 to Stalin's death in 1953. Chris Ward (2004: 446) has characterised this period by

> anxieties about the party's loss of control over the army, the countryside, the Managerial elite, local soviets and culture; by fear of the West, by fear of resurgent socialism abroad and at home, by fear of nationalism, by fear of neo-NEP aspirations and a longing for liberalization among the masses and the intelligentsia; by the persistence of old quarrels among the elite, their fear of a new generation of apparatchiki, and by the absence of a second Great Purge' to keep everyone in check.

Sovietisation[4] is a term applied to the period (1944-1953) in Estonian history during which the Soviet regime established its power basis within the country. In one sense, this included adoption of

Soviet-like institutions, laws, customs, traditions and the Soviet way of life. In another sense, the term *Sovietisation* is often applied to mental and social changes within the population of the Soviet Union and its satellites aiming at the creation of the *new Soviet man* or *Homo Sovieticus.*

One of the obvious features of Soviet society was the distinction between public and private social spheres. The importance of the public/private divide is noted by Shalpendokh who states that 'The distinction between the public and private spheres is of crucial importance for understanding Soviet society' (1989, 3). The scholarly tradition which turned to investigation of Soviet society from both—´from below´ and ´from above´ perspectives was 'Post-revisionism'. As the third school in Soviet studies, this emerged in the 1990s as a reaction against previous revisionist–totalitarian polemic. The main achievement of the post-revisionist school was the shift of focus from social to cultural history. According to Fitzpatrick (2007, 90) it imposed 'new ground rules that required historical work to have an underpinning in cultural theory and that privileged close textual analysis, especially of ego-documents'. The first landmark study in the post-revisionist tradition, *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* by Stephen Kotkin focussed solely on the interaction between state power and society, but more effective in synthesizing different perspectives have been Timothy Johnston (2011) and Aleksei Yurchak (2006), arguing for the interaction, overlap, or 'inter-penetration' between different aspects of the social whole.

The divide between public and private social realms characterizes not only Soviet society but it was the key issue for all totalitarian states, in which the existence of the private in the liberal individual sense was formally inhibited by the logic of totalitarian ideology (Corner 2009, 5). The private sphere nevertheless survived despite the fact that people often found their private lives and thoughts in conflict with the demands of the state-sanctioned ideology (Ibid., 6). As mentioned above, the dualistic public/private divide is a particularly sharp dichotomy in totalitarian societies, but nonetheless it is clearly an oversimplification inadequate to disclose the diversity of the society. Nor can jazz as a cultural form be reduced to this dualistic model: as a musical culture it acted simultaneously at many social levels, spreading beyond the boundaries defined by that simplistic divide.

Using a version of the public/private divide as an analytical tool in approaching Estonian jazz culture I will make distinctions between four spaces constituting the jazz-world in late-Stalinist Estonia. The first two spaces represent the public sector of the culture and are regulated more or less 'from above'. The public media texts in *Sirp ja Vasar* and state-sanctioned professional orchestras both acted in a public sphere and were guided by official Soviet cultural politics. The third space, formed by non-state-sponsored jazz groups performing in informal scenes such as dancehalls, cafes and restaurants, may be referred to, according to Zdravomyslova & Voronkov (2002), as an informal public realm. Finally, the space accommodating the most private territories of jazz culture

existed at the level of interaction between musical individuals or friendship groups, and musical or non-musical activities supporting the processes of development of jazz musicianship and musical identity.[5] Although these are distinct categorisations, I see those realms as not separated from or in opposition to each other, but instead as being in interactive tension in the formation of the totality of Soviet Estonian jazz culture.

In pursuing my objective of transcending binary thinking, I shall also draw on a theory that nuances the oppositional nature of the public/private divide; that is, Ann Swidler's (1986, 2001) powerful actor-centred model of culture. Taking up the idea of 'culture in action' Swidler sees culture as a resource from which social actors draw when they are in the process of action. Her model therefore focuses not on the ends to which individuals orient their action, but the means by which they achieve it. People know how to do different things with culture in different situations (Swidler 1986, 277)—they use specific strategies of action as the means guiding their activities. For Swidler culture is not a one-way process of imposing ideology and hegemony but is a set of tools with more or less stable but contested social meanings that are used to solve problems of action. Swidler´s idea of culture as a tool kit (Swidler 1986) resolves the structure versus agency problem: she proposes a theory that accounts for both - for individual choice and the structuring of behaviour by institutions, semiotic codes, and other large-scale societal structures.

The repertoire of my methods is formed by what Myrdal (2012) calls source pluralism. For the study that uses a series of sources, this means that I will combine discrete fragments from different sources in order to form the historical narratives and to build and consolidate my arguments. The importance of considering all the available sources and standpoints, and all the possible angles in approaching Estonian history, is articulated by historian Enn Tarvel (2005). For him it is the historian's responsibility to convey history in as many-sided and complex ways as possible, as a mosaic of different possibilities and choices, placing them in the context of their era.
The spectrum of source materials for the study consists of both oral and documented records. I will use the unpublished almanac of Swing Club, public media texts and interviews with musicians as primary sources. In addition Valter Ojakäär´s historical account and other published sources, the personal notes of the musicians and radio programs, are used as secondary sources.

Sirp ja Vasar **and public media discourse of jazz**

Zolkin (2009, 493) defines totalitarian culture as a specific politico-ideological system of state power necessary for the mythologisation of the consciousness of individuals and society. He considers totalitarian culture as a tool for emotional mobilization of mass consciousness for the achievement of defined political goals (Ibid.). The space representing most directly this ideologised

perspective ‘from above’ on culture is the public media sphere. The journalistic publications were the main conduits for the orders from the Central Committee to the populace and the most powerful way available to spread propaganda. This is why Soviet journalistic discourse as a direct mediator of party´s politics was entirely ideologised and totally controlled by the Soviet apparatus of censorship.

In the following I will briefly discuss the dynamic of changes of jazz discourse in Estonian public media in the post-Stalinist era. The investigation is based on the overview of jazz-related texts published in the Estonian cultural newspaper *Sirp ja Vasar* (Sickle and Hammer).[6] I will call the first post-war years in Estonian jazz journalism as the period of objective reflections, where the main subjects of writings were concert reviews and announcements of upcoming events. This discourse is an obvious manifestation of the political situation of the time. The post-war years witnessed a comparatively liberal political climate in the SU: the tensions between two opposing political systems were decreased for a while because of the allied victory. Jazz as one of the symbols of the alliance was actively performed in the SU during World War II and immediate post-war years. Yurchak (2006, 106), for example, links the meaning of jazz with the victory over the Nazis: ‘With the opening of the British and American second front in 1944 and the meeting of Soviet and American troops in Germany, American jazz became associated with the nearing victory over Nazis’.

The first signs of the changes towards ´ideologisation´ of the discourse occurred in 1946. The article from 21 September entitled *Riikliku filharmoonia jazzi kontserdid* (The jazz concerts of State Philharmonic) condemned the Jazz Orchestra of the Estonian State Philharmonic for the inclusion of inappropriate tunes of American and German origin in their repertoire. The objects of the critic´s attack included the American style arrangements and the general low artistic level of the performance. On 19 October 1946 *Sirp ja Vasar* published Serafim Milovski´s article entitled *Jazz muusikast* (About Jazz Music). The main objective of the article seemed to be the author´s concern about the music’s adaptation to Soviet aesthetic paradigms. ´Soviet jazz musicians must create their own jazz music, which is not for barrelhouse visitors but for Soviet people who listen to music in the theatre and concert hall,’[7] declared Milovski. Thus, the article did not seek to ban jazz but was rather a call for ´Sovietising´ the music.

On 24 April 1948 there appeared the article *Kutse tantsule* (Call to dance) translated from Soviet central newspapers. The piece expressed first of all an intolerance of jazz and Western dance music. The attack was, however, in accordance with the Soviet dance reform of the late 1940s when ´bourgeois´ modern dances were replaced by old ballroom dances of a more neutral character. The article demonstrating zero tolerance toward jazz was Valter Ojakäär´s essay titled *Tänapäeva Ameerika džässimuusikast* (On present day American jazz music) appearing on 8 August 1949. The

essence of the writing seems to rely on a simplistic 'Soviet-style' construction of jazz history, in which the focus is less on a historical overview of jazz than on anti-American and anti-capitalist propaganda. Following Ojakäär´s article jazz-related articles disappeared from public discourse for a while. As may be expected, extinguishing the word jazz from public utterance also seems to have taken the attention of the musical audience away from the impact of the music. The word jazz reappeared in public discourse on 18 December 1953, where *Sirp ja Vasar* printed Leonid Utesov's *Laulust ja kergest muusikast* (On singing and light music).

The shift towards ideologisation of the public discourse of jazz is an indication of a changing political situation induced by the onset of the cultural doctrine called *Zhdanovshchina. Zhdanovshchina* became known as cultural policy of stricter government control of arts and promoting an extreme anti-Western bias during the period from 1946 to 1953. The impact of three Stalinist campaigns – the resolution of the Central Committee against two literary magazines *Zvezda* and *Leningrad* as a campaign for stricter ideological discipline in 1946; the Great Friendship as a movement against formalism in 1948; and finally anti-cosmopolitanism as a campaign of anti-Semitism and the fear of foreign influence in 1949 – led to a gradual loss of tolerance for jazz and finally its temporary disappearance from public discourse. Gradually increasing intolerance toward jazz caused a profound paradigm shift within the public discourse: jazz was constructed not as a musical practice but, instead, it was politicised and declared incompatible with Soviet ideological discourse. The focus of the writings was not on the music itself but rather on external non-musical attributes or on authenticity in terms of ´Sovietising´ the music or on the function of the music, depending on the focus of the ideological campaigns.

The Jazz Orchestra of the Estonian State Philharmonic

Eesti riikliku filharmoonia jazzorkester (The Jazz Orchestra of the Estonian State Philharmonic- JOESP) was one of the two state jazz orchestras formed after the re-occupation of Estonia by SU in 1944. While The Jazz Orchestra of Estonian Public Broadcasting was mainly a studio orchestra playing on radio's live musical shows, JOESP was a touring group performing all over the Soviet Union.[8] As a state-sponsored orchestra it was a part of the Estonian State Philharmonic—the state-owned concert organization in Soviet Estonia.

The institutionalization of musical culture in the form of state-sponsored musical collectives was a part of the Soviet cultural project, which considered all the arts important to the Soviet system, and artists as the 'engineers of human souls' were indispensable agents of enlightenment and ideological education (Tomoff 2006, 4). What Yurchak (2006, 12) calls the Soviet paradox was the constant anxiety of the Soviet state 'about publicly justifying state control of cultural production

while simultaneously attempting to promote its independence and experimentation'. Therefore, all the cultural organizations were subject to educational and political organizations, and the entire cultural production had to be fully supervised by the party (Ibid.). The Soviets' desire to impose control over the entire cultural production drew no significant distinction between what are thought of as 'high' and 'low' musical forms. The main criteria were artistic quality and ideological correctness. On the one hand, the foundation of state jazz orchestras can be seen as part of the process of the Sovietization of Estonian culture—to achieve control over musical production. But on the other hand, the orchestras ensured permanent jobs for musicians and supported the development of musical culture. As Mertelsman (2013,142) observes in his overview of the Estonian cultural situation after WWII, culture and education expanded under Stalinism and the state invested enormous sums in order to raise the level of people's *kulturnost*[9] ('culturedness').

JOESP was established on the foundations of The Jazz Orchestra of Estonian State Art Ensembles in Yaroslavl in late fall of 1944. The instrumentation of the collective consisted of five saxophones, three trumpets, three trombones, guitar, accordion, piano, double bass, drums and two violins, which represented a typical big band lineup with violins added (Ojakäär 2008, 170-176). As mentioned above JOESP was mainly a touring collective. A painstakingly detailed account of their very busy concert schedules can be found in the notes of the conductor of the orchestra Vladimir Sapozhnin, recording all the performances of the orchestra between March 1945 and November 1948.[10] JOESP spent most of the year touring throughout the Soviet Union with the frequency of performances sometimes as high as three concerts per day. The son of Vladimir Sapozhnin, who often joined the tours of the orchestra with his father, recalls that the longest tour lasted eight months.[11] The tours took place in difficult conditions, as Oleg Spozhnin said, 'The orchestra was traveling from Tallinn to Leningrad and from Moscow to Urals. Then back to Moscow for a tour to Transcaucasia. We spent countless hours in trains. And it was hard since the travel conditions were poor. We had to catch often the transit trains and sleep on the floor of the station on our package.'[12] The other detail of everyday life remembered by Oleg Sapozhnin was accommodation. The bandsmen were billetted usually in pairs with local families. Since the older men had a tendency towards alcohol abuse, Oleg's father billetted his son with the young pianist Gennadi Podelski. As Oleg Sapozhnin jokingly recalls, 'Gennadi did not drink any alcohol but he was a real lady's man instead. I got a really good education on how to chase the women at the age of 14'.[13]

The dominant method of the authorities to impose control on the musical content of the orchestra was the censoring of concert programs. JOESP's programs even had to pass two censorship procedures: the first compatibility assessment took place at local level in Tallinn before the special committee consisting of musically incompetent party officials; the second check was conducted in Leningrad by the higher all-Union level of censorship officials (Pedusaar 2000, 101).

Music enjoyed a somewhat privileged status however because its inherently abstract nature made it difficult for politicians and bureaucrats to police. That is why 'Composers and musicians could use their privileged access to the interpretation of this abstract art form to ensure that they always had some manoeuverability, that they perceived their agency' (Tomoff 2006, 5). A good example of this 'manoeuvering' strategy was the manipulation of the titles of the pieces, as the example of JOESP demonstrates. Oleg Sapozhnin recalled that his father always added some 'bait' to the program list, which meant that certain pieces with extremely inappropriate titles were purposely included in the expectation of exclusion. This strategy helped to retain the desired repertoire in the program. Another time some 'cosmetic' changes helped to keep the piece in the repertoire list. For instance, the jazz piece entitled 'The night in a big city' referring obviously to New York, remained in the program after replacing it with the politically more acceptable title 'Night in the Negro village' (Pedusaar 2000, 102).

While during the immediate post-war years the censorship filter was relatively liberal under the conditions of friendship between the allies, in the course of the subsequent ideological 'cleanout' starting in 1946 the grasp of censorship tightened. A comparison of the program lists from 1945 and 1948[14] indicates that while the first list contained for instance Benny Goodman items, none on the later list made reference to jazz. Only three pieces of the twenty-one were orchestral numbers; fourteen were Sapozhnin's solo performances, and there were three dance numbers with orchestral accompaniment. As Ojakäär points out (2008, 193) the program of JOESP became in effect Sapozhnin's solo concert and the word jazz in the title of the orchestra lost its relevance. The reference to jazz was lost also because of the changes in the orchestra's instrumentation in which the string group was enlarged at the expense of wind instruments, with the orchestra then consisting of four violins, guitar, double bass, two accordions, piano, saxophone, clarinet, trombone and drums.[15]

Figure 1. JOESP in 1945, concert in Rakvere.[16]

The position of JOESP among Soviet jazz orchestras is discussed by publicist and journalist Heino Pedusaar (2000) in his monograph on Vladimir Sapozhnin. He places JOESP among the Soviet

musical elite along with the orchestras of Eddy Rozner, Oleg Lundström and Leonid Utesov (Ibid., 98). Compere and actor Eino Baskin who worked with Sapozhnin, attributed the success of the orchestra primarily to the selection of the repertoire. Because a large proportion of their repertoire consisted of 'Western sounds' the collective was often deferentially referred to as an orchestra from Europe (Ibid.). The orchestra's success was, however, based mainly on its charismatic leader—Vladimir Sapozhnin.[17]

To form an idea of the reception of the orchestra's performances in the Soviet musical arena we can refer to an article in the newspaper *Õhtuleht* (Evening Paper) from October 3rd 1945, which printed some excerpts from reviews published in newspapers from all over the Soviet Union. The newspaper *Vetchernaja Moskva* from June 27th reported that 'Vladimir Sapozhnin is an artist of high professionalism. He is a master of the violin, concertina, xylophone; he tapdances whistles and is an excellent conductor. The excerpt from Molotov's *Zvezda* (Star)[18] praises the musical qualities of the performance: 'The musical pieces such as Fantasy, Dance of the shadows, Musical hunt, Red rose and 17 bachelors were performed with good rhythmic feeling and melodically. The conductor uses the rhythms of the instrument with good taste. It is a promising collective'. Some adverse comment was made in the local newspaper of[19] Tcheljabinsk to the effect that 'The winds are too penetrating and the voicings of the saxophone don´t sound equal enough'.

The question of why JOESP disbanded in November 1948 has several possible answers. On the one hand, the conductor Vladimir Sapozhnin was dissatisfied with frequent alcohol problems within the orchestra and 'ideological assessment' of the repertoire leading to the disappearance of jazz from the repertoire (Pedusaar 2000, 102). On the other hand, Ojakäär (2008, 194) argues that JOESP disbanded for economic reasons: the directorate of the Philharmonic considered it too expensive to keep on the payroll thirteen bandsmen who in effect just fulfilled the role of accompanists for Sapozhnin. The new orchestra of 'light' music, called the Estrada Orchestra of State Philharmonic, was assembled three years later in 1951 (Ojakäär 2008, 415).

Jazz orchestra Mickeys

The example I present to represent the cultural space of the informal public realm is the jazz orchestra Mickeys. Mickeys was an amateur collective whose main performing venues were school dance halls. The group started as a musical union of schoolboys at the 1st Secondary School of Tallinn (formerly the Gustav Adolph Gymnasium) in 1945. A stable personnel of eight musicians who stayed together for the next ten years was formed in 1946. This ´reduced big-band´ octet consisted of a standard rhythm section (piano, guitar, bass, drums) and four horns (two woodwinds and two brass). Interestingly, Mickeys may be regarded as the longest established jazz group in

Estonia: although the personnel and the leaders have often changed, the group still gathers on an irregular basis.[20]

Figure 2. Mickeys in 1947, gig in Polytechnic Institute of Tallinn.[21]

The group took its name from the Walt Disney cartoon character. The Stalinist ideological cleanouts forced them, however, to change their name (Ojakäär 2008, 266). The overt Western reference in 'Mickeys' was muted and Estonianised when it was changed to *Mikid* in 1949. As a humorous aside, it can be mentioned that in a further allusion to Disney characters, the girlfriends of the musicians were called Minnies.[22]

According to the common practice of the Soviet era non-professional collectives were required to establish institutional affiliation in order to regulate the leisure activities of the citizens; at the same time, however, this secured benefits for the practitioners of amateur activities. People took advantage of the responsibilities of the institution to ensure the best possible material conditions for leisure. The official ´anchor´ for Mickeys became the institution which Ojakäär (2008, 269) calls ´this institution with the long name´: *Kohaliku tööstuse kommunaalmajanduse alal töötajate ametühingute vabariiklik Tallinna klubi* (The Tallinn´s club of the workers of trade union of the local industry and communal economy). In addition to the free rehearsal room, the other advantage of affiliation was the opportunity to hire a professional band leader. The task of the band leader was not just to conduct the rehearsals, but even more importantly, to act as musical arranger. Given that there was very limited availability of sheet music, the practice of making original arrangements became a necessary part of the group´s everyday musical life. The need for original arrangements was necessitated also in this case by the atypical four-horn composition of the group. The first arrangements for Mickeys were made by Harry Kõlar, Valter Ojakäär and Ülo Raudmäe. Udo Treufeldt calls these three the godfathers of Mickeys who, besides composing arrangements

also educated the group musically. ´They taught us how to play swing in a proper way,´ recalls Treufeldt, and continues, ´to play jazz is the same as speaking English—it is written in one way but you need to pronounce it in another way. Kõlar even invented original combinations of syllables for us to master the ´language´ of swing´.[23] The first salaried leader of Mickeys was Ülo Raudmäe.[24] He became famous for using difficult key signatures of up to seven sharps or flats in his arrangements. His humorous justification for this practice was that, ´human beings are learning as long as they are alive and even longer´.[25] Treufeldt[26] mentions among the tunes arranged by Raudmäe 'Cherokee', 'Undecided', 'In the Mood', 'Two O´clock Jump', 'Ain´t Misbehavin´.

The obligations that accompanied the institutional affiliation of amateur collectives included providing free performances for the companies and institutions. Bands were especially busy on state holidays such as the Anniversary of the October Revolution or International Workers day on May 1st, when performances were scheduled from early morning till late at night for up to four consecutive days. Treufeldt illustrates the overload and fatigue caused by busy schedules with an amusing story about a sleeping bass player:

> Especially busy for us were May and November holidays with nightly performances. On those occasions we usually played with reduced personnel of 4-5 persons. During one performance our bass player Aksel Talpsepp fell asleep. His fingers were still moving but did not touch strings any more. And then he fell with his bass onto the saxophone player who pushed him back again to an upright position. Talpsepp woke up and continued playing.[27]

The repertoire in those public concert occasions differed from the repertoire of dance halls. The most appropriate were Soviet composers such as Solovjov-Sedoi and Dunajevski. Probably the most popular author was 'Ivanov'— an anonymous signifier of Soviet composer suitable for replacing or hiding inappropriate authorship, or just signifying unknown authorship.[28]

In order to regulate dance culture and to provide its citizens with more appropriate forms of dancing, the Soviet authorities initiated dance reform in the late 1940s. Essentially this involved replacing the ´vulgar´ foxtrot and other modern dances with ballroom dances such as waltzes and pas des quatre. The reaction of musicians to the regulation of their everyday musical life is described by Treufedt: ´We took into our repertoire specially arranged ballroom dances. In school parties we had to play this mandatory *pas des pagne*. Audiences were usually understanding and did not react negatively. After playing this mandatory tune we could continue with our regular dance repertoire.´ That the directives were taken as a mere formality even by party officialdom was illustrated by humorous saying of Treufeldt: ´Comrades who enthusiastically promoted ballroom dances in public, eagerly danced the foxtrot in their private life´.[29]

It was not only Soviet dance reform which was coolly received by musicians. As Vello

Jõesaar indicates in his interview, neither the saxophone ban nor the anti-jazz campaigns had serious impact on everyday practices of the musicians: ´We did not abandon saxophones when this instrument was announced to be inappropriate Western monster. And we did not change our repertoire either. We played the music we liked and listened to the radio. Yes, our repertoire lists were censored by special organs but for dances we played the music we wanted anyway´.[30] This indifference towards the political climate is also expressed by Treufeldt who claimed that, ´politics was the subject for our discussions as little as possible. We lived our own lives and made the music´.[31] Treufeldt in his interview excellently sums up this political neutrality of the musicians: ´C major sounds the same despite the type of political power´.[32]

According to the Soviet era regulations all the amateur groups were obliged to present their repertoire lists for inspection by a special committee at the People´s Commissariat for Education. How the incompetence of officials could lead to absurd situations is exemplified by Treufeldt´s recollection of the inspection of the repertoire of one restaurant group.

> The violinist Boris Kuurman went with the repertoire list to the Commissariat. The chief comrade Tamarkin was not there and the list was reviewed by two girls. While Valgre and Strauss were regarded as appropriate, the potpourri from the operetta Victoria and her Hussar seemed suspicious. While Victoria was an acceptable name, Hussar was crossed out as something militant. Kuurman, in perplexity, wanted to ask where Victoria ends and Hussar starts in the piece, but Tamarkin entered the room and confirmed the list by stamping it. Now Kuurman had a signed and stamped paper where Victoria was allowed and Hussar forbidden.[33]

An account of the everyday life of the musicians is given by Treufeldt in his recollection of the *hatuura*[34] at the People´s house in the village Mooste, demonstrating clearly the adaptability and ingenuity of the musicians.

> We were driven by the truck to the concert venue in Mooste. Sitting in the truck was made more comfortable with mattresses. For protection against wind and rain the tarpaulin was used to cover us. The public house in Mooste was in terrible post-war condition. Only one chair was found and we gave it to pianist Pedraudse. An accordion case was appropriated for the drummer and two saxophonist found a bench to sit on. The piano was in the most awful condition. The ivory layer of the keys was abraded and keys had big holes. So we filled the holes with paper and covered them with candle wax. Pedraudse also tuned the piano. But the dance hall was full of people who actively participated in the party.[35]

The information about the frequency of Mickeys dance *haltuura´*s and their earnings is recorded in detail in Treufedt´s notebook. As he states, Mickeys were basically the only group playing for the

school parties in Tallinn in the late 1940s and 50s. Schools arranged their parties according to the group´s schedule. The earnings from the *haltuura´*s were not high but the monthly income of about 500-600 roubles was nonetheless a great financial help. The duration of the average dance-*haltuura* was three hours and musicians got 150 roubles per hour for entire orchestra. Thus, the usual income was 450 roubles for one *haltuura*. An idea of the real value of their salary can be found in Treufeldt's account of the way the musicians shared their income. Treufeldt starts his recollection with the confiscation of radio sets in1941.

> According to the Soviet rules, all radio sets were confiscated during the first Soviet occupation in 1941. I remember that one of the storage spaces for confiscated radios was in the gym of Reaalkool. We went to see those radios—they were ´marvellous´ if you looked at them from behind. You saw a beautiful coloured regular light bulbs. People were clever—they just handed in the shells of the radio with fake bulbs and not the radio mechanism itself. So, this act of confiscation did not have much impact on Estonians. But after the war the new radio sets of Riga´s radiotechnics came on sale and we all wanted to have a new radios. Since the price of the radio set was the equivalent of the income of one *haltuura* we decided from time to time to give this 450 roubles from one *haltuura* to one of us for purchasing a radio. This was how we got new radio sets.[36]

One of the strategies Mickeys used to ritualize their actions was the playing of signature tune at the beginning and end of the gig. This ritual act as a part of personal symbolic world became a sign of the group´s identity and, besides, helped to connect with audiences. The signature tune of Mickeys was 'Heartbreaker' by Morty Berk, Frank Capano and Max C. Freedman.[37] 'Heartbreaker' is an instructive example of Heldur Karmo´s art of ´Estonianising´ English lyrics. Instead of direct translation Karmo created lyrics that were compatible with the melody. In the original version of the song the final lines are a warning to a young lady: ´Be careful what you do / when you break a heart in two, / For that heart may belong to you´.[38] Karmo's changes subtly convey how a form of 'double coding' can be an instrument of lighthearted subversion. On the surface, in rewriting the ending he has followed the official line that western music should be Estonianised in various ways, but at the same time it appears that he is presenting a parody of Soviet sloganising'.

Avanenud on säravad	The gates of the new bright
Uue õnne väravad	happiness are open
Tulevikku sealt nähe saab	Our future can be seen there.

Swing Club and private realm

To introduce the most private and publicly invisible realm I will turn to a unique phenomenon in Estonian jazz history—the collective known as Swing Club (SC). This musical group formed in 1947 was a circle of enthusiasts whose purpose in coming together was, in the words of Herbert Krutob, ´to develop jazz in Soviet Estonia´.[39] Interestingly, the ensemble never achieved popularity among wide audiences and remained relatively unknown compared to the groups enjoying greater fame of the time such as *Kuldne 7, Mikid or Rütmikud*. The founder of the group, Uno Naissoo, did not have in mind the winning of heads and minds of wide audiences (Ojakäär 2008, 278). The ensemble was rather a ´laboratory of jazz´ - the testing ground of new musical ideas for its leader, and a creative association assembled for the purpose of discussing and learning about jazz.[40] In addition the group made a great contribution to the documentation of Estonian jazz history: the collection of writings gathered into the unpublished almanac is a unique testimony to the contradictions and importance of the late 1940s. In what follows I will introduce two aspects of how Estonian jazz musicians interacted with the practice of jazz—the formation of a jazz friendship group and the way musicians coped with learning jazz practices.

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The event inspiring the formation of SC was a residency of a few weeks at the restaurant Kuning in August 1947.[41] This was the first collaboration of those who would later form the core membership of SC. As the later violinist, arranger and essayist Ustus Agur recalls, ´The people forming later the nucleus of SC first met during the few-weeks-gig at restaurant Kuning. I become acquainted with Uno Naissoo, Ülo Vinter, Herbert Krutob and Heldur Karmo. This musical encounter laid the foundation for several years long musical collaboration and personal contacts´.[42] The initiative came from Herbert Krutob who sought ´to form a band of men deeply interested in the further development of modern music, a kind of viable orchestra that would act not because of the craving for the *haltuura´*s but because of pure enthusiasm´.[43] Pianist Peeter Saul, joining the collective 1949, recalls that SC was first of all a friendship group of like-minded persons whose activity was not primarily financially oriented. As he said, ´SC was a union of young men of kindred spirits whose goal was to make music for self-delight. They had two orchestras—one large one for performing at dancing parties and quartet for playing just for fun´.[44]

The core membership of the group consisted of four enthusiasts —Uno Naissoo, Herbert Krutob, Heldur Karmo and Ustus Agur. The leader became Naissoo (1928-1980) - composer, theorist, musician and music educator who played a remarkable role in the foundation of the jazz tradition in Estonia in general.[45] It was his eagerness and passion for jazz which kept the group together and expanded the musical and aesthetic borders of local jazz tradition through his musical experiments. As Agur remembers, ´Restoran Kuning was the place where I first met Uno Naissoo. He was the soul of the group from the very first moments. Besides the repertoire he brought with

him passionate enthusiasm, deep fanaticism and love for music. His energy and temperament kindled us´.[46] In fact, Uni Naissoo was the only professionally trained musician among the founder members: the vocalist of SC, Herbert Krutob (1927-2009), for instance, was educated as a civil engineer employed finally at the Ministry of the Economy; the violinist and arranger of SC, Ustus Agur (1929-1997), was an electrical engineer with remarkable achievements as a scholar in the field of informatics. Heldur Karmo, who was neither musician nor composer but came to play an exceptional role as ´ideologist´ of the group. As described in the almanac, ´Heldur Karmo (1927-1997) is a jazz historian, theorist and writer who joined the band in its very beginning … He was introduced to jazz in 1940 and became a jazz enthusiast in 1943. The first writings and song lyrics originate from the same year´.[47] For general Estonian audiences Heldur Karmo is known as a writer or translator of lyrics for more than 3,500 Estonian popular songs.

That SC was not just a musical performing collective but also intellectually and oriented union, was affirmed by Krutob: ´SC was not just a dance orchestra. It was first of all the creative union of young Estonian jazz musicians. We discussed often the developments of jazz music at every possible level—at the world level, in the Soviet context and of course at local level and planned new steps for developing jazz further in our country´.[48] The form of debates was not just oral discussions—their ideas were also set down in written form. Agur recalls that their ideas presented in writing were referred to as doctoral dissertations:

> Those times we discussed a lot about directions and styles of jazz. We did not just have 'coffee table' discussions of the problems of jazz but we took it actually very seriously. We wrote as we called them between ourselves doctoral dissertations—essays dedicated to particular problems. The essays were read to each other and discussed later. Unfortunately all the writings got lost. We passed them on to each other and finally the traces of the writing were lost. I remember Karmo having a thick booklet of essay-like materials and thoughts and I even remember the title of it-- Between my feelings and common sense.[49]

The hunger for new knowledge on the one hand and the limited access to literature on jazz on the other produced a heightened interest in every available source, as illustrated in a story told by Agur:

> It is easy nowadays—there is a lot of literature available but it was really peculiar what we did those times. For us it was a great event if somebody found, for instance, somewhere a journal of popular music from 1937 with an article on jazz in it. This was a new opportunity for us to philosophise and discuss the music at length. And it was a great event if somebody heard some new piece performed or some new artist played.[50]

The reasons for their intense desire for theorizing jazz in the circumstances of so little access to authentic written materials are clearly expressed by Karmo: ´The theoretical basis was missing but we were curious to learn about the music, we 'invented' everything by ourselves by listening and

analyzing´.[51]

Uno Loop[52] makes direct reference to the educational purposes of SC´s meetings. Listening to the discussions of the leaders of the group was equated by Loop with a formal education that significantly influenced his later pedagogical activity.

> SC was for me like conservatory. It was Naissoo and Agur who usually conducted our rehearsals and argued the problems of arranging. Their main concern was how to achieve good and balanced sound in arranging, how to do it with good sense of taste. And the discussions were really professional—I was listening to them in great astonishment and respect. I got all my knowledge that I later used in my teaching from those informal ´lectures´.[53]

Another method of musical learning for Estonians was music listening. The practice of learning by listening and imitating is recognized as the most common way for jazz musicians to acquire their skill. David Ake (2003, 26) for example notes that, ´No pedagogical tool has left as widespread or as long-lasting an impact on jazz skill acquisition as have the various media sound recording. Recordings, tapes and CDs not only act as the physical ´text´ of jazz, they also serve as the pre-eminent ´textbooks´ of the music, providing study materials for virtually all players.´ But in the absence of direct contacts with jazz culture and the unavailability of sound recordings, the primary musical source for Estonians became radio.[54] Agur described the role of radio in the everyday musical life of Estonians:

> We did not have any literature, no sheet music, no audio LPs, no tapes. The only contact with the world outside was radio. Every serious musician was sitting at the radio late night when the quality of reception was better and tried to write up some music as well or poorly they could. No tape recorders were available in those times. The musicians who were able to transcribe the music fast were in high esteem.[55]

In his autobiographical notes Krutob presents some insights into the practice of radio listening. The opportunity to listen was available for him and Heldur Karmo first of all because Karmo succeeded in saving his radio apparatus from destruction in 1941. As he recalls, ´During the first Soviet occupation in 1941 all the radio receivers owned by citizens were confiscated. It was part of the attempt of Soviet power to prevent people listening to ´hostile´ radio stations. Heldur Karmo was lucky enough in concealing his receiver (Philips 1937) in the cellar and after the departure of the Soviet army we could listen to the music in his house with our friends.´

The place where Krutob first heard jazz was the BBC. But his attraction to jazz was not immediate. It took some weeks of listening before the sound palette of the music became familiar

and comprehensible.

> In spring 1944 we happen to listen to BBC central station whose quality of broadcast was very high on the short wave length in our receiver. Since we knew a little English we listened to the music with great attention. The music was for us quite strange at first. The melodies were appealing and gripping, but we could not accept their arrangements and mode of performance, very different from German style pieces. But we decided with Heldur Karmo not to ´abandon it´ before we started to understand this music. As we discovered later, only 2-3 hours of everyday listening during three weeks was necessary to make the music comprehensible. And our previous German favourites seemed to us now as the real ´*Saksa magedad*´ (German tasteless music). Especially interesting for us were the weekly lectures from British journalist Denis Preston on jazz history. His historical overviews on jazz were illustrated with excellent musical examples.´[56]

In addition to BBC and AFN (*American Forces Network*, the radio stations available, as mentioned by the interviewees, were Radio Nord, BBC jazz broadcast in Finnish, Swedish Radio and Munich Network.

The recording technology facilitating musical listening was available to Estonians from the early 1950s. Kalju Terasmaa, joining SC in early 1950s, for instance recalls that it was in 1953 when he was able to buy his own tape recorder:

> It was in 53 when I bought my first tape recorder. It was quite expensive but I could afford it since I was employed. The tape recorder Dnepr 3 itself was bought from the store at Harju street and it was tremendously heavy and big. Since I was the first one having tape recorder I started to record all those music programs and to deliver it to others. It made our life much easier.[57]

The limitations in technology pushed jazz fans to be inventive. For communicating and sharing music among each other musicians used a particular telephone-line-based system which enabled to transfer music. As Terasma recalled:

> We used telephone lines to transfer music to each other. The special relays were employed to reset handset to tape recorder or radio set. Everybody in our circle of jazz fans who owned the telephone had relays. And if somebody had a chance to record some new piece he could report to others about it by first calling and then connecting the tape recorder with the relay for music transfer. And another person whose recorder was connected to the system could record the piece. This delivery system was originally invented by sound engineer Ants Brümmel. He provided us with the relays and set up the system.[58]

Another innovation which Terasma describes in his interview was the use of radio in the role of amplifier:

> I used radio set as a guitar amplifier. I got high quality apparatus called Baltika. Certain channels in the range of radio waves did not transfer any programs and were suitable for transferring guitar sound. Thus, I put a small microphone under the strings of the guitar and connected the mike to the radio. This was how I got an amplifier of really good quality timbre.[59]

Four spaces four meanings

This group of four case studies presented four narratives of Soviet Estonian jazz from the late-Stalinist period. In relation to my initial argument that for a comprehensive view of jazz in Soviet Estonia it is necessary to approach it from multiple perspectives, I developed the model of four cultural spaces of action. Instead of simplistic from above/from below or public/private divides, this model proposes a more nuanced mode of how jazz as a cultural form manifested itself in a number of social realms in Soviet Estonia. The distinction between those realms is based on their agency and location, with particular reference to the territory of actions of the cultural actors and the social spheres of the cultural activity. I will conclude by articulating the meaning of jazz as it emerged through the actions of cultural actors in four distinct cultural spaces.

Journalistic discourse was the locus for the perspectives from above. As the dynamic of extinguishing of jazz from the public arena demonstrated, the music disappeared gradually in parallel with the tightening socio-political climate of late-Stalinism. Therefore, in public discourse jazz was used primarily as another tool for political and ideological struggles against Western influences in the hands of the Soviet regime. While ideologised the discourse detached itself from real musical life and became a kind of abstract phenomenon framed by Soviet rhetoric.

The second cultural space I categorised as public musical space was represented by The Jazz Orchestra of the Estonian State Philharmonic — the state-owned jazz orchestra performing on public concert stages. The significance of the orchestra extended beyond the borders of Estonia: the collective belonged to the Soviet musical elite and spent most of its time touring in the SU. As a state-owned collective it followed the regulations from above—the repertoire was censored and the ideology-driven paradigm shift engendered the changes in orchestra´s repertoire and instrumentation. Despite the strict regulation JOESP, however, had some space to keep the desired tunes on the program list.

Musicians' everyday life was disclosed in the chapter on the amateur dance orchestra Mickeys, representing what I called the informal public cultural space. Mickeys took advantage of Soviet era common practice of institutional affiliation of amateur collectives, which enabled them to have free practice rooms, borrow instruments and to hire a professional leader-arranger. The group was active in the relatively less regulated cultural sphere — the school parties and leisure in general

were the areas providing more space for independent decision-making for actors. The flexible mode of reacting to the directives from above can be illustrated by the way musicians responded to dance reform and anti-jazz campaign-related shifts, such as the saxophone ban and constraints on the repertoire. While dance reform obliged Mickeys to incorporate some approved ballroom dances formally in their repertoire, the directives about the banning of saxophones and exclusion of jazz-related tunes were just ignored. Musicians continued to play their beloved music and made no changes in instrumentation. I would call the main strategy of Mickeys ´getting by´,[60] where the primarily motivators for action were the passion towards jazz music and the desire to receive some extra income to improve their financial state. Musicians needed to use their inventiveness, sense of humour and skills of adaptability for ´getting by´ in the current conditions.

The most private area was represented by the musical collective Swing Club. It was their great passion for and deep interest in the music that drove young Estonian jazz fans to form a friendship group of like-minded persons. In surroundings inimical to jazz, musicians established their own nurturing micro-environment to acquire new knowledge and develop their skills through musical debates and practical learning-by-doing methods during the rehearsals. The primary source available for contact with jazz became radio stations. Fanatical listening to AFN, BBC and other stations helped musicians to stay up to date with the latest trends. Radio listening became another important method of jazz learning. As an oral method of learning the ´learning-by-listening´ is, however, a common method in developing jazz musicianship, not confined to the particular case studied here. But these Estonian musicians were especially creative in pursuing their musical goals: they invented the relay-system for disseminating music between each other and used radio sets in the role of amplifier.

In this study I have sought to develop a model for discussing jazz that transcends simplistic confrontations such as private/public and from below/from above, and without resorting to the popular mythologisations that produce binary thinking. In addition to the nuanced account that is enabled by my repertoire of cultural spaces of action, Ann Swidler's model of culture helps to break out of simplistic binaries, to avoid conceiving of Soviet Estonian jazz culture in schematic oppositional terms as a choice between forces 'from above' and 'from below'. By centralising the musicians and their choices, those forces can be seen as more nuanced and even mutually constitutive. By acting in the conditions of the Soviet regime musicians selected their 'strategies of action' from a cultural repertoire defined by particular cultural contexts and historical situations. But the origins of the 'tools' - whether they relate to jazz practices, the cultural heritage of Estonia, or a Sovietised socio-cultural environment - have less relevance to the processes than the effectiveness and success of the specific selected strategies in fulfilment of their goal—to play jazz.

These four individual case studies represent the synchronic aspect of the theory of four

‘spaces of action’; that is, how the spaces co-exist at any moment. But the spaces can be also deployed from a diachronic aspect based on how they evolve in relation to each other. In other words, we can ask a question about the dynamic between the realms in temporal progression in terms of continuity/discontinuity, divergence/overlap or dissent /consent.

As the study demonstrated, both the Mickeys and Swing Club as friendship groups continued their activities during the entire period investigated. This indicates that jazz disappeared neither in the informal public nor in the private sphere. The overlapping of the spaces was most extensive during the period from 1944 to 1946 when, in the conditions of post-WW II euphoria, jazz experienced no restrictions. The launch of Zhdanovshchina initiating the change in Soviet political discourse in 1946 had its primary impact on the public media realm: the writings on jazz ideologised and receded gradually from jazz life leading to the final extermination of the word in 1950. In the public musical realm, as demonstrated by the example of JOESP, changes were applied in 1948 with the disbanding of the orchestra.

The dynamic between the cultural spaces refers again to the paradoxical nature of Soviet society where contradictory entities can co-exist - the non-existence of some entity did not rule out the concurrent existence of the same entity. The application of the model of four ´cultural spaces of action´ provides one approach to clarify this paradox. Paraphrasing again Ojakäär: ‘jazz was neither allowed nor forbidden in the Soviet Union but it was never silent´.

The case of Soviet Estonian jazz also tends to confirm the argument that Soviet power never achieved its totalitarian goals of the total politicisation of society, the subordination of the citizens to total control or the formation of a monolithic thinking and state-loyal Soviet nation. The totalism of Soviet society was disclosed primarily in the mechanisms of governance and the systems of propaganda, but not in the actual implementation of the Soviet project in all social spheres. Despite the trials of the regime to silence jazz, the music did not disappear from the private realms in Estonian cultural space.

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[1] As an example of ´jazz as a resistance´ paradigm in scholarly texts, see for instance Novikova 2003.
[2] For a closer examination of the historical dynamics of the period see Reimann 2014.
[3] On late-Stalinism see for example Fürst 2006.
[4] On the Sovietisation of Estonia during Stalinism see example Kuuli 2005, Mertelsman 2003, Zubkova 2009.

[5] Because of space limitations, the administration of culture in SU remains beyond the scope of the current study. For an overview, see Kreegipuu 2007.
[6] For a detailed overview of jazz discourse in *Sirp ja Vasar* see Reimann 2014.
[7] All the translations from Estonian to English in the text are mine.

[8] As mentioned by Ojakäär (Valter Ojakäär, e-mail message to author, January 21, 2015) being a touring collective is primarily reason why JOESP remained almost unrecorded. The only sound recording is Eddie Sauter's *Bennie rides again* available on CD Eesti jazz 70 (München : Bella Musica, 1995)

[9] K*ulturnost* means in direct translation being cultivated. The concept of 'culturedness' came into common use in the 1930s as an alternative antonym for lack of culture (Fitzpatrick 1992, 2).
[10] The document is preserved in the collection of the Estonian Museum of Theatre and Music
[11] Author´s interview with Oleg Sapozhnin. 23.04.2014.
[12] Ibid. All the translations from Estonian to English in the text are mine.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Program lists are printed in Ojakäär (2008, 177, 193)
[15] This information is based on the article of Sirp ja Vasar, 10/06/1948
[16] Photo originates from the collection of Estonian Theatre and Music Museum.
[17] Vladimir Sapozhnin (1906-1996) was violinist, multi-instrumentalist, estrada-artist and impersonator. He started to perform at the age of five in circus shows with his parents. Although his primary instrument was violin he also played concertina, xylophone, harmonica and chimes. He was known as an excellent imitator of musical instruments, sounds of nature and of other artists. He worked in the years 1922-1940 as an entertainer in Europe and USA; from 1944-1948 conducted JOESP; 1944-1990 was a soloist in the Estonian Philharmonic; worked later in variety 'Viru' and cafe 'Moskva' (Pedusaar 2000).
[18] The article makes no further reference to the origin of the excerpt.
[19] The article makes no further reference to the origin of the excerpt.
[20] According to Ojakäär (2008: 275) recorded legacy of Mickeys consists of more than 150 pieces preserved in the archive of Estonian Public Broadcasting.
[21] Image originates from personal collection of Udo Treufeldt.
[22] Author´s interview with Udo Treufldt 17/10/2013.
[23] Author´s interview with Udo Treufldt 17.10.2013.
[24] Ülo Raudmäe was the leader of the group from 1948 to 1950.
[25] Treufeldt´s interview in raadio broadcast ´Musical hour—Mickeys 45´. Archive of Estonian Public Broadcasting.
[26] Author´s intrview with Udo Treufldt 17.10.2013.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.

[29] Treufeldt´s interview in radio broadcast ´Musical hour—Mickeys 45´. Archive of Estonian National Public Broadcasting (ENPB).
[30] Jõesaar´s interview in radio broadcast ´Musical hour—Mickeys 45´. Archive of ENPB.
[31] Treufeldt´s interview in radio broadcast ´Musical hour—Mickeys 45´. Archive of ENPB.
[32] Author´s interview with Udo Treufldt 17/10/2013. The phrase originally was attributed to the Estonian actor Voldemar Panso.
[33] Author´s interview with Udo Treufldt 17/10/2013.
[34] *haltuura* is a Russian word meaning slovenly or negligent work. In musicians' slang the word means occasional or additional earnings. The word is almost equivalent to the English word gig except it tends to have more negative connotation.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] The tune was frst published by Leeds Music Corp, 1948. First recorded by the vocal trio the Andrews Sisters (Ojakäär 2008: 271)
[38] Radio clip Papa Valter pajatab, 16/06/2007. http://arhiiv.err.ee/vaata/papa-valter-pajatab-papa-valter-pajatab-mickey-s

[39] Krutob´s personal notes *Minu muusikutee* (My way to music)
[40] The group is missing any recorded legacy.
[41] For a more detailed introduction to the story of the formation of SC see Reimann 2010.
[42] An interview from the broadcast *Siis kui džäss ja pop olid põlu all* (When jazz and pop were under disfavour), 11/08/1990. The archive of ENPB.
[43] Almanac of SC, *Seletuseks*, p. 4
[44] An inteview from the broacast *Muusikaline tund. Muusikamees Peeter Saul* (Musical hour. Musician Peeter Saul). 11/08/1969. The archive of ENPB.
[45] He graduated from Tallinn Conservatory in 1952 as a composer. His jazz suites opened a new era in the development of the Estonian national jazz tradition. His pedagogical activity led him to found the first non-classical educational unit in Estonia—the Estrada department at the G. Ots Music School in Tallinn in 1977.
[46] An interview from the broadcast *Siis kui džäss ja pop olid põlu all* (When jazz and pop were under disfavour), 11/08/1990. The archive of ENPB.
[47] Almanac of SC p.10.
[48] Krutob´s personal notes *Minu muusikutee* (My way to music).
[49] An interview from the broadcast *Siis kui džäss ja pop olid põlu all* (When jazz and pop were under disfavour), 11/08/1990. The archive of ENPB.
[50] Ibid.
[51] An interview from the broadcast *In memoriam - Uno Naissoo*. 10/01/1980. The archive of ENPB.
[52] Uno Loop started visiting the rehearsals of SC in 1949 and was accepted as an officail member of the group in 1950.
[53] Author's interview with Uno Loop. 01/10/2011.
[54] On the role of radio in disseminating jazz in state-socialist societies see Ritter 2010.
[55] An interview from the broadcast *Siis kui džäss ja pop olid põlu all* (When jazz and pop were under disfavour), 11/08/1990. The archive of ENPB.
[56] Krutob´s personal notes *Minu muusikutee* (My way to music)
[57] Author´s interview with Kalju Terasma. 12.10.2011.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] The term was used by Timothy Johnston 2011.
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