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Soviet Administrative Practices in Culture: The Example of the Tallinn'67 Jazz Festival

Sovietinė kultūros administravimo praktika: 1967-ųjų Talino džiazo festivalis

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Abstract

According to the common understanding, Soviet era governance was a system of state “command control” over production and distribution, where the administrative mechanism of the entire economy was based on a system of state ownership of the means of production and state control of investment, industrial manufacturing, and centralized administrative planning. However, the government regulative body existed in parallel with bottom-up initiatives by cultural participants who, for the sake of realizing their goals, had to negotiate with the state structures. Using the Tallinn '67 jazz festival as a case study, this article investigates the practices of Soviet cultural administration. By examining the details of the procedures for organizing the festival, closely reading archival documents, and complementing them with excerpts from interviews with the participants, it discusses the procedural acts of cultural planning, shows how jazz festivals and culture were molded into the Soviet cultural model, and introduces the people who implemented their musical goals within this framework.

Keywords: Soviet jazz culture, administrative practices, Tallinn '67 jazz festival.

Anotacija

Paprastai manoma, kad sovietinis valdymas reiškė valstybinį „komandinį“ gamybos ir skirstymo reguliavimą, ekonomikos administracinį mechanizmą grindžiant gamybos priemonių valstybinės nuosavybės principu, valstybine investicijų kontrole, pramonine gamyba ir centralizuotu administraciniu planavimu. Tačiau valstybinio reguliavimo institucijos egzistavo lygiagrečiai su kultūros dalyvių „iš apačios“ kylančiomis iniciatyvomis: siekdami savo tikslų, jie turėdavo derėtis su valstybės struktūromis. Straipsnyje Talino 1967 m. džiazo festivalio pavyzdžiu tiriama sovietinė kultūros administravimo praktika. Analizuodama festivalio organizavimo procedūrų detales, atidžiai skaitydama archyvinis dokumentus ir papildydama informaciją ištraukomis iš interviu su festivalio dalyviais, autorė aptaria kultūros planavimo procedūrinius veiksmus, parodo džiazo festivalių ir kultūros formavimą pagal sovietinės kultūros modelius ir pristato žmones, įgyvendinusius savuosius muzikinius tikslus tokiomis aplinkybėmis.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: sovietinė džiazo kultūra, administracinė praktika, Talino 1967 m. džiazo festivalis.

Latvian jazz activist and musician Leonid Nidbalsky, who attended the Tallinn '67 jazz festival with Latvian Dixieland, talked in an interview about the obligatory procedural actions that had to be taken during the organization of a public event in the Soviet era. “In the Soviet era, you could not just do something. Everything had to be *pod kryšei* (under the roof),” commented Nidbalsky. He added that the keyword for finding *kryšba* was *soglasovanye*—negotiating with the authorities to obtain permission. This process was complicated due to the absence of predetermined regulations. As he explained, “In the Soviet era, by law you could do almost everything but in reality, you could do almost nothing. We lived during a time where we always had to wash ourselves out, keep out of something or be careful. Every moment somebody could denounce you, write something to somebody about you.”

According to the common understanding, Soviet era governance was a system of state “command control” over

production and distribution (Cushman 1995: 37), where the administrative mechanism of the entire economy was based on a system of state ownership of the means of production and state control of investment, industrial manufacturing and centralized administrative planning. The cultural field was no exception—“top-down” decision-making and planning was part of how culture was administrated. However, as Nidbalsky's interview excerpt has shown, a government regulative body existed in parallel with bottom-up initiatives by cultural participants who, for the sake of realizing their goals, had to negotiate with the state structures. Using the Tallinn '67 jazz festival as a case study, this article investigates the practices of Soviet cultural administration. By examining the details of the procedures for organizing the festival, closely reading archival documents, and complementing them with excerpts from interviews with the participants, this article discusses the procedural requirements for cultural planning, shows how jazz festivals

and culture were molded into the Soviet cultural model, and introduces the people who implemented their musical goals within this framework.

As an intensive historical examination of a particular aspect of a larger event, the administration of a jazz festival, this study relies on microhistory—a historiographical approach focusing on a relatively small, well-defined object, most often a single event or a village community, a group of families, even an individual person, and claiming that a small unit such as an individual, event, or small community can reflect the larger whole (Magnusson and Szijarto 2013; Ginzburg 1989; Levi 2012). In addition, the assumption of a microhistory that a social actor has considerable freedom of action supports the focus on individuals and their active role in organizing the festival. Finally, microhistorians refer to the “slow” ideology, allowing them to be creative, sensitive, imaginative, and “examine their subjects minutely and to discuss them in an enlightened manner” (Magnússon & Szijártó 2013: 151-2), which I follow by zooming in to fragments of documents in a detailed manner.

Amateur status of Soviet jazz culture and the Tallinn '67 jazz festival

An important marker in the Soviet cultural model was the distinction between amateur and professional. The difference between the two forms was not based on an artistic standard but rather on the mode adopted for organizing cultural activities and whether those involved with culture made their living with those cultural activities or not. Accordingly, jazz in the 1960s was part of the amateur realm. Musicians interested in jazz had almost no chance to make their living with this type of music—they could express their passion during the first set when playing at restaurants or enjoy it during their leisure time.¹ That there was no officially recognized status for a jazz musician in the Soviet Union is explained by Russian jazz writer Cyril Moshkow:

There was simply no position called jazz musician in the government-controlled documents that regulated the job market. You could be a variety musician and as such you could work for a variety orchestra. So people who worked for big bands and orchestras like Oleg Lundstöm's or any other, they were professional musicians but not jazz musicians... even if they did play jazz, they were not recognized as jazz musicians.²

The main public forums where Soviet jazz groups “surfaced” in the 1960s were jazz festivals. The pioneering role in initiating the festivals in the Soviet Union was played by Estonian jazz enthusiasts. Uno Naissoo—composer, educator, and jazz fan—organized what he called a *loominguline kohtumine* (creative meeting) between two jazz groups in 1949, which was later recognized as the first event initiating

the numerical order of Estonian jazz festivals. The event became the size of a real festival by the sixth gathering in 1958, when twelve local ensembles took to the stage at the club of the Tallinn Plywood and Furniture Factory. The Tallinn '67 jazz festival, the 14th and final festival in the series of the festivals in Soviet-era Estonia, was significant in many ways. The festival, with 26 groups and around 120 musicians, was the biggest jazz event to take place in the Soviet Union until that time, and it marked a peak moment in the Soviet jazz movement in the 1960s. In addition, Tallinn '67 was the first international festival of such magnitude in the Soviet Union and presented foreign groups from Finland, Sweden, Poland, and the United States. The event became known as a sensation because of the scandalous visit by the Charles Lloyd group, which came to the Soviet Union outside official channels.

In the 1960s, Soviet jazz tended to function under the roof of the Soviet youth organization, the Komsomol, since jazz was considered music for young people. For instance, Nidbalsky's jazz club in Latvia or Molodyozhnoye, the well-known jazz café in Moscow, were both supported by the Komsomol. In Estonia, Naissoo arranged jazz festivals outside the framework of the Komsomol. The institutional affiliations of earlier festivals can no longer be identified, but we know that they took place in different venues, such as the Sakala Culture House, the main hall at the Pedagogical University in Tallinn, or the social club for the Tallinn Plywood and Furniture Factory. From 1966 the “roof” for Tallinn's festivals became the institution officially known as the Cultural Department of the Executive Committee of the Tallinn Council of People's Deputies (CPD)—the local executive municipal structure responsible for cultural affairs in Tallinn, and the person in charge of its organizational procedures was the head of the department, Heinrich Schultz.

To discuss the administrative practices of the CPD, I will delve into the details of the document officially announcing the preparation of the Tallinn 1967 jazz festival—decision No. 17 from 20 January 1967 issued by the CPD³ as part of the routine procedural acts of Soviet bureaucracy (Figure 1.). Following the opening section with its short summary of the previously successful and popular Tallinn 1966 festival, the body of the record has three units ordering the formation of an organizing committee—the *orgkomitee*⁴—setting the tasks the committee should perform during the preparation process, and confirming the schedule of the festival. Using the three-page record as a framework, I first unpack the meaning of the Soviet-style rhetoric of the document and discuss the mode of Soviet jazz festivals. This is then followed by an examination of the financial operations and an introduction to those taking part in organizing the festival. Finally, the case of Heinrich Schultz, the main organizer of the event on for the city government, is presented as an

The Executive Committee of the Tallinn Council of People's Deputies (CPD) of the ESSR

Decision No. 17

20 January 1967 in Tallinn

On the preparation of the jazz festival Tallinn 1967.

The Executive Committee of the Tallinn CPD notes that Tallinn jazz festivals have become a tradition and gained popularity year by year as Tallinn 1966 has indicated. The event included 27 musical collectives from Leningrad, Moscow—altogether from 7 countries.

Considering the growing interest in the Tallinn jazz festival, its extent and importance in the cultural life of Tallinn and the entire State, the Executive Committee of the Tallinn CPD decides:

1. to confirm the organizing committee of the Tallinn 1967 jazz festival according to the attachment.
2. The organizing committee of the jazz festival Tallinn 1967 should
 - a) prepare the instructions for the festival by 1 February at the latest, indicating that in the preliminary round only the compositions of Soviet composers will be played. Two thirds of the repertoire of the final round must consist of the music of Soviet composers.
 - b) prepare the budget for the festival on the basis of the principle of self-financing and present it for approval to the Executive Committee of the Tallinn CPD by 25 February 1967 at the latest.
 - c) confirm the membership of the jury of the final round by 25 February at the latest and present it for confirmation to the Executive Committee of the Tallinn CPD by 20 April at the latest after coordinating it with the Ministry of Culture of the ESSR. In compiling the jury of the final round, the guest collectives should be taken into consideration and specialists from other cities in the Soviet Union should be included in the jury.
 - d) regularly inform the Ministry of Culture of the ESSR and the Executive Committee of the Tallinn CPD about the progress of the preparation of the festival.
3. To confirm the schedule of Tallinn 1967 jazz festival as follows:
 - a) Second preliminary round for Tallinn collectives from 4–5 March 1967
 - b) Final round 11–14 May 1967 with the participation for the collectives from Tallinn and the best collectives of the Soviet Union at Kalev Sports Hall.

(J. Undusk) The Chief of Executive Committee of the Tallinn CPD

(L. Tint) The secretary of Executive Committee of the Tallinn CPD

Figure 1. Formal decision to allow the organization of the Tallinn '67 jazz festival

example of the Soviet era practice of “scapegoating” where a mid-level Party *apparachik*⁵ was staged as being guilty for the international affair surrounding the visit of Charles Lloyd to the Tallinn festival.

The festival as a competition

The first impression the document might leave on its reader is that it does not concern a musical celebration but a self-financed competition of Soviet jazz compositions with a jury and two rounds. The first order on the record prescribes, for instance, the compulsory ratio of Soviet and foreign pieces the participating groups must have in their repertoire, saying that the preliminary round should comprise exclusively of Soviet repertoire while during the final round, musicians are allowed to play foreign pieces

to the extent of one third of the entire performance. The third subsection of the record obliges the *orgkomitee* to form the festival jury, and the last section announces that the preliminary round of the festival will take place from 4–5 March and the final round or the actual festival itself will happen from 11–14 May in Tallinn.

The festival as a competition model was taken over from general Soviet practice at a time when a music festival had the meaning of a competition. Some further insight into the cohesion of the festival and competition in Soviet jazz life is given by Cyril Moshkow, who claimed that those who organized the events were missing an awareness of the essence of the festival. As he said, “nobody knew in the Soviet Union what a jazz festival was. For many people, the way to organize a festival meant that if it is a musical event, it must be a competition.”⁶ Russian saxophonist Aleksei Kozlov (1998: 144-145) mentioned that the competition format

for jazz festivals first appeared at the first Moscow jazz festival in 1962, where the Komsomol Committee arranging the event established it for the purpose of rescuing the idea of the festival in the eyes of high Communist officialdom. It was at odds with international jazz traditions and the spirit of jazz, but they were not aware of this:

How can one compare groups with each other if they belong to different traditions, especially if there is an avant-garde breaking all the traditions? We already felt uncomfortable at this time with the insertion of a jazz contest, although we did not know that at jazz festivals abroad there are only performances, that a festival is a celebration and not a contest. But it never came to our mind to protest. All the conditions were imposed from above.

Both the format of the festival as a competition and the verbal rhetoric used in the document have their roots in specific discursive and performative acts through which Soviet power created and recreated itself in a systematic manner for the purpose of holding sway over society. The phrase “Soviet repertoire” was part of the typical ideology-driven discursive method for maintaining control of the “ideological purity” of the musical repertoire in both classical and popular idioms and for domesticating otherwise ideologically ill-suited phenomena. Therefore, the verbal pattern “Soviet repertoire” was just another clichéd rhetorical term applied for the promotion of “correct” Soviet music. In fact, those who decided over the “correctness” of the content of one or another artistic work were quite often incompetent *apparachiki* who “did not notice any difference between dance and jazz” as was claimed in the openly wry statement by dance teacher Ants Tael,⁷ who arranged the dance version of the Tallinn '67 festival some weeks before the jazz festival. Nevertheless, the appropriation of the phrase “Soviet repertoire” in the context of the current document hints most possibly at Soviet composers’ authorship.

The meaning of “competition” in this context is exemplified by another slogan-like discursive and performative act—the socialist competition—inciting the working class to perform hard work in competition with each other. The expected benefit of socialist competition for the state was twofold: on the one hand, it was conducive to the growth of labor productivity and improvement in product quality, and on the other, it maintained and built the loyalty of citizens through a versatile system of rewards and the public cult of the “heroes of socialist labor.”⁸ No area of life remained untouched by this mass system of competition. You could read stories about cow-milkers and tractor drivers winning socialist competitions on the front pages of newspapers or military comrades with their jackets covered in medals of honor appearing on TV. The field of music was no exception. The competitions for amateur choirs and orchestras

or *estrada* artists and classical composers were part of the everyday Soviet musical culture.⁹ Therefore, a jazz festival as a competition was just part of the overall Soviet “socialist competition” project applied to the genre of jazz. More particularly, they followed the common Soviet practice of competitions for amateurs, which were officially considered a form of state supervision over amateur activities, where the best collectives were determined by a jury and highlighted with the titles of laureates.

The record emphasizes the formation of the jury, the board of arbiters responsible for ranking the performances. The jury for Tallinn '67 included members from all over the Soviet Union representing different fields, such as broadcasters, composers, and *orgkomitee* members. Those who were selected as award winners were prized as laureates. Estonian jazz historian Valter Ojakäär (2008: 354) discussing the prestige of the laureate title mentioned that “At this time every proper festival had to produce laureates—to issue certificates awarding the best participants. We received some glory for ourselves where somewhere it was announced that the laureate of the Tallinn jazz festival is performing.” Indeed, to hold one of the honorary laureate titles and to be publicly recognized with this title was considered highly prestigious. Awarding prizes in general was another cult-like practice in the Soviet Union, where titles such as Order’s Cavalier and “winners of socialist competitions” and “laureates of festivals” were part of the everyday public Soviet linguistic reality. Although the jury did award winners in Tallinn, the competitive aspect was not that important, as Boriss Frumkin, the pianist attending the festival with the KM Quartet said: “In Tallinn the competitive aspect was not important, and it gave the festival a Western flavor: In general, Estonia was as a foreign country for us. It was Soviet anyway, but not Soviet-like—that was what we felt then.”¹⁰

Financing

The document recording the initiation of the festival includes a note that the festival should be self-financed, meaning that the municipal government allocated no funds to finance the festival. Drawing up a detailed trajectory of the financial operations of the festival is an unrealizable task because of the missing evidence, but what we know based on available data is that the Noorsoo Kultuuripalee (The Youth Cultural Palace, YCP) and the Vabatahtlik Tuletõrje Ühing (Voluntary Fire Union, VFU) were the two institutions responsible for financial affairs.

Two YCP budget records have been preserved titled “The allocation of special equipment and other expenses”¹¹ and “Budget of wages of non-staff members,”¹² indicating respectively that the budget for expenses included 13,615

roubles and 1,010 roubles was disbursed for salaries. The items listed in the budget cover different areas necessary for organizing the festival, such as the reception for the performers and the schedule of the concerts (Figures 1., 2.). The allocated funds range from 13 roubles for the certificates of honor to more than six thousand for travelling expenses. The listed items cover areas such as accommodation, rent for Kalev Sports Hall, catering, and travel expenses. If we look at some illustrative comparisons, the scale of the budget becomes a little clearer. For instance, the budget for the festival was approximately 14,000 roubles—almost 9 percent of the total annual budget of 160,000¹³ roubles for the YCP. Another meaningful comparison is with the budget of the dance festival, which received the much smaller amount of 5,000 roubles from the YCP. As further comparison, the highest monthly salary in the Soviet Union in the 1960s, as listed in the financial documents of the YCP, was 120 roubles and was received by the artistic director, while the lowest, of 40 roubles, was granted to the cleaners.¹⁴ The salary for an orchestra member for special projects was 1 rouble per project, and the arranger, for instance, received 40 kopecks per bar. At the same time, the cost of a Moscow-Tallinn flight was 26 roubles and a train ticket 8 roubles; a newspaper cost 2 kopecks and bread 12 kopecks; a person had to pay around 100 roubles to buy a radio, 200 for a bicycle, and 2,500 for a Moskvitch automobile.¹⁵ Therefore, the budget for the festival was equal to the cost of almost six Moskvitch cars or 750,000 newspapers.

Travelling expenses	6258.-
Accommodation	2738.-
Kalev Sports Hall rental	2017.-
Bus	907.-
Programs, badges, tickets, advertising	376.-
Catering	1292.-

Figure 2. Expense budget

Installation and deinstallation of tribune and stage	160.-
Certificates of honor	13.-
Decorations	205.-
MC	15.-
Translating, typing	55.-
Presale of tickets. Programs and badges	440.-
Salaries for masterclasses (4 teachers a 30.-)	120.-

Figure 3. Budget of wages paid

The dates that the two financial documents of the YCP were issued (1 July) indicate that the budget was composed after the festival. This can be explained by the self-financing model, where expenses were covered by income received from ticket sales and the budget was composed as a sequel to the event. The cost of the tickets was 2.50 roubles, as the preserved original copies owned by Juris Akis, the Latvian organizer, show. The precise income from ticket sales is, however, impossible to determine since no documentary evidence has survived.

The other institution involved in the financial procedure was the VFU, although its function as an intermediary for cash payments was illegal. The arrangements with the VFU were indeed illegal, since my research in the archive turned up no documents indicating the VFU was involved in the financial affairs of the YCP. Some nuances in the financial procedures are exemplified by Arnold Grudin, a member of the *orgkomitee*, who had a colorful story to tell about engaging the VFU as the intermediary for cash payments. This is how Grudin replied to my question about financial matters:

This is a funny question. The tickets were very cheap. I don't even remember how much they cost. The financing... the money we managed to collect from ticket sales...we could not do any deals with it...we had to find some organizations that could make the cash payouts. This was the Volunteer Fire Union, who agreed to provide this service. They were experienced because they had done the same already during the previous festival in 1966. All the payments and cash flow took place through the Volunteer Fire Union. It was located near the central square...there at the back of the building there were metal stairs...the fire brigades used them. All the musicians knew those metal stairs very well; they climbed this ladder to the third floor. There sat a bookkeeper whose name was Sagar and who took care of financial affairs. So, the musicians did not receive any money for their performances. Only travel costs were covered. Also, we paid for the hotel using the money we got from ticket sales. But I remember that some musicians paid for their travel themselves. There was a singer Valentina Ponomaryova who came from Khabarovsk...but the ticket costs were not that high then.¹⁶

This somewhat unusual combination of the VFU and a jazz festival, where the former becomes a semi-legal broker to legalize the financial procedures of the latter is, however, a typical example of the maneuvering tactics widely practiced in Soviet society. How these kinds of tactics were part of everyday life for Soviet citizens can be seen in the humorous story related by former dance teacher Ants Tael and how he managed to obtain prizes of crystal dishware for the winners of his festival using the method he refers to as *sblikerdamine*.¹⁷

The city government had special financial resources for awarding hard-working laborers. Crystal dishware¹⁸ was commonly purchased as prizes. We did not have such valuable prizes for our festival...we had to use “mousetraps and flypapers.” But we managed to reallocate the money... Money was always there, but you needed to be clever enough to find it. And then “mousetraps and flypapers” were given to laborers and we gave crystal to our dancers. This *sblikerdamine*...it was awful...it was a natural part of life in the Soviet era. I thought that this is how life should be like this...I didn't know how it should be in reality. You always had to be clever enough to find the right button to press in order to find ways to obtain your goals.¹⁹

As the budgeting details demonstrated, no funds were allocated either for salaries for the organizers or for the musicians, indicating that the festival had no commercial profit-earning aims. However, as the great sums of money spent on travel, accommodation, and catering in the budget asserted, these expenses for the participants were subsidized by the organizers. Such a non-profit jazz festival format had its roots in the amateur status jazz had obtained on the amateur/professional scale.

The organizers

The record establishing the legal basis for the event also had an attachment confirming the 12 people forming the membership of the *orgkomitee* (see Figure 4).

Glancing over the list of members of the *orgkomitee* provides a glimpse inside the functioning of the Soviet cultural administration. Each member had different levels

of participation. Some are part of the Soviet administrative requirement that high Party officials be included, and their participation was only formal. These included the chief of the committee—the substitute of the chief of the CPD, Rein Ristlaan, who was not actively involved in the practical organizing procedures but who had final power of veto as the head of the committee. The other person representing the “facade of Party membership” was Allan Kullaste, second secretary of the Komsomol of the City Committee. Those who knew them recall that both “comrades” were tough-minded, committed, and principled Communists serving the interests of the Party and the Soviet state. Radio music broadcaster Arne Vahuri remembers Kullaste from the period when he became chief of Estonian Radio:

He gave me the impression...how to say it in a mild way...of not being a cultured person. He was a Russian philologist ...and his knowledge was limited to that. Later, during the time of Estonian (re)independence, I met him on Tartu Road selling lottery tickets from a car. There was no Communist Party anymore and he had returned his “red card.”²⁰

Ristlaan's role was crucial in the incident involving the Charles Lloyd quartet.²¹ Lloyd, whose appearance was initially scheduled for the second day, was not, however, allowed on stage. The final permission for Lloyd to be able to perform was ultimately given the night before the last day of the festival. In Ojakäär's (2008: 364-365) memory the decision-making took place as follows:

I remember the night before the last festival day. The entire *orgkomitee* convened for a meeting after the concert to discuss the program details for the last day. The chief, Ristlaan, was

The Attachment to the decision of Executive Committee of the Tallinn CPD from 20 January 1967.

The membership of the organizing committee of Tallinn 1967 jazz festival

Chief: R. Ristlaan—substitute for the chief of the Executive Committee of Tallinn CPD

Substitute for the chief: H. Schults—chief of the cultural department of the Executive Committee of the Tallinn CPD

U. Naissoo—head of jazz music commission of the Ministry of Culture of the ESSR

Secretary: R. Tammik—member of the jazz music commission of the Ministry of Culture of the ESSR

Members: E. Uibo—head of the sports and cultural committee of the Trade Unions of the ESSR

E. Loitme—inspector of the Cultural Government of the Ministry of Culture of the ESSR

A. Kullaste—second secretary of ELKNÜ of the City Committee

V. Ojakäär—member of the Composers' Union of the ESSR

A. Vahuri—head of the board of Tallinn's jazz clubs

A. Grudin—member of the jazz music commission of the Ministry of Culture of the ESSR

A. Kremer—chief of the Youth Cultural Palace of Tallinn

A. Mesikäpp—the artist of Political Education of ECP

Figure 4. Committee of organizers

nervous because the thunderbolts were erupting. Tensions were meant to hit him in the first place. All the attendees agreed that to exclude Lloyd from the program was unreasonable. The foreign media had already described the discrimination of blacks in the Soviet Union [...] Ristlaan went to call someone and got official-nonofficial permission: Lloyd could perform, but only for 20 minutes, and no demonstration could happen.

Following the festival, Ristlaan, as a faithful Party soldier, continued to climb the career ladder and reached his highest position in 1980 when appointed Ideology Secretary of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party. The ideological cleansing—censoring, stalking, persecution, and firings initiated by him—caused great damage to the Estonian cultural elite.²² His contemporaries recall him being a person who enjoyed firing somebody or banning something and who recognized screaming and insulting as the only modes of talking with his subordinates. He was characterized as extremely cautious and servile to higher Party executives as well as the kind of person who always managed to “wash his hands” of anything threatening his career. Most likely it was Ristlaan’s arrant cautiousness and careerism that became fatal to the course of the jazz festival. Vaado Sarapuu,²³ a voluntary member of the *orgkomitee*, related the episode when Ristlaan became aware of the arrival of high-level guests the day before the opening of the festival. “Suddenly, I saw Ristlaan’s face paling and his eyes filling with immense fear.” Sarapuu recalls, “this happened after he realized that the delegation from the American embassy, the group of six diplomats from MGIMO²⁴ and Kossygin’s²⁵ group had arrived.” According to Sarapuu, Ristlaan’s fear of making mistakes in front of these higher Party chiefs and his faithfulness to the Party led to several occasions where he exercised his power as head of the *orgkomitee* with his legal right to make unilateral decisions. For instance, Ristlaan supposedly considered the special catering for the Council of Ministers inappropriate, which the singer and active member of the jazz club Herbert Krutob had managed to deliver due to his position in the ministry. This special opportunity arranged for the participants of the festival at the official festival center at the YCP was, nevertheless, prohibited the day before its opening.²⁶ Sarapuu also mentions the problems with arranging the jam session first planned to happen in the YCP. The jam session, however, took place in another club away from the city center.²⁷

A similar view of Ristlaan’s decisive role in impeding the course of the event is expressed by Valter Ojakäär, who saw the fear and musical incompetence of the officialdom, especially of Ristlaan, as the reason for the interruption to the entire jazz festival tradition in Estonia.

Lloyd’s participation served a “death sentence” for the entire festival tradition in Estonia. The troubles caused by

Lloyd’s visit were ridiculous and senseless, in fact. Officials were afraid of the smallest “cough,” they were afraid of what would happen when Americans come. The officials had no idea about the difference between jazz and rock. They thought jazz was music where the crowd gets wild and starts to break the chairs. But you cannot imagine more respectable audiences than the people at our jazz concerts. It was just the ignorance of the officials...they saw the devil where no devils existed. One person in particular among those impeding the festival was the head of the organizing committee Rein Ristlaan.²⁸

Further inspection of the official list of the *orgkomitee* shows that it includes a number of other non-active members besides the listed high Party officials. Some of them were engaged because of their professional position. The artist Arne Mesikäpp, for instance, designed the emblem for the festival, and the head of the sporting and cultural committee of the Trade Unions of the Estonian SSR, Enn Uibo, most probably was on the list because of the festival site—Kalev Sports Hall was owned by the institution of which he was director. Endel Loitme was included as a specialist from the Ministry of Culture. Arne Vahuri, as a music editor and broadcaster for Estonian Radio, was mentioned on the roster because of his position since Estonian Radio planned to record the entire festival. But as Vahuri claimed, he was not a member of the committee and only participated in one of their meetings.²⁹ Anatoly Kraemer, head of the YCP, was, however, definitely an active organizer. Unfortunately, the only evidence we have of his contribution is the budgeting documents he signed.

Among the creative members of the *orgkomitee* was pianist and composer Raivo Tammik—he was on the official list of organizers as secretary and member of the Jazz Music Commission of the Ministry of Culture of the Estonian SSR. There is not much information on how Tammik was involved as an organizer, but those who recalled him mentioned his excellent organizing skills combined with perfect communication manners. These qualities and his great English skills enabled him to serve as a guide for foreign guests and to appear as compere on stage. Schultz appreciated Tammik because he was a very helpful and a kind man running around from morning till night always asking “what else can I do?”³⁰ Vaado Sarapuu notes that Tammik was one of the main decision-makers and promoters besides him and technical manager Ojamaa.³¹ Taking advantage of his wide circle of acquaintances, he managed to find a new site for the festival’s jam session in the Sossi Club immediately after Ristlaan put a stop to it happening at the Youth Palace. His argument to the administration for booking the Sossi Club was the need for a rehearsal space before the next festival concert. Furthermore, Tammik had two performances at the festival: the first on the



Figure 5. Raivo Tammik Trio performing—Raivo Tammik piano, Tiit Paulus guitar, Jüri Pliznik bass (Tallinn Museum of Music and Theatre)

second day of the festival with singer Els Himma and the second with his trio.³²

Uno Naissoo and Valter Ojakäär were listed on the roster of organizers respectively as the head of the jazz music commission of the Ministry of Culture of the ESSR and member of the Composers Union of the ESSR. The great role of those two in Estonian jazz culture is illustrated by the fact that no jazz-related events took place in Estonia without the participation of these two men, whose “relationship to jazz” can be expressed half-jokingly, since while Naissoo, with his extensive activities as organizer, educator, composer, and musician literally established Estonian jazz, Ojakäär was the one who historicized what Naissoo did by capturing it in his numerous publications and media appearances.

Ojakäär and Naissoo both contributed each in their own way to the opening ceremony of the festival. The entire festival was opened with the “Festival fanfare”³³ composed by Naissoo. As the preserved handwritten music sheet shows, the short piece consists of 12 bars arranged in four-part harmony. The harmonic sequence of this piece is unique since the modulation to the parallel of the dominant scale in the end and omitting the third in the last chord musically creates the effect of unexpectedness or openness. The Norwegian jazz critic Randy Hultin, however, expressed surprise at such an opening. The march-like fanfare sounded to her like the opening of a sports event rather than a music festival.³⁴

Ojakäär’s contribution to the opening ceremony was a formal speech including distinctive phrases of the Soviet era such as “Soviet jazz,” “peace,” and “friendship,” and the more topical 50th anniversary of the October Revolution to which all of the events in 1967 were dedicated.

Dear guests and participants of the festival Tallinn ‘67! This is the fourteenth time jazz lovers have gathered in Tallinn. The modest creative meetings of local groups have turned into events attracting not only the attention of Soviets, but also foreign jazz lovers. It is a great recognition of Soviet jazz music to have the opportunity to perform before such large audiences and to demonstrate its achievements in this popular genre. It is a great challenge for Soviet jazz to maintain its high standards and also a duty to continue the creative processes of developing the music. This festival, dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary of the October Revolution, is a major event involving participants from more than seventeen nations. May they enjoy the best memories of the hospitality of Tallinn and our wish to live in peace and friendship. Fulfilling a mission entrusted to me, allow me to declare the Tallinn ‘67 jazz festival open. I wish our honored listeners the best of musical experiences. Welcome!³⁵

Ojakäär was also involved in drafting the festival program.³⁶ In the introduction on the first page, we can again see the compulsory nods to “Soviet jazz,” but in addition, it emphasizes an important aspect of the festival, that it functions as a jazz forum connecting jazz musicians and fans

all over the Soviet Union. Ojakäär (2008: 363) mentions being actively involved with Swedish and Finnish musicians during the festival. Lloyd was unfortunately unapproachable because of the number of journalists and people from Moscow and Leningrad circling around him. As he said in a somewhat lackluster manner, “we did not have the drive with Naissoo to break this siege.”

Arnold Grudin³⁷ was listed on the roster as a member of the Jazz Music Commission of the Ministry of Culture of the ESSR.³⁸ Due to his jazz interests, extensive contacts, language knowledge and energy, Grudin was a welcome addition in Estonian jazz circles, where he assisted in arranging festivals in Tallinn from 1965 to 1967. Grudin himself explained the reasons why he happened to be on the *orgkomitee*:

I was there because of my Leningrad contacts; I also had connections with jazz publications in Poland and Germany. I spoke and wrote German, Polish, Czech, and a little bit of English. Language knowledge was something you did not have in Estonia. It gave me the possibility to communicate with foreigners. A lot of our work was divided according to our knowledge of languages. Everybody had their own piece of the cake...mine was with German and Polish people. For instance, I invited the editor of the German journal *Melodie und Rhythmus* Heinz Peter Hoffmann. From Poland we had a representative from the European Jazz Federation, and Jan Byrczek, the main editor of the Polish jazz journal *Jazz Forum*.³⁹

Grudin's memories also included details about his duties in deciding the selection of groups in the preliminary rounds in Riga, Kuibushev, and Tula, and his responsibilities in communicating with around 150 journalists at the festival.

The festival was not organized only by those listed on the roster included on the basis of top-down initiatives; numerous volunteers joined the team based on bottom-up initiatives. As Ojakäär claimed in his radio broadcast, “Schultz managed to engage about a hundred jazz enthusiasts—volunteers who met guests, conveyed them to the hotel, took care of their dinners, and so forth. It was a miracle how great the enthusiasm was for jazz; it was fabulous at this time.”⁴⁰ Among the enthusiasts was, for instance, Reet Linna,⁴¹ invited by her friends—musicians with whom she used to perform. She provided help everywhere. As she said, “I sold tickets and helped the audience find their seats. I bustled behind the scenes and kept my eye on the bands so that they appeared on stage on time.”⁴²

One of the volunteers widely engaged in Tallinn '67 was Vaado Sarapuu.⁴³ His activities included, for instance, accommodating the many participants, for which he found a clever solution. According to Sarapuu, “Suddenly masses of people started to arrive ‘at doors and windows.’ Where could we accommodate them? We didn't have many hotels in Tallinn. And then we were lucky enough to make a deal

with the railway station to use carriages as accommodation. We heated them up. Many Soviet stars stayed there.”⁴⁴ Indeed, in the late 1960s in the relatively underdeveloped tourism conditions, Tallinn had only four hotels available to accommodate tourists.⁴⁵

In addition to the local Estonian *orgkomitee* and volunteers, jazz enthusiasts from all over the Soviet Union were actively involved, of which the most important were Vadim Yurchekov and Aleksei Batashev. To introduce Aleksei Batashev, Arnold Grudin, stated that, “Batashev was everywhere; where jazz could be heard there was always Batashev.”⁴⁶ Indeed, since the mid-1950s, Batashev had literally been everywhere jazz was being played in the Soviet Union. Among his wide range of activities was promoting jazz in all the media channels in a diverse range of oral and written formats in the Soviet Union and Russia and introducing the music abroad.⁴⁷ His role in Soviet jazz can be compared, for instance, to Ira Gitler and Leonard Feather in the American context. At Tallinn '67, Batashev was involved in inviting Willis Conover and Charles Lloyd to Tallinn. Vadim Yurchekov,⁴⁸ a Leningrader who, because of his English skills was active in negotiating with foreign participants, was also an important figure.

Heinrich Schultz

According to Valter Ojakäär, the courage and willingness of Heinrich Schultz to take risks played a crucial role in the success of the festival:

While Naissoo was responsible for the creative side and the content of the festival, Schultz became the main organizer in the 1960s who took care of the documentation and correspondence. What we and Uno [Naissoo] wondered about Schultz was his courage. He was audacious considering the stagnation of the times—he signed documents which no other person dared to sign. Behind his back, our “jazz boat” passed through the breakers...this had not been possible in other cities. And where musicians started to call Tallinn the jazz capital, this was thanks to Uno Naissoo and Schultz who created the image of Tallinn's jazz festivals.⁴⁹

As a representative of the Party and someone involved in the regulative formalities of the organizing process, Schultz served as a connecting link between the state regulations and the artistic goals of the festival. For the sake of the success of the festival, he abstained from the over punctilious implementation of preordained formalities and demonstrated a brave sense of initiative, which he was not afraid to do because of his spotless personal record. His courage, however, became his undoing—it led him to being fired, although according to the Soviet system, the Communist Party never “fired” any of its members, but

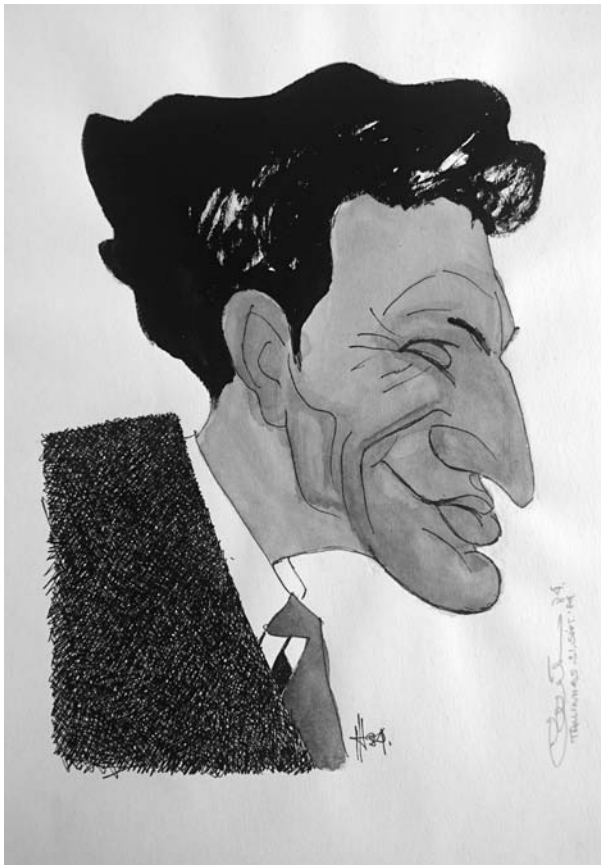


Figure 6. Caricature of Heinrich Schultz by Hugo Hiibus (Personal collection of Uno Schultz)

their “soldiers” were “transferred to another position.” He was scapegoated because he signed the official endorsement inviting the Charles Lloyd group to the Soviet Union.⁵⁰ The group finally arrived in the USSR outside the official channels of Soviet-American cultural exchange accompanied by extensive media noise, which deviated from accepted Soviet norms. The first letter Schultz sent to the Americans simply confirmed the availability of board, accommodation, and a concert and clearly declared that the festival had no international status and, as such, official invitations to foreigners were not possible. This endorsement was, however, interpreted by both Avakian, the manager bringing Lloyd to Tallinn, and Soviet officials, respectively in their own interests. For Avakian, the letter was as an official invitation authorizing his visit, while for Soviet officials it became their pretext for firing Schultz for exceeding the limits of his authority. His guilt increased when he sent the cablegram⁵¹ welcoming the group as tourists, which became the final trigger for the Americans to make the visit, following a phone call prohibiting the planned departure of the Americans just a few days before. Finally, Schultz signed the permission document for the Americans to go on stage in Tallinn on the last day of the festival after an initial prohibition against them performing on the second

day.⁵² Therefore, those three endorsements gave the Party the excuse to incriminate Schultz in a triple “crime.”

After the festival, Heinrich Schultz was invited to the Central Committee and blamed for going beyond the mandate of his position. This is how Schultz himself recalls the dialogue with high Party officials regarding the infringement of his position:

The hall of the Central Bureau was full of people. When I entered the room, Comrade Käbin asked me, “You, Schultz, are you the foreign minister?” “No, I am not the foreign minister.” “Why did you think you had the right to invite a musical collective from America?” After that, they did not say anything, but after two or three days, I was asked to come back. And the first thing Comrade Undusk said was, “You know, Schultz, we cannot hire you as a cultural worker any more after such a provocation.” And that was the end of it. I was appointed after a while as the director of the Tallinn Laundry Factory.⁵³

Schultz’s case is an excellent example of the widespread Soviet practice that involved seeking out culprits and carrying out a sentence as a way for the higher levels of officialdom to express their discontent in instances considered intolerable for the ideologically orientated leadership. The formal trajectory of Schultz’s punishment is witnessed by two official documents issued respectively on 27 May and 20 July, illustrating the Soviet convention of “redirecting” party members from one position to another. The first ordinance describes the appointment of cultural functionary, Comrade Luule Mikk, to the position of acting head of the cultural department of the CPD of Tallinn City in relation to the illness of Comrade Heinrich Schultz starting 27 May 1967 with compensation for the difference in salary.⁵⁴ The other decree appoints Comrade Luule Mikk as head of the cultural department of the CPD of Tallinn City and displaces comrade Heinrich Schultz from his position as head of the cultural department of the CPD and transfers him to another position.⁵⁵ The next document indicates that Schultz was hired as a deputy by the Committee for the Use of Labor Resources.⁵⁶ That those official documents were fabricated and how the incident at the festival ruined Heinrich Schultz’s entire life is explained by his son, Uno Schultz:

Those documents were fabricated of course. In reality, my father was just brutally fired. His dismissal from office happened after the jazz festival, when there was a financial audit sent to the cultural department, and from this they found a pretext for firing him. The audit did not find anything...but he was fired anyway. Three days after being laid off, my father’s personal record at Hospital No. 4⁵⁷ disappeared. All department chairs and national artists were allowed to go there. It was for the elite...The firing was a huge disappointment for my father. Musicians who always said hello to him did not do so anymore....Because of this accident he was disappointed in life...⁵⁸

Conclusions

The discussions demonstrated how a jazz festival as a cultural event was molded into the system of the Soviet cultural administration. In the case of Tallinn '67, the *krycha*—the institution responsible for organizing the event, was the Cultural Department of Tallinn City government led by Heinrich Schultz. The initiation of the festival at the official level incorporated a high level of formal planning, documentation, decision-making, and assembly of executive personnel. We saw on the official record examples of ideology-driven Soviet discursive and performative strategies, such as the application of specific verbal expressions emphasizing the Sovietness of the repertoire or promoting a socialist competition and the system of awards. Like jazz in general in the Soviet Union, the festivals followed the amateur cultural model. As Grudin acknowledged, “In general, jazz festivals in the Soviet Union were amateur in character. The festivals were considered amateur events and not professional. It was like amateur societies or unions where people decided to come together and demonstrate their skills to each other.”⁵⁹ The important factor officially defining the nature of the event was it being part of the Soviet *kulturnomassovaya rabota*—literally, mass cultural work, the aim of which was to take care of cultural education for Soviet citizens. The term cultural education or cultural enlightenment, as is sometimes preferred, was an area of Soviet ideological work involving the need to equalize access to culture, the expectations of which were to change human behavior, resting on the belief that the Party must control the culture provided and created (White 1990: 1). In the official discourse, cultural enlightenment referred to a wide variety of state-organized cultural leisure activities for the masses. The activities usually took place in collective settings and included the celebration of public holidays, enlightenment-education events, and amateur artistic activities including music, theater, dance, and similar fields (Tsipursky 2016). According to the official definitions, Tallinn '67 was therefore an amateur event as part of the cultural enlightenment program provided by the state. It engaged those who enlightened themselves through amateur musical activities and those who became enlightened by the reception of art—on the one hand, the amateur jazz groups holding competitions and demonstrating their skill in front of audiences and, on the other, the audience that came to listen to the music at the festival.

The fact that the event was officially part of amateur artistic activities dictated the type of regulative and executive procedures applied to the festival. According to that model, the organizers were responsible for the reception of the performers and compensating them for their living and travelling expenses. In addition, neither the organizers

who did the job as part of their employment or as volunteers nor the creative personnel received any financial reward. The concerts at the festival were held in a revue-like format, where each group had the chance to present three or four pieces within a 20-minute period. This was driven by the festival as a competition, within which the maximum number of participants had to be included over the four festival days and where the jury decided over the level of the performances and the best ones selected were awarded with titles as laureates.

According to the model of a self-financing festival, no direct state financing was received. The event employed ticket sales to generate income to cover the expenses associated with receiving the participants. Since the festival generated its own income in this way from the event itself, the budget was prepared retrospectively. In addition, financial transactions were conducted illegally through the VFU.

Despite the fact that the festival was subjected to Soviet state regulative acts with a top-down framework, the decisive role in the implementation of the festival was delivered by human agency—the people who gathered around the official executive unit, the *orgkomitee*, and those who were active as volunteers. Interestingly, the personnel of the *orgkomitee* represented a cross-section of the mentalities of Soviet individuals. The *orgkomitee* members Allan Kullaste and Rein Ristlaan were, for instance, Soviet-minded high-level Communists, “reds” as they were called in colloquial language. Ristlaan, with his power of veto, impeded the organizing procedures, but the instigator directing this power and the executives enforcing the bans were not so much an expression of a lack of tolerance towards jazz, as the popular narratives of opposition between jazz and power tend to claim, but rather of the fear of disorder. Heinrich Schultz and Anatoly Kraemer, in turn, were part of the cluster of Soviet mid- and high-level *apparachiki* whose actions were of crucial significance in the entire cultural field during the Soviet era. The commitment, courage, and maneuvering skills of those individuals enabled them to operate as intermediaries between often divergent goals and modes of functioning between the state and cultural entities. Naissoo and Ojakäär were creative individuals whose mentality was not exactly located on a Soviet-minded/not Soviet-minded axis; rather, the right term to describe their mentality was jazz-minded. The volunteers formed a group of a wide variety of individuals—students, musicians, and jazz fans. Voluntary work, in fact, was not just interest based but another feature that cultural enlightenment was supposed to include. Unpaid activism was expected to be part of both creative and administrative activities (White 1990: 26). Finally, I will quote the volunteer organizer Vaado Sarapuu, who said he was living “in socialism like in capitalism and in capitalism like in socialism.” This expression refutes

the myth of the unobtainability of a freedom of action and wealth in Soviet society and unlimited freedom and prosperity under capitalism.

As post-festival reviews indicate, the festival itself was a great success. Norwegian jazz journalist Randy Hultin, for instance, declared that she had never experienced such warm and real enthusiasm for a jazz festival as she had in Tallinn.⁶⁰ Polish jazz writer Józef Balcerak compared Tallinn '67 with other jazz festivals and suggested that the event itself was not so different from the spectacles in Warsaw and other "festival capitals": the stage was decorated with flags of the countries represented, metal badges were provided to participants, there were printed programs and newsletters, and TV cameras were set up and a press office installed.⁶¹

This example of the Tallinn '67 jazz festival asserts that although top-down regulations were a firm part of Soviet cultural administration, the individuals acting within this framework played a crucial role in shaping the cultural activities. The model tends to show the division between three types of organizers—high Party officialdom responsible for the ideological correctness and security of the event, mid-level *apparachiki* acting as mediators between state and culture, and finally, the insiders whose enthusiasm was directed by a desire for self-actualization through cultural participation. An especially important role in conducting the administrative procedures in the Soviet era was played by the local mediators and lower-level executives whose interests and courage, rather than frequently contradictory higher Party-line attitudes, was decisive in shaping the success of a festival in the context of an ideologically sensitive phenomenon such as jazz.

Endnotes

- 1 Among the stateowned jazz collectives in the 1960s were Oleg Lundstrem's orchestra (1956), Leningrad Dixieland (1964).
- 2 Author's interview with Cyril Moshkow 21.11.2017.
- 3 The file Decisions and Ordinances of Executive Committee of Deputies of the Working People of Tallinn City of the Estonian SSR regarding questions on the Cultural department for 1967. R-1 427. Tallinn City Archive.
- 4 The term *orgkomitee*, the Estonian abbreviation of organizing committee, will be used from this point onwards.
- 5 Professional functionary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
- 6 Author's interview with Cyril Moshkow 21.11.2017.
- 7 Author's interview with Ants Tael. 14.03.2018.
- 8 "The hero of socialist labor" was a specific title of honor awarded to most outstanding laborers—the winners of socialist contests
- 9 For the role of awarding of Stalin's Music Prize in Soviet musical culture, see Frolova-Walker Marina, *Stalin's Music Prize: Soviet Culture and Politics*. London: Yale University Press, 2016.

- 10 Author's interview with Boris Frumkin, 01.04.2017.
- 11 Budget for employees and administrative-economic expenses of the J. Kreuksi Cultural Palace 1967. Tallinn City archive, R10-450, p.25.
- 12 Ibid p. 21
- 13 Ibid, p. 30
- 14 Ibid, pp. 5, 19, 34.
- 15 The data originates from Suitsu, Maire 2017. *Eks elati ju ennegi. Sotsialismiaja sügimälestusi*. Tallinn: Hea Lugu. The Moskvitch car can be compared to something like a middle-class car in the contemporary sense.
- 16 Author's interview with Arnold Grudin. 08.04.2017.
- 17 An Estonian word that means using deceit to obtain something or shirking from something.
- 18 In the Soviet era, crystal dishware was a symbol of social status, where possessing it denoted a certain level of wealth.
- 19 Author's interview with Ants Tael. 14.03.2018.
- 20 Author's interview with Arne Vahuri. 05.03.2017.
- 21 Although this act was mentioned by several interviewees, Ristlaan's partial punishment, however, has no formal proof behind it, since no records of this act were found among the archival documents. But he may have received an oral rebuke, which was another officially accepted form of partial punishment.
- 22 Those recollections are based on Rein Ruutsoo: Rein Ristlaan ja tema aeg <http://www.delfi.ee/archive/rein-ruutsoo-rein-ristlaan-ja-tema-aeg?id=17898516>. The same type of memories has also Vello Pohla. Author's interview with Vello Pohla. 12.12.2018.
- 23 Author's Skype interview with Vaado Sarapuu 03.03.2018.
- 24 An abbreviation of Moscow State Institute of International Relations (*МГИМО—Московский государственный институт международных отношений II*)
- 25 Kossygin (1964-1980) was a Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, whose reforms and more open stance on solving the Prague Spring (1968) made Kossygin one of the most liberal members of top leadership. He was known for being interested in jazz. The latter fact is, however, disproved by Vladimir Feiertag, who says that it was not possible for such a high-level politician to have a non-Soviet hobby. Feiertag also disagrees with the story that the son of another political leader, Kromyko, asked his father to invite Lloyd to Tallinn. He supposedly knew that his father could help Lloyd with a visa. Source: Kto v SSSR krysheval dzhaz? <https://specialradio.ru/10/dzhazovye-zametki-chast-2-kto-v-sssr-krysheval-dzhaz-o-sergee-kuryoxine-sovremennye-geroi-dzhaza/>
- 26 To have catering from the Council of Ministers was a special opportunity in the conditions of the Soviet shortage of food. The privilege for better catering was available for the Party elite. In the current context, it meant the availability of a better selection of food and delicacies.
- 27 Author's Skype interview with Vaado Sarapuu 03.03.2018.
- 28 Muusikaline tund, Meenutusi 1966. ja 1967. a džässifestivalidelt. 11-09-1990. ERR archive. <http://arhiiv.err.ee/vaata/muusikaline-tund-muusikaline-tund-meenutusi-1966-ja-1967-a-dzassifestivalidelt>
- 29 Author's interview with Arne Vahuri, 05.03.2017.
- 30 Radio program Muusikaline tund: Meenutusi 1966. ja 1967. a džässifestivalidelt, 11.09.1990. ERR archive: <https://arhiiv.err.ee/vaata/muusikaline-tund-muusikaline-tund-meenutusi-1966-ja-1967-a-dzassifestivalidelt>.

³¹ Author's Skype interview with Vaado sarapuu 26.02.2018.

³² Pamjatka utchastnika festivalja. Estonian National Library. Collection of Yurchenkov.

³³ Preserved in Estonian Museum of Theatre and Music ETMM 9949 M 203:2/483

³⁴ Hultin, Randy. Soviet har sin egen Coltraine of Peterson. *Dagbladet*, 23.05.1967.

³⁵ Leningrad Television documentary *Tri intervjuu vzyatoye v Talline*. Copy in author's personal ownership.

³⁶ The program's print number was 3,000, which was extensive.

³⁷ Originally from Ukraine, Grudin settled in Estonia after graduating from the Machine-Building Technical School in Leningrad and, according to his post-graduation contract, worked in Tallinn's Estoplast factory for four years (1964–1967). According to Soviet-era rules, every person finishing some professional educational establishment was ensured a job and had to sign an official contract about direction to work in a profession-related position. The compulsory period of work based on the post-graduation contract was three years.

³⁸ This rather formal organization along with Naissoo, Ojakäär, Schultz, and a number of bureaucrats was invited in connection with festival organizing; therefore, its purpose was primarily the legalisation of jazz before the government authorities.

³⁹ Author's Skype interview with Arnold Grudin. 3.11.2018.

⁴⁰ Radio program Muusikaline tund: Meenutusi 1966. ja 1967. a džässifestivalidel, 11.09.1990. ERR archive: <https://arhiiv.err.ee/vaata/muusikaline-tund-muusikaline-tund-meenutusi-1966-ja-1967-a-dzassifestivalidel>

⁴¹ Reet Linna is a former pop music singer and currently a famous Estonian TV broadcaster.

⁴² Author's interview with Reet Linna. 2.11.2016

⁴³ Now living in Canada. The scope of his activities was comprehensive: during his career, he was engaged in playing saxophone and clarinet professionally, directing films, and later in Canada establishing the popular internet site Estonian Word Review in 2012. Nevertheless, Sarapuu's skills seemed to be fully revealed through organizing activities.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ On tourism in the Soviet Union, see: Koenker, Diane P. 2013. *Club Red: Vacation Travel and the Soviet Dream*. Cornell University Press

⁴⁶ "Batashev byval vsjudu, tam gde zvuchal dzhaz tam vsjudu byl Batashev."

⁴⁷ See the introduction to Batashev on the jazz.ru webpage: <http://www.jazz.ru/eng/pages/batashev/>
Unfortunately, Batashev was the only person on the list of my prospective interviewees who declined to be interviewed.

⁴⁸ His contributions to Soviet jazz history include being involved in the opening of the first Soviet jazz club in Leningrad A-58 in 1958, and initiating Leningrad Dixieland in 1960. His English skills enabled Yurchenkov to be a correspondent for *Jazz Forum* and *Billboard*.

⁴⁹ Radio program Muusikaline tund: Meenutusi 1966. ja 1967. a džässifestivalidel, 11.09.1990. ERR archive: <https://arhiiv.err.ee/vaata/muusikaline-tund-muusikaline-tund-meenutusi-1966-ja-1967-a-dzassifestivalidel>

⁵⁰ New York Public Library. George and Anahid Avakian Collection. 81.51. Schultz's invitation. 31.03.1967.

⁵¹ Ibid. 81.51. Cablegram of Schultz to Avakian, Received 10:40 am, 30.04.1967.

⁵² Uncatalogued Document is preserved in Museum of Music and Theatre.

⁵³ Eesti Kroonika, temaatiline nr. 21, 1990. Džässi ja bluusi päevad Tallinnas. Personal ownership of Uno Schultz.

⁵⁴ Decisions and Ordinances of the Executive Committee of the Deputies of the Working People (DWP) of Tallinn City of the Estonian SSR regarding the Cultural department in 1967. Tallinna Linnaarhiiv R-1 427 p 39.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p 43.

⁵⁶ Heinrich Schultz personal files. Estonian National Archive. R-2298, 2-k. 154.

⁵⁷ The Fourth Hospital was a healthcare center for cultural and Party elite in Soviet Estonia.

⁵⁸ Author's interview with Uno Schultz. 17.04.2018.

⁵⁹ Author's Skype interview with Arnold Grudin. 08.04.2017.

⁶⁰ *Dagbladet*: Sovjetisk jazz-festival I gang, 12.05.1967

⁶¹ Balcerak, Józef. Tallin jazz festival po raz czternastp — dla nas po raz pierwszy. *Jazz*, 1967(7).

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Santrauka

Straipsnyje Talino 1967 m. džiazio festivalio pavyzdžiu tiriama sovietinė kultūros administravimo praktika. Festivalio organizavimas oficialiuoju lygmeniu reiškė aukšto lygio formalų planavimą, procesų dokumentavimą, sprendimų priėmimą ir vykdomojo personalo sutelkimą. Apskritai džiazio festivaliai Sovietų Sąjungoje buvo organizuojami pagal mėgėjiškos kultūros modelį. Organizatoriai buvo atsakingi už atlikėjų priėmimą, jų apgyvendinimo ir kelionės išlaidų kompensavimą. Nei organizatoriai, kuriems ši veikla buvo jų oficialiųjų pareigų dalis, nei savanoriai, nei kūrybiniai darbuotojai negaudavo jokio finansinio

atlygio. Festivalis kaip konkurso modelis buvo perimtas iš bendrosios sovietinės praktikos: muzikos festivaliai buvo organizuojami kaip konkursai su žiuri ir nugalėtojų – laureatų – apdovanojimais. Pagal šį modelį tiesioginis valstybės finansavimas nebuvo skiriamas, tačiau į renginius būdavo parduodami bilietai, o gautos pajamos padengdavo dalyvių priėmimo išlaidas.

Šis Talino 1967 m. džiaz festivalio pavyzdys parodė, kad nors „iš viršaus nuleidžiami“ nurodymai buvo stabili sovietinės kultūros administravimo dalis, žmonės, veikę šiame kontekste, vaidino lemiamą vaidmenį kultūrinės veiklos formavimo procese. Modelis atskleidžia tris

organizatorių tipus: aukšti partiniai pareigūnai, atsakingi už renginio ideologinį grynumą ir saugumą; aparato darbuotojai, veikę kaip vidurinė grandis – tarpininkai tarp valstybės ir kultūros; ir galiausiai „savieji“, kurių entuziazmą kurstė troškimas realizuoti per dalyvavimą kultūroje. Ypač svarbų vaidmenį, reguliuojant administracines procedūras, sovietmečiu vaidino vietiniai tarpininkai ir žemesniosios grandies vadovai, kurių interesai ir drąsa, o ne dažnai priešingo pobūdžio aukštesnieji partiniai požiūriai, lemdavo festivalių sėkmę tokio ideologiškai jautraus reiškinio kaip džiazas kontekste.

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