According to William Sewell, cultural practice is a concrete and bounded system of beliefs as well as practices and actions. Those who participate and create culture need to be familiar with this system and to master themselves in specific techniques and attributes for successful participation. Estonian cultural theorist Rein Raud defines culture in his new integral theory as an integrated system of practices and emphasizes the role of actors: key here is what actors do and how they realize themselves as subjects in particular cultural environments. Jazz as a cultural practice is extensively discussed by Bruce Johnson, who asks what jazz discourse should look like, what aesthetic values it should subscribe to, and what disciplinary traditions it should draw on.

This chapter tries to present the web of meaningful categories transmitting the beliefs, practices, and actions underlying jazz as a cultural practice in Soviet Estonia. In other words, it provides a web of concepts through which jazz as a cultural practice manifests itself and makes the discussions about Estonian jazz culture meaningful. While interacting with the canonical American system of meanings, however, jazz as a cultural practice in the Estonian context established its own web of meaningful categories as a result of interaction between the local socio-political conditions and the actions of musical actors. This article proposes two categories, two dichotomies forming the underlying framework for meaningful discussions of Soviet Estonian jazz. While the public-private divide is crucial for an understanding of how jazz culture functioned in the Soviet socio-cultural space, then the high/low dichotomy explains, in turn, the status of jazz within the classical/popular hierarchy. The empirical material for the study originates mainly from the history of the late-Stalinist era.

Public-Private Divide

I will start by introducing an aspect which I think is important for understanding the nature of Soviet society and culture, including jazz culture—the distinction between the public and private spheres. However, the portrayal of Soviet society according to the dualist model of social spaces, in which one sphere was formed by the ideology-driven propaganda machine of the regime, and the other by the everyday experiences of the people, is an obvious oversimplification. Edele, for instance, argues for the “inter-penetration” between different aspects of the social whole. I will conceptualize the private-public divide in a more nuanced way by making a distinction between the public, informal public, and private spheres. According to this division, jazz existed in the state-controlled public cultural space in the form of a public media discourse, state-owned jazz
orchestras, and the tradition of jazz festivals. The public-private cultural space included amateur jazz orchestras active in houses of culture and other institutions, playing primarily for dances. The most private space for jazz belonged to friendship groups of jazz fanatics where members listened to the music and theorized and learned about it.

The state of jazz in the public sphere was highly dependent on political tolerance in the Soviet Union. The political situation was in a constant process of change, and the status of jazz became affected by the fluctuations of political power. As music historian Boriss Schwartz has stated: “Jazz has had a chequered history in Soviet Russia. Popular in the 1920’s, suppressed by Stalin, disliked by Krushchev, belittled by Khrennikov,” jazz has managed to survive and grow in popularity.” Alexei Yurchak, discussing ambiguities in the interpretation of foreign cultural forms in the Soviet Union, points out the open-endedness of their meaning. The meaning is not fixed—it could shift depending on how and where these forms were used.

The shifting status of jazz was most clearly revealed in the public media sphere, which functioned within the limits of the valid ideological paradigm and was rigidly controlled by censorship. The most rapid changes appeared during the period of late-Stalinism, when jazz shifted its status from a politically favorable musical form during the post-WWII years to the position of disfavored music. Jazz was in favor and practiced without constraint until 1946. The USSR’s cooperation with the allies fostered the appearance of a politically liberal period when jazz was even considered a symbol of the allies’ friendship. But the situation changed in 1946 with cultural campaigns called Zhdanovshchina, where jazz experienced the lowest political tolerance it ever had in the Soviet Union. The three Zhdanovshchina campaigns involved assaults against two literary magazines, Zvezda and Leningrad in 1946, the decision about Vano Muradeli’s opera Great Friendship in 1948, and the campaign against cosmopolitanism in 1949. These had direct parallels with the publication of jazz-related articles in Sirp ja Vasar: each new decree had a successive, gradually intensifying reaction in the form of the articles on jazz. The jazz-inimical rhetoric falls into two categories: those generally denigrating the West and those specifically directed against the musical and cultural aspects of jazz. Musically, jazz received reprimands for not being Soviet enough: Estonian authors were suggested to compose Soviet jazz. But those calls remained at the level of simplistic rhetoric since no further explanations were given regarding the musical features of Soviet jazz. Ojakäär’s “On Present-Day American Jazz Music” was probably the most strident anti-West writing. As its main purpose was anti-American and anti-capitalist propaganda, the article condemned American racial injustice and manipulated jazz history to fit the Soviet ideological paradigm. The rhetoric is clearly exemplified in the last sentence: “Modern American jazz music is a vivid reflection of the condescending mentality of American bourgeois society and its rapid approach to decline.” Common anti-jazz vocabulary incorporated terms such as formalism (“jazz is the style that still contains the remnants of formalism”), condemnation of the foxtrot and other Western dances (“eccentric Western foxtrots”), and critique of the style of American jazz orchestras (“worn-out patterns of American jazz orchestras”).

The public Soviet anti-jazz campaigns of the late-Stalin era succeeded; the music disappeared from public discourse for three years. The article that returned the word jazz back into public discourse was Leonid Utyosov’s writing “On Singing and Light Music,” translated from Sovetskaja Muzyka and published on December 18, 1953 in Sirp ja Vasar. Utyosov openly criticizes Soviet dance reform that promoted old ballroom dances and made an attempt to rehabilitate the position of the saxophone in the Soviet field of music. He was probably one of the first speakers who resisted the politicization of the sound of a musical instrument. As he claimed:

there are lot of people who are still talking about “socialist” or “capitalist” sound of one or another musical instrument. They think, for instance, that saxophone (used also in
Jazz as a Cultural Practice in Soviet Estonia

classical music) is a brainchild of capitalism and to play Soviet tunes on those instruments is inappropriate.

Khrushchev’s Thaw brought the word jazz back to public discourse, and from that period on jazz was more or less a publicly accepted phenomenon. Although, from time to time, some heavily ideologically loaded appearances occurred. For instance, the radio broadcast from 1961 called *Negros, Jazz and Racial Politics* is full of Soviet style rhetoric. Driven by the ideological paradigm of the Soviets, which positioned them as the natural allies of those oppressed by international capitalism, the broadcast attacks the white ownership of jazz, the exploitation of blackness, the commercialism of jazz and American values. The example below illustrates the general “timbre” of the broadcast’s language:

Black musicians have been subjected to psychological pressure which white Americans have never experienced. Many Black musicians who have turned to jazz to make their living and are looking for emotional escape from reality, would have been a doctor or engineer if they had been born white.

However, public media discourse was not entirely and not always in the grip of this kind of ideology-driven rhetoric. For instance, radio broadcasts conducted by the Estonian jazz historian, publicist, and musician Valter Ojakäär focused on promoting jazz and exposing an insider view on jazz in talk shows introducing the everyday life of the musicians. Ojakäär’s first preserved broadcasts in the Estonian Public Broadcasting archive originate from 1959. In the 1960s, he led two series of broadcasts called “Let’s Talk About Jazz” and “For Jazz Fans.” “For the Lovers of Light Music” in the 1970s was a series of talk shows with Estonian musicians who were active in the field of jazz and popular music. Those memories of the musicians about their everyday musical life are valuable historical sources of an otherwise sketchily documented jazz history.

The institutionalization of musical culture in the form of state-sponsored musical collectives was a part of the Soviet cultural project. All the arts were considered important in accomplishing the cultural project, and the artists as the agents of enlightenment and ideological education were “engineers of human souls.” Two state-owned orchestras were active during the post-WWII period in Estonia. The Jazz Orchestra of the Estonian State Philharmonic (JOESP) was a part of the Estonian State Philharmonic—a state-owned concert organization in Soviet Estonia. The host institution for the Jazz Orchestra of Estonian Public Broadcasting (JOEPB) was the Radio Committee. The functions of the collectives were determined by their affiliation. JOESP was a part of state-run concert organization and functioned according to the concert schedule of the Philharmonic. The orchestra spent most of the year touring throughout the Soviet Union, with the longest tour lasting eight months, as recalled by the son of the conductor Vladimir Sapozhnin. Oleg Spozhnin, who often joined the tours of the orchestra with his father, recalls the difficult touring conditions. As he 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.

The example of administrative procedures of State Philharmonic is a meeting at the Estonian Philharmonic regarding the fulfillment of the 1946 year plan. The event is preserved in the form of report (protocol) on 28 pages. JOESP happened to be under fire from critics for several reasons. First, the orchestra was unsuccessful in fulfilling the annual concert plan: according to the
annual plan, the orchestra had to give 174 concerts, but performed on only eighty-seven occasions, which meant that eighty-seven concerts went unperformed, and as a result, the organization lost 552,800 rubles in potential revenue. The second target of the criticisms was JOESP’s program, which was considered inappropriate in light of the resolution of the Central Committee of the Union-wide Communist Party of August 14, 1946. As Aron Tamarkin, member of the artistic council of the State Philharmonic and a representative of the Committee on the Arts said:

It is clear that we need to revise the jazz orchestra’s repertoire as a result of historical decisions by the Central Committee, which decided that this repertoire is 100 per cent unsuitable. Why? Because it contains too much American jazz music. The original Estonian repertoire should be more extensive than during the first inspection. This was the direction given to jazz," but it is difficult to find a quick solution.

JOEPB functioned as a studio orchestra playing on live musical shows on the radio. The frequency of their performance was two times a day—noon concerts in the middle of the day and dance music in the evening. According to Ojakääär, JOEPB had lot of American jazz in their repertoire and no changes occurred until 1948, when the impact of the orchestra reform initiated at the Union-wide level started to affect the activities of the collective." The orchestra reform involved changes in instrumentation, arranging techniques, repertoire, and the titles of the orchestras. The instrumentation was reorganized according to the new sound requirements: since the sound of the saxophones made too direct a reference to jazz, the instruments were eliminated and replaced by violins. Ojakääär recalls the changes in JOEPB in the following example:

The sound of the saxophones was hidden in the general sound of the orchestra and the saxophone section was eliminated. The saxophonists Ilmar Kureniit ja Herbert Kulm became clarinettists, one tenor player Lembit Raudmäe was hired by the Estonia theatre orchestra as a bassoon player and the former alto players Udo Kallas and me remained in a vague position playing sometimes the part of the third clarinet or remaining hidden under a unison of strings."

The new instrumentation was a challenge for the arrangers, who had to soften the general sound of the orchestra by hiding the jazziness of the woodwinds. The repertoire reform consisted of an increase in vocal tunes leading to the loss of the independence of the orchestras on the concert scene. Instrumental pieces could be found only at the beginning of the first and second halves of the concert. The fear of the word jazz made the authorities enforce changes in the titles of the orchestras. On March 21, 1948, the word jazz disappeared from the title of JOEPB; the group was initially called the Orchestra Conducted by Rostislav Merkulov and then the Orchestra of Public Broadcasting. Its final name, The Estrada Orchestra of Estonian Public Broadcasting, was given in January 1949."

The reformation of JOESP was not just an externally forced act but an internal conflict between the members of the orchestra and the administration. The bandsmen spending most of the year touring asked for a vacation between two tours. The administration, however, refused to satisfy the musicians’ desire and this, in turn, led to the replacement of personnel. The collective disbanded in 1948 and was re-established in 1951 under the name Estrada Orchestra of Estonian State Philharmonic."

The events defining the importance of Estonian jazz culture at the Union-wide level were jazz festivals. Ojakääär marks the concert of two jazz groups, Swing Club and Mickeys, arranged in the hall of the Töönduskoperative Peavalitsus in 1949 as the first event in a succession of Tallinn jazz festivals. Interestingly, the event is well documented in an almanac of the jazz group Swing Club, where the author of the article, Heldur Karmo, makes an extensive overview of the concert on
Jazz as a Cultural Practice in Soviet Estonia

Jazz groups active in the less formal private-public sphere included amateur jazz ensembles hosted by culture houses and other institutions such as industrial enterprises or administrative establishments. For instance, Mickeys host institution was The Tallinn Club of the Workers Union of Local Industry in the Communal Economy (Кохалику тööstuse komunaalmajanduse alal töötajate ametihindate vabariiklik Tallinna klubi). The main advantages the collectives received because of their status were free practice rooms, material support in terms of musical instruments, and the availability of a professional group leader-arranger. Functioning mainly as dance orchestras, those groups were also obliged to perform at the events arranged by the host institution. Public holidays such as the October Revolution Day or International Workers’ Day on May 1 were especially busy.

Despite being affiliated, amateur collectives experienced lower levels of administrative monitoring and greater levels of freedom. Even playing in haltuuras,24 for instance, demonstrates the existence of something like a free market environment: musicians earned money by playing at dances outside regulative restrictions of the state. A sign of the relatively looser control over amateur orchestras was the way these groups responded to the Soviet dance reform in the late 1940s. The aim of the reform was to regulate dance culture by banning “vulgar” modern dances and replacing them with ballroom dances such as waltzes and pas des quatre. Musicians, however, adapted to this reform “from above” and applied their own maneuvering tactics. As Treufeldt describes, Mickeys added to their repertoire some ballroom dances, which were played at the beginning of the dance party. They would then continue, however, with their regular dance repertoire after playing the mandatory ballroom tunes.25

One of the methods the authorities used to achieve control over the activities of ensembles was to inspect their repertoires. Valter Ojakäär, for instance, recalls the incident of how one group, Rütmikud, introduced their repertoire at a special Commission of the Executive Committee of Tallinn city:

since it was immediately clear that our usual repertoire was unsuitable on this occasion, we decided to play something more neutral—some waltzes or some beautiful 4/4 songs. It was actually a relief for us to see that the commission consisted of two female-comrades who did not seem to be so evil. Actually, they seemed to feel quite uncomfortable in their role. Podelski wrote one tango for that occasion and he was really fast—the piece was ready for performing within one hour. The tune itself was not a masterpiece
of course but we put our heart and soul into it while performing. Although the tango as such was not the favorite of the Soviets, the commission nevertheless liked it and we left them with a very positive impression. 26

Finally, the most private part of the jazz world functioned at the level of interaction between musical individuals or friendship groups, and preparatory musical or non-musical activities supporting the processes of the development of jazz musicianship and musical identity. One example of how jazz culture functioned in this sphere includes the brief introduction of the musical collective Swing Club. The group was formed in 1947 by young Estonian jazz fans whose great passion for and deep interest in the music drove them to form a friendship group of like-minded individuals. The ensemble became first of all a “laboratory of jazz”—a testing ground for new musical ideas for its leader Uno Naissoo, and a creative association assembled for the purpose of discussing and learning about jazz. In addition, the group made a great contribution to the documentation of Estonian jazz history: a collection of writings gathered into their unpublished almanac is a unique testimony to the contradictions of the late 1940s. 27 In surroundings inimical to jazz, musicians managed to establish their own nurturing micro-environment to acquire new knowledge and develop skills through musical debate and practical learning-by-doing during rehearsals. The fanaticism and dedication the musicians demonstrated in discussing jazz was astonishing. As Agur later stated in an interview:

We debated jazz a lot and took it very seriously. [. . .] We wrote doctoral dissertations, as we called our essays, on certain problems. The essays were read to each other and discussed. Unfortunately, most of them are lost. [. . .] I recall that Karmo had a thick book full of essay-like writings called “Between my feelings and common sense.” 28

The primary available source for contact with jazz became radio stations. Fanatical listening to American Forces Network (AFN), the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and other stations helped musicians to stay up to date with the latest trends and was an important method of jazz learning. As Ojakäär recalls:

The repertoire was obtained through foreign radio stations. Since nobody had a tape recorder (only Estonian Public Broadcasting had one at this time) we needed to memorize the music. The main source was the AFN (American Forces Network), a station that was broadcast on frequencies from Munich and Stuttgart and provided entertainment and information for the American armed forces stationed in Europe. 29

Although the private sphere was the territory where the forces “from above” had little chance of intervening, musicians curbed their own expressions with self-censorship as the almanac of the Swing Club demonstrates. The general mode of expression and formal structure of the texts demonstrated an apparent similarity to official public texts full of slogan-like Soviet rhetoric. On the one hand, it was the fear of the regime that induced musicians to censor their own written expression, but on the other, fitting jazz into Soviet paradigms was a tactic to help maintain jazz’s position in the cultural arena.

High/Low Distinction

To determine the position of jazz in the Soviet musical high/low scale, one has to keep in mind that in musical culture, as in the other cultural forms, the category of high dominated the popular: classical music was held in higher esteem, and often its ideological orientation was considered a
standard for musical evaluation in general. The Soviet regime tried to create a sophisticated high culture and make it accessible to the Soviet people. This accessibility was not achieved by adapting culture “down” to the masses but, on the contrary, by raising the educational standards of the working-class in order to make high culture available to a wide audience. The ideological orientation of the arts, including music, was formulated in the doctrine of Socialist realism, declaring that Soviet art should be “socialist in content and national in form.” Jazz had little potential to fit the Soviet cultural paradigm: it neither belonged to the category of classical, nor complied with the principles of socialist realism. But this incompatibility had no capacity to prevent the spread of jazz. One of the paradoxes of the socialist system according to Yurchak was the coexistence of contradictory positions, views, and cultural forms. This argument explains the ambivalent status of jazz throughout its history in the Soviet Union when, despite the changing tolerance of the political authorities and the superiority of the standards of high culture promoted from above, jazz never disappeared. Besides, people in the Soviet Union did not live in a vacuum—contact with the West and Western culture never disappeared entirely and popular global musical trends always reached the Soviet territories.

The terminology indicating the “low” part of the high/low dichotomy in the Soviet context had no consistency. The adjective “popular” such as “popular culture” (popularnaja kultura) or “popular music” (popularnaja muzyka) in particular were not widely used in the Soviet Union. In the field of popular type of musical forms there were several phrases signifying what we consider popular music. The terms used in the Estonian cultural context were levimuusika (mass disseminated, for example radio broadcast, or “low” culture music), kergemuusika (light music), and meeleolumuusika (“mood” music). For more specific definitions we find in the Estonian vocabulary estraadimuusika (estrauda music), tantsimuusika (dance music), and massilaul (mass song); the groups playing in a popular style were called vokaal-instrumentaalansambel (vocal-instrumental ensemble). The word jazz itself had two meanings—it was used to refer to a musical style and to an orchestra playing jazz. Jazz could be appropriate to almost all the above-mentioned terms: it makes no great difference whether jazz is referred to as a part of levimuusika, kergemuusika, or meeleolumuusika. Jazz was performed in estraada-arenas (JOESP for instance) and therefore fell within the category of estraadimuusika. When the music was played to an accompaniment of dances it also qualified as a dance music (for instance the music of the group Mickeys).

The latter-mentioned division between estraada music and dance music has implications for exemplifying a high/low divide within jazz culture. The jazz performed on estraada stages belonged rather to a high musical domain. The forms of estraada culture were elevated to the status of art, and besides the purpose of establishing state control in the domain, this act facilitated equality among the various musical genres and created a balance between high and low culture. The institutionalization of estraada as art enabled estraada workers to gain the dignity enjoyed by other artists, as well as the legalization of the music vocation and control of professional activities, by providing estraada workers regular employment, pensions, and health insurance. The tradition of estraada, however, included a number of artistic forms of performance such as comedy, circus arts, and dance as well as jazz music. According to Uvarova, estraada art had to reflect the Soviet reality of the time: joy, pleasure in work, the formation of a Soviet personality; it is the art of small forms and mobility. The main institution responsible for disseminating the estraada type of entertainment was the Estonian State Philharmonic. As mentioned before, JOESP was the jazz collective on the payroll at the State Philharmonic through 1944–1948. Since 1951, the Estrada Orchestra of the Estonian State Philharmonic became an orchestra playing light/ estraada (jazz) music. estraada music as a genre can be characterized as a singer’s art accompanied by large estraada orchestras. The estraada music itself was melodic, with elements of blues, jazz, pop, and classic rock. The estraada department, as a distinct unit at the State Philharmonic, was established in 1951. Interestingly, in 1963, the estraada studio of the State Philharmonic was opened as an educational division taking
care of the training of *estrada* artists. The studio also became an educational platform for several jazz singers such as Marju Kuut and Mare Väljataga. In sum, in *estrada* settings, jazz had relatively little independence—the music was randomly included in the repertoire of *estrada* orchestras, and few jazz soloists performed at *estrada* shows.

The other jazz, including the music played for dances, obtained a lower position in the official stylistic hierarchies. This fact, however, had no impact on audiences whose hunger for dancing was especially strong during the post-WWII period. Oleg Sapozhnin recalls that dancing was the main form of entertainment during this period; he attended parties at least two times a week. As he humorously says,

> The saddest days were the days of Lenin’s death when no dance parties took place . . . [. . .] Of primary importance was the orchestra that played at the dances and secondary was the girl to dance with [. . .] Every dance hall had its own group and you could select the hall according to the group. Kuldne 7, Rütmikud were the most popular groups of the time.\[^{34}\]

Jazz-oriented dance music was, however, replaced by more modern styles such as rock in the early 1960s.

The discussion around the status of jazz in the high/low scale can be found in articles by Heldur Karmo in the Swing Club almanac.\[^{35}\] For “jazz philosopher” Heldur Karmo, jazz meant primarily dance music. The music was seen as a light genre that should nevertheless meet the criteria of high art. While in American discourse jazz achieved the status of high art with the advent of bebop, Karmo argues for the high art status of swing. According to my interpretation, the act of appropriating jazz into classical music paradigms aimed to make the music resonate with the principles of Soviet musical standards and to give it legitimacy.

The high/low division in jazz had close links to the professional/amateur classification in the Estonian context. The distinction between amateur and professional remained an important feature, primarily distinguishing the status rather than the artistic level of jazz collectives. What was important here was whether the collectives/individuals made their living working in state-owned collectives (JOESP) or their musical activities took the form of a hobby and derived some additional income by playing in dance *haltuuras* (Mickey’s, Rütmikud). However, the high artistic level of the amateur output was a factor that was sometimes difficult to ascertain.

One feature determining the nature of Estonian jazz culture was the mobility and diversity of musical personnel. Frequently, musicians were active in state-owned orchestras during the daytime and in dance orchestras playing *haltuuras* in the evening. For instance, saxophone player Valter Ojakäär was a member of the JOEPB during the daytime, while membership of the dance group Rütmikud brought him to the dance hall in the evenings. Several musicians moved freely between classical and light genres. Kalju Terasma, who was engaged as a percussionist in the Estonian State Symphony orchestra all his life, was also active in the jazz scene as vibraphone player and later as a singer in the male quartet. Jazz was the first musical love for subsequently well-known conductors such as Eri Klas and Paul Mägi. Those who practiced jazz composing were dominantly classically well-educated composers. Uno Naissoo, an important figure in the Estonian jazz scene, for instance, graduated from the Tallinn Conservatoire as a composer in 1952. His teacher, Heino Eller, however, was not very supportive of Naissoo’s jazz interest and allowed him to play jazz, according to a half-joking statement, only on Sundays from three to four o’clock.\[^{36}\] A distinctive group of jazz musicians was formed by those educated and active in non-musical fields. For instance, Herbert Krutob, a member of the Swing Club, was educated as a civil engineer employed finally at the Ministry of the Economy; violinst and arranger of the Swing Club Ustus Agur (1929–1997) was an electrical engineer with remarkable achievements as a scholar in the field of informatics.
This brief glance into Soviet Estonian jazz history has tried to provide some of the strands in the web of meaning for jazz as a cultural practice. The explanatory capacity of the private-public divide was manifold. First, it makes it possible to demonstrate how jazz as a cultural practice functioned in the Soviet socio-cultural space, and to have a holistic approach to jazz culture concurrently distinguishing different forms of jazz as a cultural practice. In addition, the triple typology applied here answers the question about the extent of regulation and ideologization of jazz culture.

Musical actors, in order to realize their passion for jazz, had to “get by” under the conditions of the Soviet Union. They applied tactics including inventiveness, a sense of humor, the skills of adaptability, curiosity, dedication, and intellectualizing jazz. The low/high dichotomy was first of all about the status of the music. While jazz in general as a music of American and non-classical origin was classified as a “lower” musical form, part of it was elevated to a higher status through “estradization.” The status of jazz was also revealed through the professional/amateur dichotomy and the divided affiliations of those involved according to jazz, classical, and non-musical categories.

Notes
6. Tihhon Khrennikov was the first secretary of Composers Union of USSR 1948–1991.
11. Utesov was a famous Soviet entertainer of Jewish origin with an outstanding, many-sided personality. As a comic actor, singer, conductor, and organizer, he synthesized theater, jazz, and song in his art. He became known as an inventor of “Thea-jazz” (theatrical jazz) tradition in Soviet Union in 1929. “Thea-jazz” showed all the features of a theatrical performance requiring high-level of theatrical mastery from musicians-instrumentalists.
14. Author’s interview with Oleg Sapozhnin. 23.04.2014.
15. Ibid.
17. The word jazz marked both the musical style and the orchestra in Soviet discourse.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
Heli Reimann

23. Ibid.
24. 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 inclines toward more negative connotation.
25. Ibid.
27. Almanac is preserved in the Estonian Museum of Theatre and Music.
28. Radio broadcast Siis kui džäss ja pop oli põlu all, 11.08.1990, Audio archive of Estonian Public Broadcasting. Unfortunately, none of the writings—including “Between My Feelings and Common Sense”—are preserved.
34. Author’s interview with Oleg Sapozhnin. 23.04.2014.
35. Almanac of Swing Club, article “Jazz pro ja contra.”

References