

ESSAY

Meelis Friedenthal. Unchanging and Changing Things

The current essay deals with the question of changing and unchanging things with regard to humanities and sciences, drawing some parallels with the situation in Early Modern academia. In Medieval and Early Modern thinking it was to a certain extent possible to translate knowledge from one area of knowledge into another, whereas this has become increasingly difficult in today's academia.

This change seems to stem foremost from the understanding of the idea of 'certain knowledge', which nowadays is predominantly mathematical in character, whereas in Medieval and Early Modern thinking there also existed other certainties besides mathematical certainties that permitted different kinds of points of contact between sciences. Ancient writers already noted that what we call knowledge has to be unchanging, and that mathematical knowledge is apparently of this kind. We are, however, surrounded by things that are constantly changing, and thus because of their inconstant nature, we can only have opinions of them. It is only to the extent that these things participate in unchanging that we may also gain some knowledge about them. In Medieval and Early Modern thinking, besides mathematics, also the physical principles of Aristotle and Christian theological ideas lent additional coherence to all sciences, at least to the effect that the ultimate goals (*telos, finis*) of all sciences were alike. Often in Early Modern disputations the *finis* or ultimate goal of some particular science is discussed. In most general terms, this was understood as giving glory to God, or being *ars bene vivendi*, i.e. the art of good living. Early Modern academia was structured similarly, beginning with first principles (philosophy), followed by knowledge about health and sickness in the human body (medicine), next was knowledge of how to manage society (jurisprudence) and the ultimate goal was how to attain salvation (theology).

During the 18th and 19th centuries, the teleological idea lost its importance and fewer certainties remained in the sciences (Aristotelian categories had disappeared, the idea of natural religion was thoroughly criticised). Especially in arts, the idea of *l'art pour l'art* developed, meaning that there is no other positively definable purpose in artistic activity. The criterion of usefulness to society became prevalent during the 18th century, but as the usefulness of arts and humanities to society is difficult to quantify (and quantification is the basis for certain knowledge) then a noticeable uneasiness developed regarding the purpose of arts and humanities. Ultimately, the situation took shape where there are separate fields that deal with things about which we could have some knowledge (sciences), and with things about which

we could have no certain knowledge, only more or less probable opinions (arts and humanities). In parallel with this development, the fragmentation of chrestomathic literature also took place, where even within the humanities, different fields often use completely different base texts for the education of students. The effect of this is that having a meaningful conversation with a representative of another field is often complicated, as the lack of a common basis results in different vocabularies and different definitions of concepts.

At the same time, we see that outside academia, the (so called) product of arts and humanities continues to enjoy importance for society. This indicates the existence of a real and important object of study. It is, however, challenging to study this object in a meaningful way, as no certainty seemingly exists regarding these things. The same difficulty, however, seems to make the study of changing things vital, as change is certainly one constant in human society.

ARTICLES

Inna Põltsam-Jürjo. Wounded Honour. The Question of Honour in New-Pärnu on the Basis of Town Council Records from the End of the 16th Century

Among other things, the New-Pärnu Town Council records book covering the last decades of the 16th century, which falls into the era of Polish rule in that region, contains numerous court cases involving town residents. A significant portion of cases that were brought before the magistrates' court or the bailiff's court in New-Pärnu at that time involved the question of honour. More precisely, they were motivated by the wounding of personal honour. This is an indication of how important the preservation of one's honour and good reputation was for people of that time. The unquestionable importance of honour is reflected in the many various medieval and Early Modern regulatory sources, such as town privileges, civic regulations, *skras* and other such documents. At the same time, court records bring to light people's immediate attitude towards honour as well as the rules and regulations associated with it. This article closely examines court cases concerning questions of honour in New-Pärnu during the last decades of the 16th century. The primary question is what were the typical cases of wounding honour like, in other words how was a person's honour wounded and how were the conflicts that arose from such instances resolved. Yet what these court cases from New-Pärnu have to say about the broader meaning and importance of honour and dishonour in town society are of no less interest.

The supreme sensitivity of people in questions of honour is vividly expressed in the New-Pärnu town council records from the end of the 16th century.

The reactions of town residents to the wounding of their honour were acute and at times very grievous indeed. Instances of the wounding of one's honour easily led to situations where people lost control of their emotions, and this led to the most tragic consequences. Cases from judicial practice in New-Pärnu demonstrate the great importance and meaning of honour regardless of a person's status, gender, origin or prosperity. Without any doubt, honour was of central importance in everyday communication. It explains why one's reaction even to mere verbal abuse was not by a long shot of secondary concern but rather was of altogether existential importance. Considering the extent to which external attributes in particular, like fame and reputation, constituted the basis for the assessment of the worthiness of a person or any kind of social group, the wounding of honour, meaning any action that could lessen anyone's honour, was very closely monitored and reacted to very painfully.

The picture that emerges from the New-Pärnu court records confirms the fact that honour was a primary behavioural motive for people's actions in medieval and Early Modern society. At all levels and strata of society, honour was the most important public attribute that had to be showcased, controlled, and if necessary, defended. Precisely for this reason, every wounding of honour was immediately reacted to and people tried to quickly restore their good reputation. Honour was indispensable capital in society. Without honour, it was difficult, and became ever more difficult and practically impossible over time, to gain admission to one's desired occupation, to find work that provided a living or establish satisfying social relationships.

Ilja Davõdov. Service Records of Officials as a Source of Information According to the Estland Provincial Government Collection

It is difficult to overestimate the activity of provincial governmental institutions in the Russian Empire of the latter half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century since they were connected to several spheres of life in the province. At the same time, the answer to the question of how they operated and what they specifically did is closely associated with the question of who those officials and employees were who served in those administrative agencies and implemented laws and ordinances from the central government. Thanks to research papers that have already been published, it can be recognised that both numerically and in terms of its quality, the staff of the administrative agencies of the Province of Estonia could not remain unaffected by the social processes that took place at the local and empire-wide levels. At the same time, no study specifically concerning the personnel of administrative agencies in the Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire has been published

yet in Estonia. The focus of this article is not the province's officialdom as such and its social composition but rather the sources used for studying officialdom and the possibilities for using those sources.

There are quite a number of sources concerning the social composition of officialdom in the latter half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, yet even nowadays, the greater portion of researchers are unaware of many of these sources, and similarly, their research potential remains undetermined. One of those sources is the service records and personal files of officials and employees. These records are found in large numbers in the archival collection of Estonia's provincial government, and their research potential requires separate research.

The service record (*formuljarnõj* or *poslužnoj spisok* in Russian) is a legally prescribed document that established the personal data of an official and his service career. Keeping service records was a general mandatory requirement, thus it was the form in which records were kept of all officialdom and it existed from 1764 to 1917. The research material for this article is from the collection of service records deposited in the archival collection of Estonia's provincial government. This is one of the largest collections of service records of administrative agencies that operated in Estonian territory. It is possible to use this collection to study social changes that took place in the composition of officialdom in governmental institutions over longer periods of time.

The objective of this article is to introduce to the reader the service record as a source that is interesting from the standpoint of source research and which has great research potential.

To this end, the use of the service record document is explored starting with the normative legislation regulating its content, its structure until service records were deposited in the archival collections of administrative agencies, as well as the attributes of the service record as a source of information on the masses. The possibility of researchers using this category of source is considered in studying the personnel of the provincial government and other administrative agencies from the era of the Russian Empire. Service records are among the best types of record documentation in terms of their completeness and reliability, and they have a high degree of representativeness. The form of this document meant for keeping records of all officialdom makes it possible to compile databases based on data from these forms. This in turn makes it possible to conduct both qualitative and quantitative analysis, and to do so for a particular year or period in terms of the entire administration, particular administrative agencies, subunits or a specific group of employees. This all contributes to improved research of the personnel and functioning of Russia's prerevolutionary state administrative agencies, and a better understanding of the effect of the quality of personnel on the work

of the province's administration and the productivity of governmental policy. Considering the current trend in research and the intrinsic potential of service records, they may become a prospective source for researching social-political processes in the latter period of the Russian Empire at both the micro and macro levels.

Ivan Petrov. Russian Orthodox Congregations in Estonia in the New Political Situation during the Post-War Period

This article deals with the problem of Orthodox parishes in Estonia in 1944–1946 after the Nazi occupation. Its focus is on the reasons, process and results of the reunification of the Estonian Apostolic Orthodox Church with the Moscow Patriarchate during that period. Special attention is paid to relations between Soviet officials and Orthodox clerics, especially regarding ideology and loyalty to the new political system. In this article, the author analyses how the Orthodox clergy took part in Soviet propaganda.

This article portrays the biographies of the main clerics in Estonia in 1944–1946: the future renegade and atheist Aleksandr Osipov, Joann Bogoyavlensky (the future bishop Issidor), Mikhail Ridiger (the father of the future Patriarch Alexei II) and others. The author has consulted material from the Estonian National Archives (Tallinn) and has also conducted personal interviews with Estonian Orthodox archbishops and clerics. The author wishes to thank Professor Valge and the Estophilus scholarship programme for help in preparing this article.

Marleen Metslaid. Gustav Ränk's Path to Becoming a Professor at the University of Tartu. Estonian Ethnology in the 1930's

Gustav Ränk (1902–1998) belonged to the first generation of Estonian ethnologists. He began work as the first ethnology professor in Estonia on 1 July 1939. Although Ränk fled to Sweden in 1944 during World War II and continued his academic career there, his position at the University of Tartu was not restored until 1994. This article examines how Ränk reached this position and why a professorship was not opened in the field until the end of the 1930's when the respective chair of studies had actually already been established at the outset of the 1920's. This article attempts to shed light on one period in the history of this discipline through a more thorough analysis of the activity of one scholar. The focus is on the analysis of different stages and levels in the process of knowledge production based on reflexive historiography.

The requirement for establishing the professorship at the University of Tartu at that time was the defence of a doctoral dissertation in Estonian ethnology since there were no Estonians with the

corresponding degree in Estonia until 1938. This article analyses the selection of the theme for Ränk's doctoral dissertation (farm buildings in Saaremaa) and the background for his approach, which can be characterised as the constrained nature of the fields of study within the discipline at that time and of the corresponding discourse, along with the social anticipation that Ränk perceived. Building culture and folk costumes had evolved into the most popular themes of research in Northern and Eastern Europe since they were considered the most representative aspects of material peasant culture. These themes were ordinarily approached using historical-geographical and typological methods.

As an ethnologist, Ränk considered data acquired from field work to be very important. He asserts in his dissertation the narrowness of the ethnographic descriptions concerning building culture that had been deposited in the Estonian National Museum (ERM) collection in earlier years, for which reason his own field work had to carry an even more prominent role in relation to his doctoral dissertation. Ränk saw three objectives in doing field work: description, drawing and photographing, all of which were closely interconnected and equally important in examining buildings. It nevertheless became evident primarily from the analysis of field work journals that the disciplinary framework in effect no longer satisfied him as a researcher. Ränk wanted to explore the culture that was being researched more broadly.

The complexity of his approach emerged clearly in the analysis of the text of his dissertation – while still considering the historical-geographical and typological methods to be primary, craving the creation of a complete cultural picture, and focusing on purely material subject matter, Ränk nevertheless considers the social and spiritual aspect of cultural creativity to be important as well. In many places he stresses that the diversity of folk culture and man's role in its development must not be denied. At the same time, it must also be stated that he does not always consider the pluralism of possibilities and views in creating academic text to be a positive aspect of research work but rather a negative.

Ränk's development to become an ethnology professor simultaneously reflects how the discipline took root in Estonia's academic world. Ilmari Manninen, who had laid the foundation for the University of Tartu Chair of Ethnology, had left Estonia in 1928, after which the specialty was studied only with the help of teaching adjuncts (one of whom was Ränk). Based on the discussions that took place in the 1930's (the managing director of the reformed ERM could also simultaneously be a University of Tartu professor), it can be concluded that ethnology was defined at that time in Estonia through the ERM: the museum provided the discipline with its source base and jobs for its researchers. Ränk had worked at the ERM since 1926, yet paradoxically he was no longer content

with his job at that institution in the latter half of the 1930's. He had to steer a middle course between two assignments – professional work and scientific work, yet he wished to focus exclusively on the latter. Generally speaking, he saw this situation as being dangerous for Estonian ethnography as a whole, and worried about the continued existence of the specialty and its developmental possibilities. Even though Estonian ethnologists had international scientific contacts and various kinds of research themes were being planned, the applied side of ethnology nevertheless came out on top in the 1930's. This was mostly due to the lack of money and professional specialists. The establishment of the professorship demonstrates that this discipline was considered nationally important and that it was given the chance to develop. Ränk began giving lectures and holding seminars and he had his own students, yet he was not given time to develop the professorship. The Second World War that had begun made all manner of peaceful continuation impossible in all spheres of life.

Peeter Kaasik. The Bilingualism Campaign: On Soviet Linguistic Policy and Examples of its Practical Application in the 1970's and 1980's

The nationalities programme of the bolsheviks was rather contradictory and this carried over into the theory and practice of linguistic policy as well, the pervading idea of which was the assumption that all inhabitants of the USSR would master Russian alongside their mother tongue without coercion and by mutual agreement. Thus there was no reference to any official state language in the constitution of Soviet Russia and later in that of the Soviet Union. Thenceforth language issues were determined by changes of course in the party in terms of nationalities policy.

As was the case with most Soviet theoretical assumptions, bilingualism also did not work particularly well in practice. The onslaught of the coercive introduction of Russian to the entire population of the Union republics was to a great extent merely propagandistic (with the possible exception of the Slavic republics, so to speak). Admittedly, the bureaucracy was gradually russified. This was not so much associated with urgent local administrative needs, rather it followed from centralisation. Alongside the duplicate bilingual bureaucratic procedures, the changes in the ethnic structure of the Union republics as a consequence of immigration policy should also be mentioned as an administrative measure, but this is another story.

By the 1970's, it was clear that the peaceful unification of the peoples of the Soviet Union into a unified "Soviet people" was a failure from its very outset and the desired bilingualism existed only in propaganda. Finally, it was found that it was impossible to achieve homogeneity without coercive

measures. The bilingualism campaign differed from one Union republic to another. This article focuses on the practical side of the campaign in Estonia in the 1970's and 1980's. Even though the pressure of russification extended throughout society, it did not even come close to achieving the desired result because it was nevertheless not considered expedient to implement very direct administrative measures. The main thrust of the russification campaign was directed at the younger generation, which was administratively easiest to influence through the educational system.

Regardless of the compulsory increase in the hours of instruction in Russian, and the promotion of bilingual learning environments, working collectives and mixed marriages, accompanied by aggressive propaganda and international cultural imperialism that filled public spaces, it can be said that, at least in Estonia, the campaign was a failure. In the ideological sense, the result was the worst possible because the unilateral bilingualism campaign brought with it diglossia, in other words two linguistic societies that existed apart from one another and this artificially created gulf acutely makes its presence felt even nowadays.

DOCUMENT AND COMMENTARY

Ilje Piir. Success Story from the 18th Century

This article examines the origin and descendants of Märjamaa Pastor Johann Ignatius (1719–1774), prompted by claims presented in historical literature. First, the hitherto more broadly unverified claim that Johann Ignatius was the son of the Kambja sexton and schoolmaster Jaak of Ignats (*circa* 1670–1741) is found to be supported by sources. Secondly, it is possible to demonstrate that the descendants of Jaak of Ignats are nevertheless represented in considerable numbers at the end of the 19th century, and thus that they had not broken the Fourth Commandment. Thirdly, the question remains concerning intellectuals of Estonian origin in the 18th century: what kind of position did people who descended from commoners have in general in a society based on class?

A partial genealogical table of the family of Jaak of Ignats is included with the article to facilitate reading the article.

Vilma Sool. Poska the Statesman, Lawyer by Occupation

In 2002, Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus (Estonian Encyclopaedia Publishing House) published Tiit Kändler's collected work entitled *Sajandi sada Eesti suurkuju* (A Hundred Estonian Luminaries of the Century). One of the great figures named there is Jaan Poska (1866–1920), the 150th anniversary of whose birth was commemorated by way of several

events in January of this year. He earned this recognition as a statesman, who after serving as a member of the city council of Reval (Tallinn), the capital city of the Russian Empire's Province of Estonia, and later as its mayor, became a minister of the newly established Republic of Estonia and headed the delegation that concluded the Peace Treaty of Tartu between the Republic of Estonia and Soviet Russia on 2 February 1920.

Jaan Poska drew a politician's salary from 1913 until his death. He did his professional work for at least 23 years. Jaan Poska was a lawyer who graduated from the University of Tartu Faculty of Law in 1890.

The objective and also the value of this article is to supplement the history of law in Estonia by working through the advocate's files of the lawyer Jaan Poska and to add to his biography as a man who is primarily known as a statesman. Examples of court cases provide a cross-section of everyday life at that time in Estonia, which is interesting reading for everyone who is fascinated by history. I also wish to show that this field of Poska's activity has not been thoroughly studied to this point, and to appeal to other historians to examine advocate's and court files.

Let it be said that the lawyer's occupation was popular in the Poska family. Jaan Poska's three children were lawyers, as were his brother, the children of his brothers and his later descendants right through to the present day.

Jaan Poska was the first Estonian lawyer in Tallinn. He was a respected authority in legal circles in tsarist Russia (including in the Court of Appeal in St. Petersburg). Officials also asked him for advice and he did not have to present sources in order to be believed. Poska's strength was his familiarity with local conditions, which compared to younger lawyers and lawyers from the Russian provinces meant legal interpretations in terms of the Baltic region prior to legal reform.

People who were close to Poska have said in their memoirs that as a lawyer, he liked to work on minor cases because major cases often dragged on and did not provide enough income. The research of Poska's advocate's files clearly brings this out. Most of the court cases extending to nearly one thousand archival records are smaller scale disputes between two private individuals or where one of the parties is a private individual, for which reason the relative proportion of his civil law court cases is clearly noteworthy while there is only a minimal number of criminal law court cases. Poska was considered one of the most authoritative experts on Baltic private law.

Jaan Poska's archive is one of the few surviving personal archives. Konstantin Päts, who earned his living as a legal assistant under Poska and later became the first President of the Republic of Estonia, put the archive in order. Since Jaan Poska and his wife died during the first years of the Republic of

Estonia, his documents were given to the archive, for which reason they were not destroyed during the era of Communist rule.

This article highlights only a few of the court cases that Jaan Poska worked on. Poska was an example of multiculturalism and the mastery of languages, representing different ethnic groups in court – a cross-section of the society of that time in the Province of Estonia.

The subject matter of Poska and his colleagues and contemporaries is thankworthy research material. In fact, it is a debt of honour to Estonian history. The fact that 2016 marks the passing of 150 years since the birth of Jaan Poska makes this subject even more topical. This anniversary takes its place alongside the 100th anniversary of the birth of the Republic of Estonia and the 100th anniversary of the Peace Treaty of Tartu signed by Poska which will follow in the coming years.

Valdur Ohmann. Nigol Andresen's Letter of Explanation to Nikolai Karotamm

The trial of Leo Looing (Johannes Meerits) held in Copenhagen in 1942 created a sensation. In 1936, Leo Looing, Karl Säre and August Vakepea brutally murdered their companion, whom they suspected of betraying them. After the Copenhagen trial, Nikolai Karotamm, who had become leader of the ECP, took an interest in who Leo Looing was: Leo Looing had for a long time in the 1930's headed the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Foreign Bureau that operated in Copenhagen and Stockholm. Leo Looing was one of the few leading figures in the ECP who survived after the repressions of 1937/1938 in the USSR. The social democrat Nigol Andresen was the only one who had been in touch with Leo Looing. Andresen explained that Leo Looing had tried to use Andresen to organise a united front of left-wing forces against the ruling regime in Estonia. After Soviet rule had been established in the summer of 1940, the new regime initially hoped to make Leo Looing one of the leading figures in the Estonian SSR but he did not return to the USSR from Sweden. L. Looing was extradited to the Soviet Union in 1949. The State Security Service put him on trial and he was executed in Moscow on 1 March 1952. The few documents associated with Leo Looing that were in Estonia were declared confidential and they were practically inaccessible until 1992.

Mati Mandel. The Story of Hans Littover and his Wife

Hans Littover was born near Märjamaa on 16 (4) May 1898 into a family that worked on a manor. He was mobilised into the Russian Army in 1917. During the Russian Civil War, Hans Littover joined the Red Army and fought in Budyonny's 1st Cavalry Army until the end of the civil war.

He repatriated to Estonia in 1921. Hans Littover took a job as an accountant at the Märjamaa Consumers' Cooperative. In 1933, he married Reet (born in 1913), a maiden from Haapsalu. He was very active in social life. He was arrested in June of 1941 as a kulak and the deputy commander of the *Kaitseliit's* (Defence League) Märjamaa *malevkond* (military unit). He was shot on 24 April 1942.

Hans Littover's wife Reet Littover was taken in the course of the mass deportation of June 1941 to the Gady peat harvesting enterprise in the Oritch rajon in Kirov oblast. Reet Littover started writing letters to the Estonian SSR People's Commissar for Internal Affairs, the Estonian SSR representation in Moscow, and elsewhere, asking for permission to return home. She stressed that her brother Evald Laidre had fought in the ranks of the Estonian Rifle Corps and that her uncle Aleksander Lahe was killed in the yard of his home in 1941 during the fascist occupation.

The Estonian SSR Ministry of State Security, however, wrote in its decision drawn up on 20 May 1945 that Reet Littover's husband was an active member and one of the leaders of the counter-revolutionary *Kaitseliit* organisation, and also belonged to the *Isamaaliit* (Pro Patria) Party. Thus her application had to be rejected!

Reet Littover left her place of exile of her own accord in January of 1947 and went to Estonia. Reet Littover was arrested on 17 April 1949 and on 2 September, a Soviet Special Counsel committee sentenced her to three years in prison camp for leaving her place of exile of her own accord. While she was in exile in Kirov oblast, Reet Littover sent a letter on 16 March 1956 to the head of the Estonian SSR Department of Internal Affairs asking whether her husband Hans Littover was alive or dead, since she had no information whatsoever about him.

Times had changed significantly in the meantime. Comrade Shornikov, the head of the Estonian SSR KGB Department of Account-Observation and Archives, asked the head of the Kirov oblast KGB Department of Account-Observation and Archives in his letter of 27 August 1956 to verbally inform Reet Littover that Hans, son of Jaan, Littover, who *had been sentenced in 1942 to 10 years in correctional labour camp, died of lung cancer in his place of incarceration on 4 October 1946*. Thus this widow was lied to concerning the fate of her husband.

Deputy Prosecutor of the Estonian SSR Karl Kimmel, however, started dealing with the problem of Hans Littover. He requested the nullification of the Special Counsel decree of 4 March 1942 concerning Littover, Hans, son of Jaan, the termination of proceedings in the criminal case against him, and that the executed person be declared rehabilitated. On 22 December 1956, the ESSR Supreme Soviet Judicial Board for Criminal Cases subsequently issued an ordinance amending the convicting verdict of the

USSR NKVD Special Counsel from 4 March 1942 due to the insufficiency of incriminating evidence. Nevertheless, nothing redressed what had happened to Hans Littover and other repressed members of the *Kaitseliit*.

Estonian Film Archive: Paul Keres

CULTURAL HISTORY ARCHIVE

Triinu Ojamaa. Aksel Mark and Randar Hiir on Cultural Contacts in Helsinki in 1962

This article presents the notes of the ex-politician Aksel Mark that he wrote down at the World Festival of Youth and Students in Helsinki, as well as the report written by Randar Hiir, the secretary of the Committee for Developing Ties with Estonians Abroad (VEKSA), on the same festival, which he submitted to the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. These documents supplement each other and together, they form a source that indicates why and how Estonians participated in Cold War era ideological festivals, and illuminates an important episode in the complicated history of the evolution of cultural relations between Estonians in exile and Estonians in the Estonian homeland behind the Iron Curtain.

Estonians from Estonia participated in the festival as part of the delegation from the Soviet Union. A group of Estonians from Sweden were also in Helsinki at the time of the festival, though they did not participate in the festival's official programme. Both groups had their own ideological mission in the context of the festival.

Mark's concise notes allow us to assume that the Estonians from Sweden did not form a homogeneous group. Unlike the VEKSA group, the Estonians from Sweden did not have a uniform action plan: they had different interests and assignments, and as a result, their choice of tactics also differed. Some of them sought face to face contact with Estonians from the Estonian homeland, while others operated more covertly. Mark was among the latter group. He went to Helsinki to participate in a covert operation aimed at disseminating propaganda literature. According to the memoirs of his daughter Tiina Mark-Berglund, a book about the occupation of the Baltic States was distributed (most likely *The Baltic States and the Soviet Union*, Stockholm, 1962).

There were politicians, musicians and writers in both groups. There are some references in Mark's notes to contacts on a professional level with people involved with the arts. Hiir's report, on the other hand, mostly describes contacts with Estonian journalists, writers and musicians from Sweden. He analyses their attitudes towards visiting Soviet Estonia and how prepared they were for possible future cooperation.