

# Rootsist 1946 a. Nõukogude Liidule välja antud eestlaste saatusest



Rootsi suursaadik Dag Hartelius ja muuseumi  
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■ 1946. aasta 25. jaanuaril Rootsi valitsuse poolt Nõukogude Liidule välja antud baltlaste seas oli 7 Eestist pärit isikut:

Mihhail Bogdanov, s. 28.12.1927,  
Hillar Koikson, s. 26.02.1927,  
Hans Lindemann, s. 20.02.1927,  
Jaan Piirimäe, s. 27.01.1927,  
Elmar Sosi, s. 24.09.1927,  
Elmar Suurpere, s. 24.11.1927,  
Johannes Indres, s. 25.05.1908.<sup>1</sup>

Neist kuut ühendas sünniaasta 1927 ja nad olid 1944. aasta 20. augustil 16-17-aastaste noorukitena mobiliseeritud Saksa armee lennuväe abiteenistusse. Pärast väljaandmist Nõukogude võimuorganitele väitsid nad, et kapitulatsioonipäeval, 8. mail 1945 asus nende väeosa merd mööda teele Saksamaa poole, kuid tuul kandis nad Gotlandile. Esialgu olid nad seal interneeritud laagris, viidi siis Rootsi mandrile, kuni nad Rinkaby laagrist anti üle NSVL-le.<sup>2</sup>

## Tagasi kodumaale

Edasi kulges teekond aurikuga “Beloostrov” Lätti, Liibavisse (Liepāja) ja sealt Riiga kontroll-filterlaagrisse. Mõne aja pärast saadeti noormehed Eestisse, kuid mitte koju, nagu ekslikult

võidi arvata, vaid tööpataljoni. Sõjavangidest komplekteeritud tööpataljonid kuulusid algselt NKVD alluvusse ja olid omamoodi kinnipidamiskohad. Hans Lindemann meenutab: “Tööpataljoni pandi meid 1946. a. septembris. Aasta otsa rügasime Eestimaa metsades ilma palgata tööd. Sooja toitu anti üks kord päevas, lisaks pool pätsi leiba. Olime mõnes mõttes lindpriid, isikultõendavaid dokumente ei antud. Vabanesin tööpataljonist 1947. aasta lõpul.”<sup>3</sup>

Vabanemine ei tähendanud riikliku julgeoleku vaateväljast pääsemist. Hillar Koiksoni filterlaagri toimiku varal on võimalik jälgida, kui pikaks ajaks tuli jääda KGB-s operatiiv- arvele. Viimane märge toimikus on 8. juulist 1960. Selle järgi pidi jääma Koikson operatiiv- teatmearvestusse ja tema toimik ENSV KGB arvestus-arhiivi jaoks kuni 1997. aastani, s. o. tema 70. eluaastani.<sup>4</sup> Alles NSVL-i kokkuvarisemisel 1991. aastal lõppes Koiksoni operatiiv-järelevalve.

## Johannes Indrese lugu

Johannes Indres oli sündinud 1908. a. Läänemaal Martna vallas. Abiellunud 1938. a. Annemarie Akkeliga (Akel, Ackel vms. – venekeelsete ülekuulamisprotokollide põhjal on raske õiget nimekuju taastada), kes

<sup>1</sup> Lundi maakonna arhivaarilt Jan Dahlinilt 2005. a. kevadel saadud Eestist pärit sõjavangide nimekiri. Autori valduses.

<sup>2</sup> ERAF, f. 132 SM, n. 1, s. 9332, l. 3 p. – Hillar Koiksoni filterlaagri toimik.

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.hot.ee/vaikal/tekst\\_1.html](http://www.hot.ee/vaikal/tekst_1.html) – Eesti Lennuväepoiste Klubi. Meenutades möödunud... Hans Lindemanni mälestused. – 21.02.2006.

<sup>4</sup> ERAF, f. 132 SM, n. 1, s. 9332, l. 10.

oli baltisakslane. Naise vanemad sõitsid juba 1939. a. Eestist ära kui sakslastest ümberasujad. Annemarie ja Johannes Indresel õnnestus aga alles 1941. a. 5. märtsil viimase ümberasujate laevaga Saksamaale sõita.<sup>5</sup> Seal paigutati nad Baierisse Schweinfurti linna. Johannes Indres astus 1942. a. Saksa kodakondsusesse. NKVD-le põhjendas ta oma sammu järgnevalt: ta oli saanud teada, et Saksa kodakondsuseta isikud saadetakse teenistusse sinna, kust nad olid tulnud. Soovimata Eestisse tagasi sattuda, võttis ta Saksa kodakondsuse. Ühtaegu võimaldas see teenistust Saksa mereväes. 5. detsembril 1942 kutsuti ta teenistusse Saksa armee sõjalaevastikku ja saadeti Hamburgi merekooli. Õpingud merekoolis kestsid 1943. a. maini. Järgnes teenistus mere-piirivalvekaatril Eesti rannavetes. Abikaasaga õnnestus Johannes Indresel viimati kohtuda puhkuse ajal 1944. aasta kevadel. Seoses Punaarmee hoogsa pealetungiga viidi Indres maikuu Tallinnast üle patrullteenistusse Liibavi alla. 1945. aasta mais Kuramaale kotti jäänutele oli selge, et sõja lõpp on lähedal. Soovimata end Nõukogude armee üksuste kätte vangida, sõitis Indres koos ühe Saksa ohvitseri ja kolme Saksa sõduriga kaatriga Gotlandi saarele. Sündmus leidis aset 4. mail, seega veel enne kapitulatsiooni.<sup>6</sup>

Indrese edasine käekäik oli juba sarnane lennuväe abiteenistuse poistega. Riias siiski nende teed lahkesid. Lennuväepoiste Eestisse saatmise järel tuli Indresel jääda edasi Läti filterlaagrisse. Oktoobris 1946 otsustas Indres laagrist põgeneda. Põgenemise kohta hiljem seletusi andes vastas ta, et põgenes, kuna avanes soodus võimalus. Eesti poole kartis ta rongiga sõita ja seetõttu läbis vahemaa Tallinnani jalgsi, mis kestis 10–12 päeva. Tallinnas leidis inimesi, kes aitasid teda varjata. Ühe tuttava sünnipäevapeol õnnestus tal veenda miilitsa nooremleitnanti Aleksandrit, et see vormistaks talle tasu eest passi. Tasu oli kaks pudelit viina ja pass õnnestus saada 1947. aasta veebruaris.<sup>7</sup> Seejärel võis Johannes Indres vormistada end ametlikult tööle psühhiaatriahaigla kütjaks. Samas töötas

kütjana ka tema varjaja. Miilitsamees üritas hiljem Indreselt veel passi eest täiendavalt tasu nõuda, kuid too keeldus. Indresel oli küpsenud tõsine kavatsus põgeneda Rootsi või siis oma naise Annemarie juurde Saksamaale. Viimased andmed naise kohta pärinesid tal Rootsist augustist 1945. Ühe rootsi ohvitseri käest oli Indres kuulnud, et tema naine on Saksamaal USA okupatsioonitsooni tsoonis ning otsib teda. Need aga jäidki viimasteks andmeteks Annemariest.<sup>8</sup> Oma põgenemisplaanidesse pühendas Indres mõned oma tuttavad, kuid nende hulgas leidis ka äraandjaid-agente.<sup>9</sup> Julgeolekutöötajad võtsid Indrese kinni 7. juunil 1947. Erinõupidamise otsusega määrati talle karistuseks 5 aastat vabaduskaotust.<sup>10</sup> Karistuse kandis Indres Petšora raudtee ääres paiknevas Abezis. Vabanenud 1951. aasta märtsis, asus Johannes Indres esmalt elama Väike-Maarjasse, kust suundus varsti Kiviõli linna. Kiviõli elanikud, kel oli Indrelega kokkupuuteid, on meenutanud, et ta ei armastanud rääkida oma ekslemistest Saksamaal, Rootsis, Lätis ja Tallinnas. Samuti mitte tulututest püüdlustest pääseda vabasse maailma, abikaasa juurde. Korduvalt meenutas ta aga katsumusi Kaug-Põhjas. Seal olnud nii karmid tingimused, et temal, kes ta töötas veduril, tuli korduvalt lumetuisus ja käreas pakases veduri ees sammudes näidata vedurijuhile teed. Indrese edasine töömeheelu möödus Kiviõlis kuni pensionini. ENSV KGB andmeil kanti Johannes Indrese daktüloskoopiline (sõrmejälgede) kaart operatiiv-teatmekartoteegist maha alles 1980. aasta lõpus, siis kui Indres oli 72-aastane.<sup>11</sup> 1988. a. algul paigutati Johannes Indres üksiku inimesena Aa vanadekodusse, kus ta suri 31. juulil 1988. a.<sup>12</sup>

Valdur Ohmann

<sup>5</sup> ERA, f. R-1884, n. 1, s. 7, l. 23 – ENSV Siseasjade Rahvakomissariaat, Eestist Saksamaale ümberasujate nimestik; ERAF, f. 130 SM, s. 9527. l. 13. – Johannes Indrese MGB kriminaalisi.

<sup>6</sup> ERAF, f. 130 SM, s. 9527. l. 14, 16–17, 25, 29, 35.

<sup>7</sup> ERAF, f. 130 SM, s. 9527. l. 19–23.

<sup>8</sup> ERAF, f. 130 SM, s. 9527. l. 38.

<sup>9</sup> ERAF, f. 130, s. 9527 (jvt. – järelevalvetoimik), l. 30–31.

<sup>10</sup> Poliitilised arreteerimised Eestis 1940–1988. Kõide 1. Tallinn, 1996, lk. 89.

<sup>11</sup> ERAF, kartoteek nr. 87. – Poliitilistel põhjustel süüdimõistetute operatiiv-teatmekartoteek.

<sup>12</sup> Andmed esitatud päringule Aa Hooldekodust – 08.12.2005.

ESSAY

**Elena Mannová. From the prison of nations to the family of nations**

The article provides an overview of the various aspects of Slovak historical analyses as regards the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. The author examines the development of Slovak historical analyses, beginning with its professional emergence after World War I up to the current time, analyzing critically the creation of the victim myth, the depiction of the Slovaks' "thousand-year slavery" under Hungarian power, various views on the importance of Slovakia in the Austrian-Hungarian empire, and Slovakia as a bridge between West and East.

ARTICLES

**Enn Küng. Conflict between the Riga and Moscow postal services**

In 1701, a propaganda work was published, where excuses were brought for the Russian side as to starting the Northern War with Sweden. The main one was the negative, even insulting, way that Czar Peter the Great and his entourage were treated in Riga in 1697. Another motive specifically emphasized was the accusation by Moscow postmaster A. Vinus that the Riga postmaster had improperly organized the postal traffic between the two countries. Vinus had demanded that the latter be dismissed, but the Swedish party had not complied with this demand.

The article concentrates on the introduction of Swedish-Russian postal traffic in the 1660s, on the principles that were the basis for the movement of the post between the two countries. The postal routes from Moscow to western Europe are examined, and there is also an overview of the conflicts that arose from the organization of the post. The first misunderstandings (accusations regarding the irregularity of the post, high tariffs, the opening of postal packages, and looking for more beneficial postal channels on the side) in the postal organization between the two countries had occurred in the mid-1680s. All these issues were resolved in 1686 with a new postal transport agreement between the Riga and Moscow postmasters.

The roots of the conflict that arose on the eve of the Northern War at the end of the 1690s, however, were not due to the organization of the post. Peter the Great was preparing for war with Sweden. In addition to the claimed insult to the Czar, further motives were also being sought, and these from areas where the two countries unavoidably were in contact with each other. Both actual and imaginary incidents in postal communications were deemed suitable for the Russian authorities in inciting hostilities. At that time it was a case of a "cold war" period in Swedish-Russian relations.

**Alessandro Fambrini. Ola Hansson and Georg Brandes. Notes on the initial reception of Nietzsche**

The article by the Germanic and Scandinavian scholar at Trento university is an important contribution to Nietzsche studies as a critical part of intellectual history, since it throws new and additional light on the conflicting role of the so-called Scandinavian sources on the reception to Nietzsche at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Through the personal conflict between Brandes and Hansson, which broke out between them on the grounds of claiming to "discover" Nietzsche, the two different ways of acquiring Nietzsche's works comes out quite clearly, i.e. the early conflict between the European-humanistic and the Germanic-radical interpretations of Nietzsche. Using careful interpretation, the author demonstrates how the rivalry at the time over the literary-aesthetic acquisition of Nietzsche was not limited to a struggle between artistic directions but exceeded its borders, was a polemic with worldview and national political consequences. The debate over Nietzsche, therefore, was also an "ideological" struggle from the start, in particular between an analysis that politically distorted Nietzsche and was even racist (Hansson, Langbehn) and the direction expressed by Brandes who had liberal societal views and who criticized such a vulgarization of Nietzsche. The general spirit of Brandes's Nietzsche-texts, therefore, is also closer and more comprehensible today, where there is an appreciation of the authenticity of the general picture of Nietzsche.

**Mart Kivimäe. The Brandes context and Nietzsche – legends from the initial period of the reception**

The author brings up to date the Brandes context and the importance of historical research on this topic for the Baltics, in particular for Estonian literary culture, where a positive Nietzsche-reception has been linked, from its origins, with the impulses provided by Brandes, from the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century up to the 1980s. There is also a brief overview of the negativistic view during the soviet period of Nietzsche's "anti-humanistic philosophy", as well as an overview of old Nietzsche legends, and there is a critical indication that after the disappearance of communism and official Marxism from the social arena, an opportunity has arisen for new "Nietzsche legends". Therefore, also based on an analysis of the relationship between Brandes and Hansson, as provided by Fambrini, the author calls for a new critical acquisition of Brandes's Nietzsche heritage into cultural scholarship, and not in the nationalistic but European-humanistic perspective.

**Aleksander Loit. Standpoints and activities of the Baltic-German Orders of Knights during the initial independence period 1918–1920**

The first most important foreign policy task of the Republic of Estonia that was declared in February 1918

was acceptance into the international family of nations through official *de jure* recognition. The task was quite difficult since the prevalent opinion amongst the major western powers was that the survival of Estonia and Latvia as independent states was extremely doubtful. Applying for recognition was further complicated by the fact that two energetic and influential power groupings were trying to negatively influence the opinion of the western states on this issue: Russian Whites and their allies who aimed to restore an indivisible Russia, and the Baltic Orders of Knights who, in an independent Estonia and Latvia, would be faced with a loss of position, meaning the disappearance of their political influence. This article concentrates on the anti-Estonia propaganda of the Baltic-German Orders of Knights and their lobbying of the governments of the western states, and is based mainly on archival material from the foreign ministries of the US, Great Britain and Sweden.

In the issue of the form of the statehood of the Baltic countries, there were differing opinions amongst the Baltic-German Orders of Knights during the rapidly changing situations of war and politics of the time. One idea that had already surfaced in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, regarding the joining of the Baltics with Germany, became particularly topical after the German forces, in the course of the world war, had occupied the Baltics. Due to Germany's collapse in the war and revolution in autumn 1918, this possibility was lost. The next option was creating a Baltic duchy led by some German duke who had abdicated. In parallel with this project, certain Baltic-German circles were active with plans for the continued inclusion of the Baltics in Russia, if only there were a democratic system in Russia and the Baltic-Germans be guaranteed their previous special Baltic system. And some Order of Knights activists were busy trying to restore Swedish rule over the Baltics.

In addition to the form of the statehood of the Baltics, there was another important issue that brought the Baltic-German Orders of Knights into direct conflict with the Republic of Estonia's authorities, and this was land reform, which was the basis for the expropriation of old manors. This conflict was also brought by the Baltic-German Orders of Knights to the international arena, where they received certain support for their accusations against the Republic of Estonia regarding the violation of the principle of private property, and thereby the implementation of a bolshevik system of government. The League of Nations, however, recognized the validity of the Estonian land law after the Estonian government agreed to pay certain compensation for the expropriated manors.

#### **Veljar Peep. Towards a working Estonia. Directing and forcing into employment those capable of work in Estonia 1918–1940**

The employment policy in inter-war Estonia was passive as it was in other countries – labor exchanges, emergency assistance work for the unemployed. The

foundations for active policy were laid after the great economic depression during the authoritarian period, when the old-fashioned emergency assistance works began to decrease.

The government, however, implemented “iron-hand” policies in the form of forcing the unemployed to work, and in restricting the rights of welfare recipients. The idea of a general obligation to work for all work-capable citizens was on the political agenda in the period 1934–1940, but this was never implemented.

Generally speaking, Estonian society, between the wars, was quite conservative and agrarian. Welfare provided to the poor was well organized but general social insurance was not introduced, which would have reduced the number of aid recipients and the involved costs. Thus were preserved the conservative attitudes regarding those who were capable of work but needed assistance, and in general those who were supported by welfare.

The parliamentary and authoritarian periods were not actually very different. Although it was in 1938 that the labor camps were set up, and voting rights were denied to welfare recipients, it should be taken into account that the labor-house, where the work-capable unemployed could be sent, was set up during the parliamentary period (1930). Also the fact should be considered that during the parliamentary period, the “more honored” recipients of support were seen as different from other welfare recipients.

#### **DOCUMENTS AND COMMENTARIES**

##### **Vello Helk. A Danish steward in Estonia in 1917 and 1918**

This is a continuation of the experiences of the Danish steward Jens Peder Andersen (Tuna 2005/4, pp. 70–81), now at Oidrema manor in Läänemaa. He writes about the rude behaviour of the Russian soldiers, with their theft and robberies, which were also life-threatening. At the beginning of 1918, German troops occupied Estonia, and they were quartered until the autumn at Oidrema. They were also very demanding, but behaved better.

##### **Valdur Ohmann. Returnees to the Soviet Union from the anti-fascist war in Spain were imprisoned**

The article concentrates on one of the more serious 20<sup>th</sup> century conflicts that took place in Spain, where the communist worldview experienced a defeat on the threshold of World War II. Estonians, and people from Estonia, also participated in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), but the exact number has still not been clarified. Using the existing archival data and memoirs, 56 names of those who participated on the republican side have been determined. Previous estimates of 200 had been given. It is strange that during the soviet period there was no attempt to determine the exact