

## Translating the Soviet Thaw in the Estonian context: entangled perspectives on the book series *Loomingu Raamatukogu*

Daniele Monticelli

To cite this article: Daniele Monticelli (2020): Translating the Soviet Thaw in the Estonian context: entangled perspectives on the book series *Loomingu Raamatukogu* , Journal of Baltic Studies, DOI: [10.1080/01629778.2020.1762685](https://doi.org/10.1080/01629778.2020.1762685)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01629778.2020.1762685>



Published online: 12 Jun 2020.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 1



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



## Translating the Soviet Thaw in the Estonian context: entangled perspectives on the book series *Loomingu Raamatukogu*

Daniele Monticelli

School of Humanities, Tallinn University, Tallinn, Estonia

### ABSTRACT

This article develops a multilayered analysis of the Estonian book series *Loomingu Raamatukogu* within the context of the Soviet Thaw. The series has been issued since 1957 and is principally devoted to translations of foreign literature. My argument takes the Thaw as a new field of uncertain possibilities and shows how a wide translation project became the catalyst for experimentation in the gray zone between the allowed and the forbidden. Investigating the entanglement of different levels of contextual analysis through the prism of *Loomingu Raamatukogu* lets us refine our understanding of the Thaw and of the complex possibilities and constraints that shaped the performative capacity of cultural agents in the Soviet 1960s.

**KEYWORDS** Thaw; Soviet Estonia; translation studies; translation history; entanglement; *Loomingu Raamatukogu*

This article investigates the cultural turn that characterized the Soviet Thaw from the perspective of a wide-reaching translation project that was developed by the Estonian book series *Loomingu Raamatukogu* (The Library of Creation) from 1957. It looks at entangled political, cultural, and translation histories with the aim of opening a new perspective on the complexity and contradictions of post-Stalinist Soviet society and culture.

The ‘Thaw’ is the generally recognized term used to describe the period in Soviet history that opened with the death of Stalin in 1953 and the new party leader Nikita Khrushchev’s ‘secret speech’ in 1956. In the case of literature, this loosening up lasted most of the 1960s, until the repression of the Prague Spring in 1968, which marked a new turn of the screw by the Soviet authorities.

The Thaw is often considered an attempt to de-Stalinize Soviet society, as terror was replaced as the main means of social control by the mobilization of available resources to build socialism with a more human face. A great deal of these resources were to be found in the cultural domain, which had suffered enormously under Stalinist rule. The loosening of ideological pressure from the party seemed to set cultural agents free to develop into the new leading force of a ‘second cultural revolution’ (Buchli 1999, 137). In her ‘instant book’ on the Soviet cultural debates between 1962 and 1964, Priscilla

---

**CONTACT** Daniele Monticelli  [daniele.monticelli@tlu.ee](mailto:daniele.monticelli@tlu.ee)  School of Humanities, Tallinn University, Narva mnt 5, Tallinn 10120, Estonia

Johnson, who worked as an American embassy translator and a journalist in Moscow, presents a vivid image of how the Thaw impacted the cultural domain:

To Soviet writers and artists, this new scope for volition was itself a signal occurrence. Little by little, they had begun to make use of it to express a slightly unorthodox thought here, and with greater eagerness still, to make the occasional experimental brush stroke or the impish, irreverent rhyme there (Johnson 1965, 1).

This is why a new sense of agency has been considered by scholars (e.g. Lehmann 2015; Zubok 2009; Alexeyeva 1993) as the distinctive feature of the *shestidesiatniki*, the new generation of Soviet intellectuals of the Sixties. The initial direction of movement was, however, far from univocal in either the party or cultural organizations such as the Writers' Union, which remained crossed by conflicts between innovators and conservatives (Jones 2013a). Khrushchev himself personally intervened to authorize the publication of the shocking short novel *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn or the anti-Stalinist poem *Stalin's Heirs* by Yevgeny Yevtushenko, and then, just one year later, vehemently attacked the same Yevtushenko, Ilya Ehrenburg, and Viktor Nekrasov for their 'ideological errors' (Johnson 1965, 24–30).

Recent scholarship has adjusted its understanding of the Thaw to reflect this, bringing the contradictions of the era to the fore. Kevin Platt describes the Thaw in Foucauldian terms as a transition from 'Stalinist mass violence to late-Soviet social discipline' (2016, 668) grounded in 'silent knowledge' that maintained the authority of the party on public discourse about the Stalinist past. The very same enunciation of widely-shared knowledge in Khrushchev's secret speech (which was not really all that secret), however, opened in Soviet society a wide gray zone in which the new limits of what could be said and what could not (Platt's 'silence') had to be renegotiated. As Miriam Dobson explains,

[t]he Khrushchev era is increasingly seen as one of flux: people did not have to approve all that was new or denigrate everything from the past; and they might use the opportunity created by one feature of de-Stalinization to discuss another that was to them more pressing. Debate could thus be unpredictable and heated but was quickly checked when anxious leaders and officials ... sensed it might undermine fundamental aspects of the communist project (Dobson 2011, 911).

The fluid nature of the Thaw makes it difficult, if not impossible, to draw clear boundaries between the official and unofficial spheres, adaptive and dissident behaviors, or sincere belief and dissimulation, opening a space of great uncertainty (Bittner 2008, 1–18) within which cultural phenomena should be evaluated.

Moving from Soviet Russia to the Soviet Baltic republics, things become even more complicated because the Thaw is filtered here through a radically different chronotope. Instead of the great purges of the 1930s we have the much more recent deportations of 1941 and 1949, the massive flight from the Baltics in 1944, and the Stalinist campaign against local communists, writers and intellectuals in 1948–53, which swept the pre-war cultural elite clean away. At the same time, memories of the period of independence were still vivid; the return of thousands of people from the Gulag from the mid-1950s onwards and the increase in contacts with exiles helped reconstitute the link with the pre-soviet past during the Thaw era, provoking the 're-emergence of national cultures' (Misiunas and Taagepera 2006, 131–203) and possibly widening 'the gap between a confident center and its weary periphery' (Weiner 2006, 334).

While Weiner (2006) insists on the explosive character of this situation, described in terms of 'dissidence' and 'active anti-Soviet opposition,' the postcolonial approach

recently adopted in an analysis of Soviet culture and society in the 'Western Borderlands' (Annus 2016, 2018) allows us to rethink the relationship between the center and the periphery in terms that match the ambivalent character of the Thaw. Cultural theorist Aareleid (1998, 2000) describes the Estonian 1960s as a 'domestication of communism,' giving birth to the phenomenon of 'censored liberality,' which was the ability of people to bend official Soviet rhetoric to their own ends, and 'double thinking,' which was the skill of reading between the lines of apparently innocuous texts for hidden messages. Kalnačs (2016) similarly describes the shift from Stalinism to Thaw in Latvian and Estonian literature as a shift from mimicking to critical appropriation, deconstruction and inversion, explaining that these should not be interpreted as exclusive tendencies, but rather as epochal dominants. Davoliūtė (2016) described the same period in Lithuania as an adaptation of the cultural models generated in the center of the Union mixed with a 'revival of interwar cultural traditions' and a desire to participate in a cosmopolitan culture.

## History and translation

Recent scholarship on the social and cultural aspects of the Thaw (see Kozlov and Gilburd 2013; Gorsuch and Koenker 2013; Tshipursky 2016) has stressed the need to broaden the synchronic perspective to the international context covering relations with the West in particular, and the diachronic perspective to the dynamics of Soviet power, particularly relations with preceding Stalinism and subsequent Stagnation, in order to unravel the specific nature and the dependency of the Thaw era from its spatio-temporal surroundings.

Particularly relevant from our point of view is the porosity that the Thaw provoked at the borders between East and West, the 'transnational flows of information, cultural models, and ideas that may have linked events and processes across the capitalist-socialist divide' (Gorsuch and Koenker 2013, 2). Scholars have investigated this by looking at Western influences on popular culture, music, cinema, television, fashion, and the arts in the Soviet Sixties.

What is usually ignored in Soviet studies is the specific means and the general mechanism through which information flows and links are established between different languages and cultures. The means and mechanism is, of course, translation.<sup>1</sup> The invisibility of translation (Venuti 1995) is certainly not limited to Soviet studies as it has been a general flaw in cultural history and social studies, limiting our understanding of the interaction between different social, cultural, and political formations that is the object of *histoire croisée* (Werner and Zimmermann 2003) at both the national and the international levels.

This is why it is important to turn our attention to translation studies, where the focus has gradually shifted from the linguistic aspects of translation to the contexts in which translations are produced and circulate. The cultural and sociological turn in translation studies (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990; Hermans 1999, 2007; Tyulenev 2014) equipped scholars with the theoretical tools for studying translation as a culturally and politically embedded activity, investigating the social circumstances and the institutions that inform translation policies and shape translation outputs, and assessing the role of translators in reshaping the cultural repertoire. As Hermans (1999, 118) has stated, we need to understand translation as 'a cultural practice interacting with other practices in a historical continuum' in order to investigate 'translation's formative role in

history' (144). A historical approach to translation under communist rule in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe has recently emerged, situating the micro-level of textual analysis and case-studies within its historical and political context through extensive work on archives and bibliographies, censorship and state control, and individual translators and texts (e.g. Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2006; Špirk 2008; Sherry 2013, 2015).

A particularly important aspect of this research has been the attempt to understand censorship and control, which covers the preliminary choice of the texts for translation as well as the manipulation of translated texts, as a central aspect of Soviet discourse that played a fundamental role in constructing the Soviet subject (Zalambani 2009; Baer 2015; Monticelli 2016). Translation has been described as a form of cultural planning that was meant to sustain such ideological priorities of the party as internationalism through the translation of foreign literature; 'friendships of peoples' and the politics of nationalities through translation between the different languages of the Union, particularly into the Russian *lingua franca*; and cultural homogenization through translation from Russian into the other languages of the Union (Witt 2011, 151).

Nevertheless, even if 'translating involved establishing a relation to the standardized Soviet discourse' (Lange 2012, 1–2), the 'dual (source and target) context' (Baer and Witt 2016, 5) of translation continued to represent a 'principle of uncertainty' (Witt 2011, 167) for the monolithic nature of Soviet discourse. On the one hand, the totalitarian grid of possibilities and constraints turned translation into a vehicle for the new cultural values, which informed the totalitarian transformation of society. On the other, translation always remained a border phenomenon itself, an index of the crossing and the possible blurring of the boundaries between the native and the foreign, the 'sayable' and the 'unsayable.' The cultural in-betweenness of translation and translators (Monticelli and Lange 2014), editors, and even censors of translations never ceased to represent a threat to Soviet power. Researching translation thus helps to problematize the dichotomies of agency versus conformity, compliance versus resistance, repression versus freedom, or truth versus dissimulation that have long been used by historians and literary scholars to describe the position of social and cultural agents under Soviet rule, but have recently also been contested in Soviet studies (see Yurchak 2005).

Most research on translation in the Soviet Union and Soviet Estonia has focused on the Stalinist period (Witt 2011; Baer 2015; Monticelli 2011, 2016), highlighting the role of translation and censorship in the Soviet reshaping of society, but it is the uncertainties of the Thaw that better illuminate the ambivalent in-betweenness of translation and the cultural agents involved, as is clearly shown in the study by Sherry (2015, 102–66) about translations of American literature published in the Russian literary magazine *Inostrannaya Literatura* (Foreign Literature) from 1955.

What a study of translation has to offer to an entangled history of the Thaw can consequently be summed up as:

- (1) Considering translation not as a separate field of study but as a constitutive element of literary and cultural history allows us to reconstruct a more informative image of the period studied in all its complexity and problemat�icity;
- (2) translation as an in-between phenomenon helps to unravel the cultural dynamics across linguistic borders both within the Soviet Union and between the Union and the outside world, replacing the overly simple idea of the USSR as a monolithic and isolated cultural space;

- (3) translation is not only a particular means of inter-linguistic communication, as it can be understood as a general mechanism of cultural dynamics (Lotman 1977) that represents the very agent of that 'entanglement' that *histoire croissée* understands not merely in the terms of comparison but rather in terms of interaction (Werner and Zimmermann 2003).

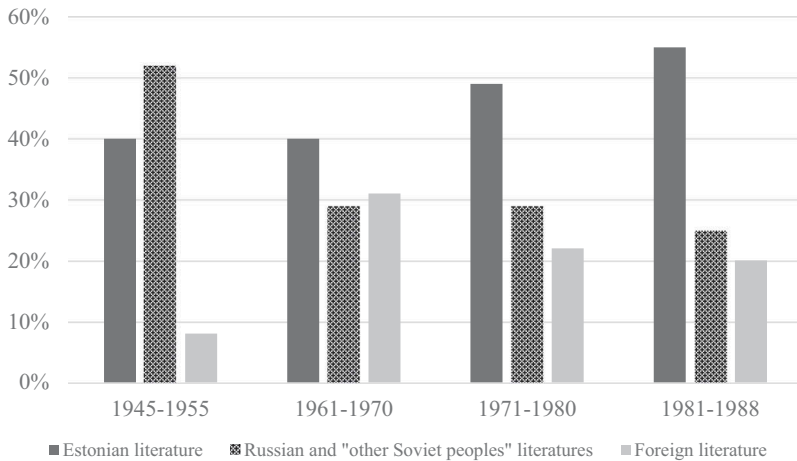
The present study concentrates on the first period of activity from 1957 to 1973 of the Estonian subscription periodical book series *Loomingu Raamatukogu* (LR), which roughly coincides with the Thaw era and the first editorial board of the series composed of editor-in-chief Otto Samma (1912–1978) and editors Lembe Hiedel (1926–2004) and Edvin Hiedel (1930–2012). Like *Inostrannaya Literatura*, LR mostly published translations of foreign literature, and it continues to do so today. Taking context in its etymological meaning of 'weaving together' (*con-texēre*), my investigation employs it as a methodological instrument of entanglement, developing a multilayered approach to the study of LR that applies different scales of comparison (Werner and Zimmermann 2003, 11–13) in order to map the network of interactions that constituted the specific cultural and literary reality of the Estonian Thaw. My aim is not only to show how 'the general appeal of the series was largely due to the socio-political context it grew out of' (Lange 2017, 155), but also how an investigation of the LR phenomenon helps us to refine our image of that context.

### The context(s) of *Loomingu Raamatukogu*

As a first step, I will reconstruct the general features and role of translation in the context of the Estonian Thaw by conducting a diachronic comparison of figures for the composition of the Estonian literary system during the Soviet period and looking at the proportions of originals and translations published and the proportions of different source literatures among translations.

In the first postwar decade from 1945 to 1955, encompassing of Sovietization and late Stalinism, 60% of all the fiction published in Soviet Estonia was in translation. Translations from Russian and other Soviet literatures provided 52% of all the fiction published and around 85% of all the translated fiction, while translations from all other languages, referred to as foreign literatures, accounted for only 8% of all the fiction published (see Figure 1 below).

How these figures depended on the political context is immediately clear. The years between 1946 and 1953 have been called 'the worst period in the history of Soviet literature and censorship' (Ermolaev 1997, 99), and in the specific case of the recently annexed Baltic republics, early Sovietization coincided in the literary and cultural sphere with a radical break in the local cultural tradition and isolation from the outside world. Many local authors who had been preeminent before the war were thrown out of the Writers' Union and forbidden from publishing their works, while the books of many foreign authors were banned, destroyed or hidden in special deposits in libraries. As the figures show, this gap was filled by translations from Russian, which occupied a central position in the cultural transformation of Estonia into a Soviet republic (Monticelli 2011, 2016). As Baer (2015, 126) has stated, translation represents the general model of all literary production in the Stalin era, insofar as it de-individualizes authors, making literature into a kind of 'collective state product' (Zalambani 2009, 220). Translation as a general metaphor is quite apt for describing the peripheral copying by Soviet Estonia



**Figure 1.** Share of translations and source literatures in Soviet Estonia, 1945–88.

Source: based on data gathered and analyzed in Möldre (2005).

of the central original in Soviet Russia, as the import and imitation of the official models of socialist realism clearly shows. These are cultural indexes of the colonial nature of the early Sovietization of the Baltic countries.

The death of Stalin indicated a change in sensibilities in Estonia's cultural atmosphere. In 1955, authors such as Friedebert Tuglas, Johannes Semper, Kersti Merilaas, and August Sang were readmitted to the Writers' Union. The poetry chapbooks published between 1962 and 1968 introducing new authors such as Paul-Erik Rummo, Viivi Luik, Hando Runnel, and Leelo Tungal showed that in the new atmosphere of the Thaw, a new Estonian literature had emerged that was extraneous to the dictates of socialist realism, but open to prewar traditions and new international trends. Annus and Hughes (2004, 57) define the 1960s as a 'mini-National Awakening' and a 'remarkably utopian zone in Estonian cultural life' in which a renewed 'Estonian modernism' attempted to place 'subjective freedom above the powers of the system.'

One of the issues that needed to be addressed in the new context of the Thaw was the huge gaps created in the Estonian literary field by the low numbers of translations from foreign literature and the bans on many authors. In 1956, Valdu Reekna, director of Tallinn Central Library, publicly complained about the lack of translations from foreign literature, starting a wide discussion in Estonian magazines about the 'unsatisfied needs of the readers' (Reekna 1956). Figures for books published in the 1960s clearly indicate that the problem was addressed boldly. While translations continued to provide 60% of all the fiction published, the share of translations from Russian and other Soviet literatures dropped from 52% to 29%. The other 31%, or more than half of all translations, were translations from foreign literatures (see Figure 1). These figures unmistakably mirror the general context of post-Stalinist liberalization. They signal the attempt to bring Estonia back into the broader context of world literature, reestablishing the spatio-temporal continuity with western Europe and pre-war Estonia that the Stalinist period had severed.

The figures for book production in the following decades of Soviet power confirm the peculiarity of the Thaw from this perspective. The changes in the socio-political

context after the repression of the Prague Spring in 1968 had a direct impact on the share of translations and source literatures during the period of Stagnation and even under Perestroika, as the share of translations from foreign literature fell once again below the share of translations from Russian and other Soviet literatures.

We can conclude that the specific feature of the socio-political context of the Thaw, which interests us here, is the preeminence of translations from non-Soviet, foreign literatures. This can be considered as a direct cause of the emergence of a book series like LR that was mostly dedicated to the translation of Western and world literature. The huge popularity of the series, which saw an average of 20,000 copies of each issue printed for a population of native speakers of Estonian at that time of around 1 million, similarly points to a perfect match between the series and the needs of the readership. In what follows, I will consider the general shift observed in [Figure 1](#) as the opening of a set of circumstances that made LR possible, but does not yet explain why and how it took its particular form. In order to understand this, we have to change the scale of analysis and the units of comparison to let more complex aspects of the context of the Thaw emerge.

### Entangled contexts: local, regional, and global factors in the genesis of LR

We should first of all concentrate on the particular format of LR. It was founded in 1956, and its first issue appeared in 1957 as a literary supplement of the monthly magazine of the Estonian Writers' Union *Looming*, which means 'creation' in Estonian. *Raamatukogu* is the Estonian word for library and the title of the series literally means 'The Library of Creation.' This choice was important and innovative since LR was issued directly by the Writers' Union, while in Soviet Estonia all literary works had previously been published only by the State Publishing House (*Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus*). Such a decentralization of publishing activities is in line with Sherry's observation about the general reduction of Glavlit's authority during the Thaw, with censorship practices 'transferred away from official censors towards editors and editorial boards' (Sherry 2015, 47).<sup>2</sup> In the case of LR however, it is even more important to stress the 'initiative from below' (Witt 2011) that, as we will see, significantly reconfigured the role of translation as cultural planning, detaching it from the party's ideological agenda.

Shifting the scale of analysis between different synchronic and diachronic aspects of LR's cultural context helps us to unravel the different elements in the genesis of LR. The first contextual level to be considered is the regional one, which coincides with the USSR, where the relation between the center and the periphery had a fundamental impact in shaping all cultural phenomena. Looking at the format of LR, particularly in its first year, shows that it was explicitly copied from the Russian *Biblioteka 'Ogon'ka'*, a supplement of the literary magazine *Ogonek* (Spark), which had been in circulation since 1927 (see [Figure 2](#)).

In postcolonial terms, this is an example of mimicry (Bhabha 1994) by which the conscious reproduction of a model that already exists in the center is used as a way of legitimizing a cultural initiative of the periphery to the authorities. The saying 'if it already exists in Russian, then it is safe' was used as a general guideline in translation policies in the Soviet republics.<sup>3</sup> Another important consequence of the choice of format was that the journal was sold very cheaply and not only in bookshops but throughout the network of outlets of the Union of the Press. The entire print run of issues of LR generally sold out in a couple of days.



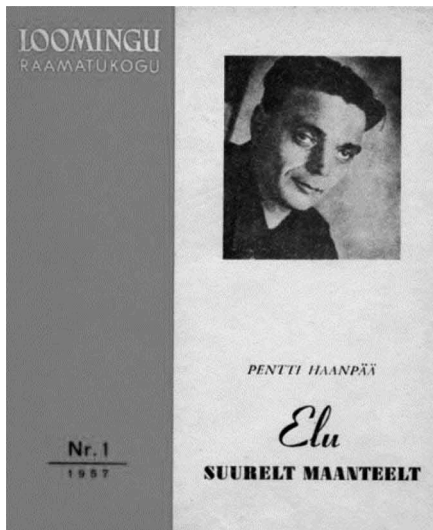


Figure 2. *Loomingu Raamatukogu*, 1957 (left), and *Biblioteka 'Ogon'ka'*, 1956 (right).

Changing our perspective from the regional context to the local and from the synchronic dimension to the diachronic, another possible and much more problematic affiliation of the LR project emerges. In prewar Estonia, the Publishing House Loodus issued a similar series called Universal Library (*Universaalbiblioteek*), which published translations of foreign literature from 1927 to 1940, when it was discontinued following the Soviet occupation (see Figure 3). The Universal Library published 52 issues per year, just like LR from 1959. The attempt to reestablish continuity with pre-war independent

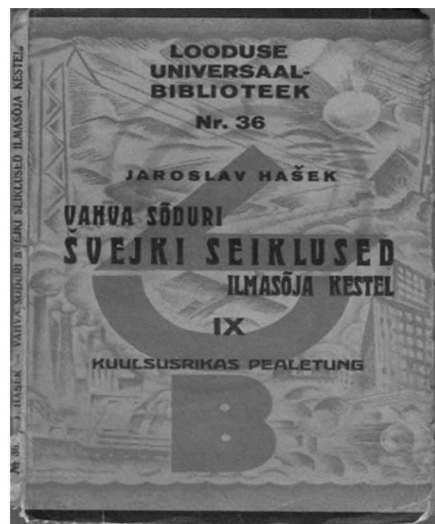
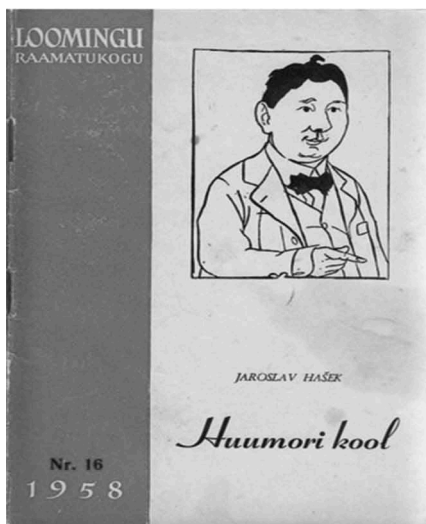


Figure 3. *Loomingu Raamatukogu*, 1958 (left), and *Universaalbiblioteek*, 1928 (right).

Estonia's translation projects and policies is also evident in LR's efforts to avoid indirect translation and adaptation as a way of standing against the massive use of indirect and manipulative translation that was characteristic of Soviet translation policy.

From this perspective, mimicry of the Soviet Russian model of the *Biblioteka 'Ogon'ka'* can be interpreted as a form of camouflage for covering an alternative agenda under officially sanctioned exterior forms. Peeter Torop has called this strategy of apparently fulfilling the party's expectations in order to develop in reality a space of autonomy 'dissimilation in assimilation' (2012).<sup>4</sup> LR's format thus emerges from the entanglement of colonial pressure and indigenous elements (Nuttall 2009, 2). It exploited regional circumstances to revive interrupted local traditions of literary translation in independent Estonia, reshaping them to suit the new possibilities that opened in the 1960s in the Soviet Union.

At a global level, it is interesting to observe the similarities between the format of LR and that of the pocket books and paperbacks that enjoyed a contemporary boom in the US and elsewhere in the West, where not only popular fiction, but also higher literature started to be published in a cheap format (see Figure 4). This confirms a certain parallelism in the development of cultural phenomena on the two sides of the Iron Curtain during the 1960s.

A final aspect to be considered is the entanglement between the general logic of the literary system and the peculiar logic of a Soviet publishing system that was based on state control and censorship. LR was treated as a magazine and not as a book, and so it did not have to obtain preventative authorization of its yearly and five-year plans from Moscow's central Glavlit as the Estonian state publishing house did. This granted the editorial board of LR a certain autonomy and flexibility, of which the first editorial staff made ample use. Furthermore, the control over translation was consistently looser than the control over original Estonian literature. Finally, LR's decision to publish some Estonian originals alongside the translations, with original content supplying around one-sixth of the total, served two purposes, as it helped to fulfill the official quota for

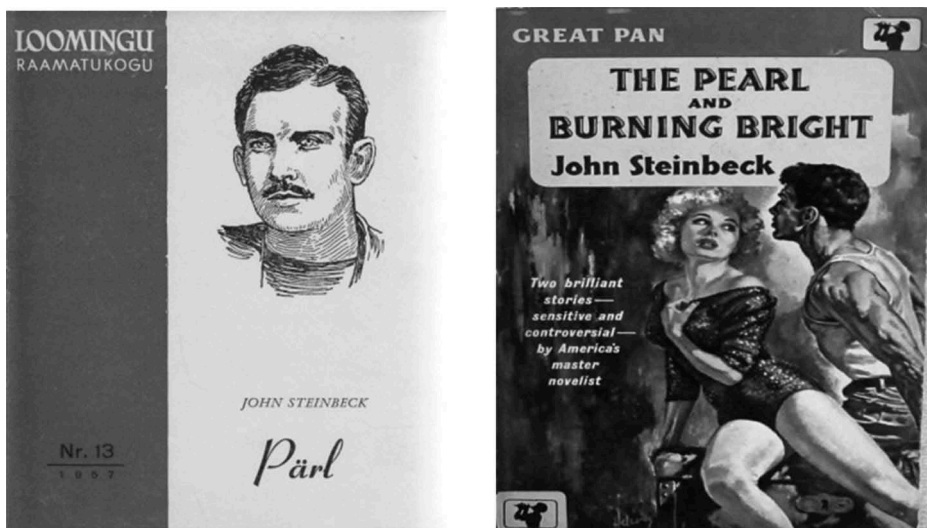


Figure 4. *Loomingu Raamatukogu*, 1957 (left), and the *Great Pan Series* (USA), 1959 (right).

'Soviet literature' with domestic production, allowing for more translations of foreign literature, and it contributed to the reestablishment of the Estonian literary tradition that was discontinued in the Stalinist period within the safer environment of a magazine dedicated to translations.<sup>5</sup>

The peripheral position of periodicals and translations in the literary system was thus successfully exploited by LR to elude at least partially the constraints of the Soviet publishing system and the party's ideological control. To this we should add the peripheral position of the Estonian literary system itself within the Soviet literary system as a whole. Sherry stresses that at the far more central *Inostrannaya Literatura* there was a 'significant amount of external interference in the journal[s] activities, even at the highest levels of the Party' (2012, 104), but this does not seem to have been the case for LR. Weaknesses were thus skillfully turned into strengths by LR's editorial board and the series rapidly moved from a peripheral position that seemed to be an inevitable consequence of its format as a cheap supplement to a periodical magazine publishing mostly translations, into a central position within the Estonian literary system, where it played a crucial role in the cultural renewal of the 1960s.

### The content of LR: shifting the limits of the possible

The translation policy of LR was repeatedly formulated with small but significant changes in the first years the series was published from 1956 to 1960. The first mention of LR appears in the literary journal *Looming* in (1956) and states that the Library 'aims to introduce Estonian readers to Soviet literature as well as progressive foreign literature.' The mimicry of party jargon is quite evident here, but just one year later, in the first report of Otto Samma to the Department of Ideology of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party, we read that 'LR aims to introduce the widest possible range of primarily contemporary literature both geographically and thematically' (quoted in Olesk 2017, 10). In an advertising text written in 1960 the same Otto Samma already states that the aim of LR is 'to publish the best works of contemporary literature' (16). This provides testimony of a shift from ideological correctness to geographical representativeness and, finally, to meaningfulness in terms of content. Sherry (2012, 104) has evidenced a similar tension in the case of *Inostrannaya Literatura*: 'The choice of authors for publication reflects the editorial struggle to strike a balance between great literary works and those that carried the correct ideological message.'

A closer look at the content of LR shows that the actual translation policy of the editorial board went well beyond its official declarations. Figures for the output of the magazine from 1957 to 1973 show 526 titles representing 59 different literatures. The share of different literatures among these titles does not just mirrors the figures discussed above for the general publishing trends in Estonia in the 1960s, but magnifies them. Given the translational nature of the magazine, Estonian originals were only 14% of all the titles published by LR, while translations from Russian and other Soviet literatures were 25%, which matches the overall data for the 1960s; foreign, non-Soviet literature made up over 60% of the total, well above the overall figure for the 1960s of 31% (see [Tabel 1](#)).

An analysis of the titles published shows that *Loomingu Raamatukogu's* translation policy was sensitive to the translation choices made in Moscow by journals such as *Inostrannaya Literatura*, which were already quite liberal, with British and American authors like Hemingway, Salinger, Steinbeck, Greene, Bradbury, Lessing, and Sillitoe

**Table 1.** Source languages of translations in *Loomingu Raamatukogu*, 1957–73.

Source language	Number of translations	Share of total (%)
Russian	101	24.0
English	85	20.1
German	51	12.1
French	37	8.8
Finnish	25	5.9
Czech	18	4.3
Swedish	16	3.8
Polish	15	3.6
Hungarian	12	2.9
Norwegian	11	2.6
Spanish	8	1.9
Italian	7	1.7
Others	35	8.3
Total	421	100.0

being published by LR within one or two years after their publication in *Inostrannaya Literatura*.<sup>6</sup>

In many respects LR was even eager than *Inostrannaya Literatura* in using its translation choices to exploit the margins of ideological uncertainty opened by the Thaw. Sherry (2015, 104) claims for instance that the Russian magazine refused to print the works of Antoine de Saint-Exupéry and Heinrich Böll on ideological grounds, but in LR's 1958 issues we find translations of both Saint-Exupéry's *Terre des Hommes* ('Inimeste maa,' LR 23, 1958) and Böll's *Wanderer, kommst du nach Spa ...* ('Jällenägemine puiesteel,' LR 25, 1958). The extensive publication of translations from Camus (*La peste*, 'Katk,' LR 43/46, 1963; *L'Étranger*, 'Võõras,' LR 45, 1966; *Le Mythe de Sisyphe*, 'Sisyphose müüt,' LR 51–52, 1972) indicates the wish to fill quickly the important gap caused by Moscow's complete ban on the French author in the 1950s following his criticism of the Soviet repression of the Hungarian uprising of 1956 and his public support for Boris Pasternak. Translation choices like William Golding's *Lord of the Flies*, ('Kärbeste jumal,' LR 48/50, 1964) and Franz Kafka's *Prozess* ('Protsess,' LR 40/43, 1966) were not only not backed up by earlier Russian translations, but introduced authors and works that, while not explicitly criticizing the Soviet system, were still unmanageable in the terms of the ruling ideology.<sup>7</sup>

The acute attention paid by LR to the signs of unrest in the communist bloc is evidenced by the almost immediate translations of Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* ('Üks päev Ivan Denisovitši elus,' LR 11/12, 1963) and *For the good of the cause* ('Asja huvides,' LR 38/39, 1964). The translation of Vaclav Havel's *Memorandum* ('Teade,' LR 19, 1968) was published at the peak of the Prague Spring.

Publishing translations could also help reestablish the continuity and unity of Estonian culture. This was the case with the selection of Charles Baudelaire's *Fleurs du mal* poems ('Kurja lilled,' LR 35/36, 1967), which brought together new translations made in Soviet Estonia and translations that had first been published in the time of the independent Estonian Republic by writers such as Ain Kaalep and Johannes Semper, who had been persecuted in the postwar period, and Ants Oras and Ilmar Laaban, who fled Estonia in 1943. The Baudelaire issue of LR thus became a challenge to the Soviet ideological dichotomies of culture before the Sovietization of Estonia versus culture after, or Soviet writers and translators versus exiled writers and translators.

Summing up the first results of our multilayered investigation of the LR phenomenon, it can be claimed that the context of the Thaw opened up a field of possibilities, but it was the entanglement of LR in a series of interactions with local, regional, and global contexts on the synchronic and diachronic axes that explains why those possibilities took the specific form of LR. Through its translation policy, LR contributed in turn to shifting the contextual limits of the possible even further. Investigating the entanglement of different levels of contextual analysis through the prism of a peculiar cultural phenomenon such as LR reveals a more refined understanding of the complexity of the Thaw.

### **Contextual dependency, non-systemic elements, and chance**

The exploration of the entanglement of a given phenomenon in its socio-cultural context is always a retrospective operation, the results of which may differ importantly from the perception of contemporaries. In 1959, just two years after the publication of the first issue of LR, the young translator Harald Rajamets wrote in a letter to editor-in-chief Otto Samma that '[t]he idea of "the library" or a series is so right and good, and so simple that one has just to wonder why it wasn't put into practice earlier,' seemingly ignoring the relevance of the changed political context in the middle of the 1950s that allowed for the emergence of the Library.<sup>8</sup>

The changes that affected the editorial board and the activities of LR at the beginning of the 1970s generally confirm that the set of circumstances that had allowed LR to emerge and develop had started to narrow under the new suffocating atmosphere of Stagnation.<sup>9</sup> In 1973 Otto Samma and Lembe Hiedel were removed from the editorial board of LR and the publication plans of the magazine became subject to authorization from Moscow. At the global level, the adhesion of the USSR to the Universal Copyright Convention brought a further centralization of publishing activities insofar as the contracts for publishing foreign authors now had to be signed in Moscow.<sup>10</sup> Two cases of censorship seem at first sight to confirm the turning of the screw at the beginning of the 1970s, as they were unprecedented in the history of LR, but if they are considered in more detail, they reveal aspects of the context that has so far escaped our view.

The first case occurred in that same year of 1973 that, as we have seen, marked a major turning point in the history of LR. The former editorial board had planned that year to publish a translation of John Milton's famous essay 'Aeropagitica' in defense of the freedom of speech, but the publication was forbidden and blocked until 1987. This all seems quite logical as publishing such a treatise against censorship could be planned during the Thaw, but could not possibly be done in the era of Stagnation, while it once again became feasible after the start of Gorbachev's Perestroika. Things, however, are not so straightforward. Here is a passage about the Milton case from the memoirs of LR's editor Lembe Hiedel:

In the plan for 1973, Henno Rajandi's translation of John Milton's essay against censorship, "Aeropagitica," remained unpublished because of my involuntary delay. At that time a new editor-in-chief was appointed and he was forced to send the publication plans along with annotations on the content of the works to Moscow for approval. Moscow, of course, prohibited the publication and so we were unable to commemorate the 300th anniversary of Milton's death (Hiedel 2006, 172–3).

What Hiedel describes here is the combined effect of contextual pressure from the new editorial board and the system of approval for the publication plan, and chance in the form of an unspecified 'involuntary delay.' The translation might have been ready before the ban, but some further step in the publishing process was slower than planned and the publication schedule could not be met. Otherwise Milton's essay would have been published under the old plan and Estonians would have been able to read it during the long years of Stagnation.

The second case was probably the worst episode of censorship in the history of LR and occurred two years later, in 1975, when the collection of Estonian proverbs 'Lausutud sõna lagub' ('The uttered word dissolves') was blocked by post-print censorship and the whole print run of 25,000 copies was destroyed.<sup>11</sup> The reason Glavlit gave for the decision was the recurrence of vulgar language such as 'shit' (*sitt* in Estonian) and 'ass' (*perse* in Estonian). This is in line with the general shift from political to puritanical issues in post-Stalin censorship (Sherry 2015, 124–32). The hypothesis, however, proposed by the then editor-in-chief of LR Ojamaa (2006, 210–212) and generally accepted afterward is that the real reason for the prohibition lay in the bibliography at the end of the book, which followed every first issue of the year of LR and reported a full list of the works published in the series since 1957. The list included Solzhenitsyn, who had been deprived of Soviet citizenship, deported to West Germany, and whose works were banned in 1974, along with other Soviet authors who had meanwhile become undesirable. This list could not be tolerated by the authorities.<sup>12</sup> Even if we accept this explanation, it is interesting to read what the curator of the prohibited collection of proverbs, Arvo Krikmann, wrote in his afterword to the reprint of the collection that was published by LR in 2017. After discussing the political explanation for why his collection was prohibited, he comments that 'I have the feeling that this explanation is also inadequate,' adding that the real reason may have been the wish of 'someone' to 'harm someone' and concluding that censorship may have occurred for reasons 'completely extraneous to the content of the book' (Krikmann 2017, 105).

In both cases considered, we can see side by side the predictable impact of contextual pressure and the unpredictable interference of random events. Though the retrospective reconstruction from statistical evidence of who and what was translated and when revealed that LR's activities were transparently dependent on the systemic elements of the Soviet socio-political context during and after the Thaw, a closer look into apparently marginal matters sheds light on the process that led, or did not, to publication, revealing a whole series of individual, idiosyncratic aspects that bring chance and unpredictability into the picture. The data on which this kind of 'micro-history' (Munday 2014) can be built are the memoirs of the protagonists, the minutes of the editorial board of LR, correspondence between the editors, the translators and the authorities, interviews with living editors of LR, and the like.<sup>13</sup>

From this point of view, we may reconsider the interaction between planning from above and planning from below in LR's activities, focusing on the choice of the texts to be translated. Statistics and the list of titles discussed earlier led us to conclude there was a deliberate attempt to shift and enlarge the limits of the possible from below as a defining feature of the cultural atmosphere of the Estonian Thaw. Examination of the memoirs of the editors or the minutes and the correspondence of the editorial board does not disprove this conclusion, but complicates it, as it reveals that the selection and translation process was anything but straightforward. The editors suffered from



a systematic lack of information about current foreign literature, and it was extremely difficult for them to find good translators for all the languages needed given the policy of direct translation followed in the series. As Hiedel explains, the choice for the issues of the first years of LR was quite substantially influenced not only by the information available from Russian journals like *Inostrannaya Literatura* and *Novy Mir*, but also by the official recommendation list of Moscow's Writers' Union, which mostly consisted of 'left-wing writers from capitalistic countries' (2006, 179). Only later was the knowledge horizon broadened by the increasing circulation of foreign paperbacks containing bibliographical lists and, from the second half of the 1960s, single issues of bibliographical magazines such as *Books Abroad* or *The Times Literary Supplement* that were sent to the editorial board by expatriate Estonians. In this situation, a fundamental role in the choice of texts to be translated was played by suggestions from translators and readers, evidence of which is preserved in the correspondence with the editors (Olesk 2017, 19–20).

Even after a work was chosen for translation, the question often arose of how to acquire the original text. The circulation of foreign books was limited and was monitored attentively in the USSR, but books were sometimes brought to the country by foreign visitors or by Estonians who had received a permit to travel abroad, and sometimes they could be bought on Moscow's black market (Hiedel 2006, 164). The original texts could not always be found and plans had to be revisited to suit the material at hand, the impossibility of finding a translator for a given language, censorial interventions, translators and editors not meeting the deadlines, shortages of paper for double or multiple issues, and other issues. This is additional evidence of the important role that chance, individual taste, and skill played in the final choice of the texts to be translated and published. As Hiedel (2006) remarks, the composition of the series implied a 'certain adventurism:' 'the people involved didn't have time to get deeply acquainted with the literature of many countries in their work routine, which the [extremely tight] publishing schedule made killing, but was endured exactly because of the need for adventurism, playfulness, taking risks, and making combinations.'

A similar conclusion can be reached from the remarks of Hiedel and other LR editors about censorial interference and the negotiations of the editors with the censors during the publication process. This is a particularly complicated field of research because of the scarcity of written documents. Decisions were mostly communicated face to face or by phone, though the correspondence between the editors and the authorities also contains some questions and answers about possibly problematic authors and contents.

Hiedel's memoirs mirror the sporadic and inconsistent character of censorial practices, the lack of ideological purity, and the interpretative stance that characterized the aftermath of de-Stalinization.<sup>14</sup> While Hiedel concludes that the visits of the editors to Glavlit were a simple formality and the magazine was 'incredibly lucky' (2006, 199–200) with censorship (once again a matter of chance), she also hints at a possible explanation for that luck, as the person responsible for reading LR's proofs at Glavlit was one of her university classmates. Drawing on Rein Raud's notion of 'relational capital,' Lange (2017, 158) has demonstrated the fundamental importance of interpersonal relations in the intercourse with censorial agencies in a small republic with a population of roughly one million. Rein Raud defines 'relational capital' as a condition *sine qua non* of successful life under late Socialism:

Each successful Eastern-bloc citizen had to be involved in a large and sophisticated net of relations, acquaintances, schoolmates, neighbors, etc., who were in a position to deliver to each other everything needed in life, from signatures on applications or theatre tickets to scarce consumer good or introductions to competent dentists [...] Relational capital substitutes and bypasses publicly endorsed procedures and institutions and produces corruption, or at least what would count as corruption in a democratic society (Raud 2016, 154).

This should somehow be included in our reconstruction of the LR phenomenon in its socio-political context. Interpersonal relations are certainly a feature of the context, but they introduce in the reconstruction of contextual dependency another barely predictable aspect compared with the socio-political and statistical systemicity observed above. I suggest that relational capital be considered as a non-systemic aspect of the context, which does not mean it was anti-systemic. The emphasis Raud put on 'substitution,' 'bypassing,' and 'corruption' of 'publicly endorsed procedures' can be understood as an interfering feature that has to be considered in order to redefine the context we are trying to describe. This is a level of entanglement that remains invisible by reverting to the ordinary binary of 'resistance' versus 'compliance.' Nuttall's (2009, 12) notion of 'complicity,' defined as a 'set of relations, some of them conscious but many of them unconscious, which occur between people who most of the time try to define themselves as different' is a good approximation for the kind of interference that relational capital, occurring in our case between people as 'different' as the editors of LR and the censors, exercises on the systemic aspects of the context.

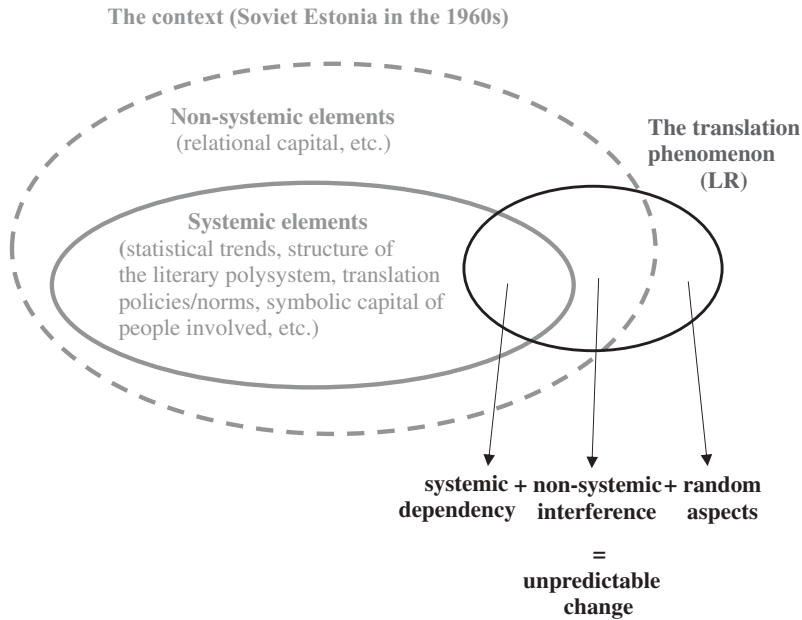
## Redefining the context

I started from an understanding of the context as something preliminarily given, and employed it to explain the emergence of LR's translation project. It is now possible to rethink the context and its explanatory force using the evidence gained from the case study.

Figure 5 distinguishes between a core of systemic elements and a periphery of non-systemic elements of the socio-political and cultural context of the Thaw. The entanglement of the two, which Werner and Zimmermann describe as the 'inextricable imbrication' (2003, 23) of the macro and the micro, is a crucial condition for an adequate understanding of the range of possibilities that the Thaw opened in Estonia and more generally the USSR. The translation phenomenon is shaped by the interaction between the systemic and non-systemic elements of the context and what, on the basis of the sources considered above, can be described as context independent chance, found in random encounters, individual taste, delays, books at hand, and so forth. The interaction of systemic contextual dependency, non-systemic contextual interferences and chance captures what Werner and Zimmermann (2003, 26) define as 'the entanglement between the action of constraints and resources which are partly structurally given and partly related to the contingency of the situations.'

The entanglement of a core and a periphery of the Estonian context reproduces the entanglement of the Estonian periphery and the Russian center of the Soviet system. Hiedel illustrates this in the following comparison of Moscow's Glavlit and the Estonian version, where what she calls 'absolute anonymity' is a good approximation of our understanding of 'contextual systemicity,' while the 'buts' and 'however's' at the end of the quote mirror non-systemic contextual interferences:





**Figure 5.** The multiple entanglements of *Loomingu Raamatukogu* in the context of the Estonian Thaw.

Cultural functionaries ... felt better thinking of the “Wall,” a metaphor that was adequate in Moscow, where the absolute anonymity of the high cultural dictators gave them huge power over the mortal author, where all the phone numbers of the censorship agencies were secret and even the location of Glavlit was known only to the highest ranks of literary administrators. Here, instead, in a very small country, this mystification of power was unthinkable. The censorship functionaries of the highest and lowest rank were all known by name and face and local gossip didn’t allow any halo to form around their heads. The door of Glavlit was closed, but with due notice it became open. It was impossible to set foot in the Cultural Department of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party without an invitation and the phone numbers were secret ... However, the secret numbers as well as the people who hid behind them were very easily accessible (Hiedel 2006, 181).

## Conclusion

Concluding her dissertation on translation and censorship in Russia in the eras of Stalin and Khrushchev, Sherry (2012, 264–275) takes issue with both the ‘totalitarian model’ of the dichotomic, absolute opposition of complete domination and resistance, and the ‘Soviet subjectivity view’, i.e. the idea that the loosening of external constraints is compensated for by the successful subjectivation of ideological discourse, as equally inadequate ways of understanding Soviet cultural dynamics particularly during the Thaw. She advocates instead the need to concentrate on the performative capacity and effectiveness of agents in the cultural field. The present study has similarly led us to the conclusion that, in the investigation of the social and cultural context of translation, we should avoid deterministic approaches that ignore the non-systemic aspects of the context and the performative capacity of translation and its agents within the context. This capacity is not the result of a context-independent freedom of sovereign subjects,

but emerges from the complex interaction of contextual systemicity, non-systemic interferences, and chance. The multilayered analysis of the complex translation project of *Loomingu Raamatukogu* thus reveals the entanglement of different elements that constitute the specific cultural context of the Thaw in Estonia, allowing us a more refined understanding of the complexity of the possibilities and constraints that shaped the performative capacity and effectiveness of cultural agents and their actions.

In his memoirs, published 10 years after he was ousted from power, Nikita Khrushchev presented the Thaw in the dramatic terms of an enterprise from above, which risked getting out of control:

[we] were scared – really scared. We were afraid the Thaw might unleash a flood which we would not be able to control and which would drown us. How could it drown us? It could have overflowed the banks of the Soviet riverbed and formed a tidal wave which would have washed away all the barriers and retaining walls of our society (Khrushchev 1974, 78–9).

No such mighty tidal wave came, or at least it took twenty more years. From our point of view, Khrushchev's image can be contrasted with another image from below, supporting a much more nuanced understanding of the Thaw with its mix of hopes and uncertainties. The author of this image is, once again, LR's editor Lembe Hiedel, comparing her experience on the editorial board of the book series with a scene from Bulat Okudzhava's *The Dilettantes' Journey*:

It was like a hectic, almost random fleeing over a wasteland towards a wider horizon, spurred by a vague goal somewhere in the distance, and by the clear awareness that in the red dust cloud behind us was the sharp eye of the law, following the fugitives, sure of its aims, handcuffs in hand, but for some reason keeping its distance, delaying the catching up. Wasn't it because its progress after its prey was also a progress towards the wider horizon that never leaves anyone unaffected? I want to hope so (Hiedel 2006, 168).

The sociopolitical context of the Soviet Thaw opened a field of possibilities that helps explain the emergence of the particular translation project of *Loomingu Raamatukogu*. If, as Witt (2011, 164) argues, the framework for translation under Stalinism allowed 'different kinds of initiative "from below" all of which, however, were obliged to fulfil the same ideological commission "from above," during the Thaw this line of dependency becomes uncertain and open to challenges 'from below.' Exploiting the peripheral position of periodicals, translations, and Soviet Estonia, LR acquired an increasingly central position in the Estonian literary and cultural field, not simply mirroring but shifting the context of the Thaw, widening the limits of the possible, and provoking important changes in the Estonian cultural scene of the 1960 and 1970s.

## Notes

1. An interesting exception is Polly Jones' article 'The Thaw Goes International: Soviet Literature in Translation and Transit in the 1960s' (2013b), though it does not consider the 'transit' direction that interests us here, which is from the West to the Soviet Union.
2. Glavlit (an abbreviation of *Glavnoe upravlenie po delam literatury i izdatel'stv*, translating as the Main Administration for Literary and Publishing Affairs) was the Soviet agency responsible for censorship.
3. That LR changed the format as early as the second year of its activity is a clear measure of the instrumental character of mimicry. The cultural significance of LR goes well beyond that of its Russian 'original.'

4. Yurchak (2005, 25) has similarly stressed the use of ritualized, authoritative forms of discourse in late socialism as acts which 'are not about stating facts and describing opinions but about doing things and opening new possibilities.'
5. This is an important difference between LR and *Inostrannaya Literatura*, which was exclusively dedicated to translated fiction.
6. The analysis of textual omissions and manipulations falls beyond the scope of this article, but it is interesting to observe that Sherry's analysis of puritanical censorship in the translations from American literature in *Inostrannaya Literatura* is only partially confirmed by an analysis of the same translations in LR. In Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*, for instance, the Estonian translator follows the Russian translator in replacing the slang word 'flit' used by Holden to describe his teacher Mr. Antolini with the euphemism 'with quirks/oddities.' In other passages of the translation, however, the Estonian slang equivalent of 'flit' (*lilla*) is used. This is a good example of dissimulation in assimilation, or the need to keep an eye on ideological correctness while testing and, possibly, extending the limits of what could be said. On Salinger's Russian translation by Rait-Kovaleva see Semenenko (2016).
7. It is interesting to observe that LR's translation of Kafka's novel was accompanied by a translation of the chapter on Kafka from Roger Garaudy's book *D'un réalisme sans rivages* (1963). Garaudy was a French writer, philosopher and member of the Communist Party, so that the decision to include his text in the Kafka issue could be considered another case of *camouflage*, except that at the time of the publication Garaudy had been expelled from the Central Committee of the French Communist Party. Two years later he would criticize the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and, in 1970, he was finally expelled from the party. LR's editor, Hiedel (2006), describes the inclusion of Garaudy's chapter in the translation as a 'sinful idea', which made the Kafka issue of LR even more problematic from an ideological point of view.
8. Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi arhiiv (Archive of the Estonian Literary Museum), KM EKLA, f 283:845, 90.
9. When the Latvian Writers' Union tried to start a similar series in Latvia at the end of the 1960s, it encountered opposition from the authorities.
10. The absence of copyright issues in the first period of LR's activity meant there was no need for centralized judicial and economic mediation.
11. Glavlit carried out both preventative censorship by approving texts for publication and post-publication censorship.
12. The erasure of the names of persecuted authors from the written word circulating in the Union was a common means of Soviet censorship (see Monticelli 2016).
13. Research work is hindered here because a lot of material has been lost.
14. Caroline Humphrey (2008) has employed the term 'creative bureaucrat' to refer to this uncertainty and partial openness in the attitudes of functionaries toward ideological and censorship issues. As Sherry (2012, 275) observes, 'censorial agents acted in ways that benefited authoritarian power, by limiting discourse and imposing the authoritative discourse upon the foreign texts. However, they also acted in ways that undermine the censorial authority. This is achieved through a creative challenging of censorship norms, and by the privileging of the performative aspect of discourse.'

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

## Funding

Research for this article was supported by a European Research Council Starting Grant (TAU17149) "Between the Times: Embattled Temporalities and Political Imagination in Interwar Europe."

## Notes on contributor

**Daniele Monticelli** is a Professor of Italian Studies and Semiotics at Tallinn University. His research covers a wide, interdisciplinary range of interests that includes translation theory, literary semiotics, Italian studies, and contemporary critical theory, with a particular focus on the political thought of Giorgio Agamben, Alain Badiou, and Jacques Rancière. He studies the cultural and ideological aspects of translation, and the role of translation in constructing and deconstructing national identity, and in social change and totalitarian regimes. He has a long record of participation in collaborative research projects in the fields of linguistics, semiotics, and translation studies, and from 2010 to 2012 he led the research grant 'Translators (Re)shaping Cultural Repertoire' from the Estonian Science Foundation. He co-edited the volume 'Between Cultures and Texts. Itineraries in Translation History' (2011).

## References

- Aarelaid, A. 1998. *Ikka kultuurile mõeldes*. Tallinn: Virgela.
- Aarelaid, A. 2000. "Topelmtõlemise kujunemine kahel esimesel nõukogulikul aastakümnel." *Akadeemia* 4: 755–773.
- Alexeyeva, L. 1993. *The Thaw Generation: Coming of Age in the Post-Stalin Era*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Annus, E. 2016. "Between Arts and Politics: A Postcolonial View on Baltic Cultures of the Soviet Era." *Journal of Baltic Studies* 47 (1): 1–14. doi:10.1080/01629778.2015.1103509.
- Annus, E. 2018. *Soviet Postcolonial Studies: A View from the Western Borderlands*. London: Routledge.
- Annus, E., and R. Hughes. 2004. "Reversals of the Postmodern and the Late Soviet Simulacrum in the Baltic Countries: With Exemplifications from Estonian Literature." In *History of the Literary Cultures of East Central Europe: Junctures and Disjunctures in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, edited by M. Cornis-Pope and J. Neubauer, 76–91. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Baer, B. J. 2015. *Translation and the Making of the Modern Russian Literature*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Baer, B. J., and S. Witt. 2016. "Introduction: The Double Context of Translation." In *Translation in Russian Context. Culture, Politics, Identity*, edited by B. Baer and S. Witt, 1–16. London: Routledge.
- Bassnett, S., and A. Lefevere. 1990. *Translation, History and Culture*. London: Printer Publishers.
- Bhabha, H. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Bittner, S. V. 2008. *Many Lives of Khrushchev's Thaw: Experience and Memory in Moscow's Arbat*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Buchli, V. 1999. *An Archaeology of Socialism (Materializing Culture)*. Oxford: Berg.
- Davoliūtė, V. 2016. "The Sovietization of Lithuania after WWII: Modernization, Transculturation, and the Lettered City." *Journal of Baltic Studies* 47 (1): 49–63. doi:10.1080/01629778.2015.1103512.
- Dobson, M. J. 2011. "The Post-Stalin Era: De-Stalinization, Daily Life, and Dissent." *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 12 (4): 905–924. doi:10.1353/kri.2011.0053.
- Ermolaev, H. 1997. *Censorship in Soviet Literature, 1917–1991*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Gorsuch, A. E., and D. P. Koenker, eds. 2013. *The Socialist Sixties: Crossing Borders in the Second World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Hermans, T. 1999. *Translation in Systems. Descriptive and System-oriented Approaches Explained*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- Hermans, T. 2007. *The Conference of the Tongues*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- Hiedel, L. 2006. "'Loomingu' Raamatukogu alaeast. Märkmeid ja meenutusi aastaist 1957–1973." In *Loomingu raamatukogu 50 aastat*, edited by T. Kuusik and A. Saluäär, 159–203. Tallinn: Kultuurileht.
- Humphrey, C. 2008. "'The Creative Bureaucrat': Conflicts in the Production of Soviet Communist Party Discourse." *Inner Asia* 10: 5–35. doi:10.1163/000000008793066803.
- Johnson, P. 1965. *Khrushchev and the Arts: The Politics of Soviet Culture, 1962–1964*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Jones, P. 2013a. "The Personal and the Political: Opposition to the Thaw and the Politics of Literary Identity in the 1950s and the 1960s." In *The Thaw: Soviet Society and Culture during the 1950s and 1960s*, edited by D. Kozlov and E. Gilburd, 231–268. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Jones, P. 2013b. "The Thaw Goes International: Soviet Literature in Translation and Transit in the 1960s." In *The Socialist Sixties: Crossing Borders in the Second World*, edited by A. E. Gorsuch and D. P. Koenker, 121–147. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- Kalnačs, B. 2016. "Comparing Colonial Differences: Baltic Literary Cultures as Agencies of Europe's Internal Others." *Journal of Baltic Studies* 47 (1): 15–30. doi:10.1080/01629778.2015.1103514.
- Khrushchev, N. S. 1974. *Khrushchev Remembers: The Last Testament*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Kozlov, D., and E. Gilburd, eds. 2013. *The Thaw: Soviet Society and Culture during the 1950s and 1960s*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Krikmann, A., ed. 2017. "Laustud sõna lagub: Valik Eesti vanasõnu." *Loomingu Raamatukogu*, 1–2.
- Lange, A. 2012. "Performative Translation Options under the Soviet Regime." *Journal of Baltic Studies* 43 (3): 401–420. doi:10.1080/01629778.2011.634699.
- Lange, A. 2017. "Editing in the Conditions of State Control in Estonia. The Case of Loomingu Raamatukogu in 1957–1972." *Acta Slavica Estonica* 9: 155–173.
- Lehmann, M. 2015. "When Everything Was Forever: An Introduction." *Slavic Review* 74 (1): 1–8. doi:10.5612/slavicreview.74.1.1.
- Looming. 1956. "Hakkab ilmuma 'Loomingu Raamatukogu.'" *Looming* 11: 1516.
- Lotman, Y. 1977. "The Dynamic Model of a Semiotic System." *Semiotica* 21 (3/4): 193–210. doi:10.1515/semi.1977.21.3-4.193.
- Misiunas, R. J., and R. Taagepera. 2006. *The Baltic States: Years of Dependence, 1940–1980*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Möldre, A. 2005. *kirjastustegevus ja raamatulevi Eestis aastail 1940–2000*. Tallinn: TLÜ Kirjastus.
- Monticelli, D. 2011. "'Totalitarian Translation' as a Means of Forced Cultural Change: The Case of Postwar Soviet Estonia." In *Between Cultures and Texts. Itineraries in Translation History. Entre les cultures et les textes. Itinéraires en histoire de la traduction*, edited by A. Chalvin, A. Lange, and D. Monticelli, 187–200. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.
- Monticelli, D. 2016. "Reconfiguring the Sensible through Translation: Patterns of 'Deauthorisation' in Postwar Soviet Estonia." *Translation and Interpreting Studies* 11 (3): 416–435. doi:10.1075/tis.11.3.06mon.
- Monticelli, D., and A. Lange. 2014. "Translation and Totalitarianism: The Case of Soviet Estonia." *The Translator* 20 (1): 95–111. doi:10.1080/13556509.2014.899096.
- Munday, J. 2014. "Using Primary Sources to Produce a Microhistory of Translation and Translators: Theoretical and Methodological Concerns." *The Translator* 20 (1): 64–80. doi:10.1080/13556509.2014.899094.
- Nuttall, S. 2009. *Entanglement: Literary and Cultural Reflections on Post-apartheid*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Ojamaa, J. 2006. "Kümme aastat 'Loomingu' Raamatukogus (1973–1983)." In *Loomingu raamatukogu 50 aastat*, edited by T. Kuusik and A. Saluäär, 204–220. Tallinn: Kultuurileht.
- Olesk, S. 2017. "'Loomingu' Raamatukogu algusaegadest järelejäädud paberite valgusel." In *Palat nr. 6. Kaks artiklit „Loomingu Raamatukogu” ajaloost*, edited by A. Saluäär-Kall, 7–38. Tallinn: Kultuurileht.
- Platt, K. M. F. 2016. "Secret Speech: Wounding, Disavowal, and Social Belonging in the USSR." *Critical Inquiry* 42 (3): 647–676. doi:10.1086/685607.
- Raud, R. 2016. *Meaning in Action: Outline of an Integral Theory of Culture*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Reekna, V. 1956. "Rahuldamata jäävatest lugejate nõdmistest." *Sirp ja Vasar*, April 27.
- Semenenko, A. 2016. "Smuggling the Other. Rita Rait-Kovaleva's Translation of J. D. Salinger's the Catcher in the Rye." *Translation and Interpreting Studies* 11 (1): 64–80. doi:10.1075/tis.11.1.04sem.
- Sherry, S. 2012. "Censorship in Translation in the Soviet Union in the Stalin and Khrushchev Eras." PhD diss., University of Edinburgh.
- Sherry, S. 2013. "Better Something than Nothing: The Editors and Translators of *Inostrannaia Literatura* as Censorial Agents." *Slavonic and East European Review* 91 (4): 731–758. doi:10.5699/slaveastorev.2.91.4.0731.
- Sherry, S. 2015. *Discourses of Regulation and Resistance. Censoring Translation in the Stalin and Khrushchev Era Soviet Union*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Špirk, J. 2008. "Translation and Censorship in Communist Czechoslovakia." In *Translation and Censorship in Different Times and Landscapes*, edited by T. Seruya and M. Lin Moniz, 215–228. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars.
- Thomson-Wohlgemuth, G. 2006. "Translation from the Point of View of the East German Censorship Files." In *Sociocultural Aspects of Translating and Interpreting*, edited by A. Pym, M. Shlesinger, and Z. Jettmarová, 53–56. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Torop, P. 2012. "Dissimilation in Assimilation." Conference paper abstract from the conference "Translating Power, Empowering Translation: Itineraries in Translation History", Tallinn, May 24–26.

- Tsipursky, G. 2016. *Socialist Fun Youth, Consumption, and State-Sponsored Popular Culture in the Cold War Soviet Union, 1945–1970*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Tyulenev, S. 2014. *Translation and Society. An Introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Venuti, L. 1995. *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London: Routledge.
- Weiner, A. 2006. "The Empires Pay a Visit: Gulag Returnees, East European Rebellions, and Soviet Frontier Politics." *The Journal of Modern History* 78 (2): 333–376. doi:[10.1086/505800](https://doi.org/10.1086/505800).
- Werner, M., and B. Zimmermann. 2003. "Penser l'histoire croisée: entre empirie et réflexivité." *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 1: 7–36.
- Witt, S. 2011. "Between the Lines: Totalitarianism and Translation in the USSR." In *Subtexts and Pretexts: Literary Translation in Eastern Europe and Russia*, edited by B. Baer, 149–170. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Yurchak, A. 2005. *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More. The Last Soviet Generation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Zalambani, M. 2009. *Censura, istituzioni e politica letteraria in URSS (1964–1985)*. Florence: Firenze University Press.
- Zubok, V. 2009. *Zhivago's Children: The Last Russian Intelligentsia*. Cambridge: Belknap.