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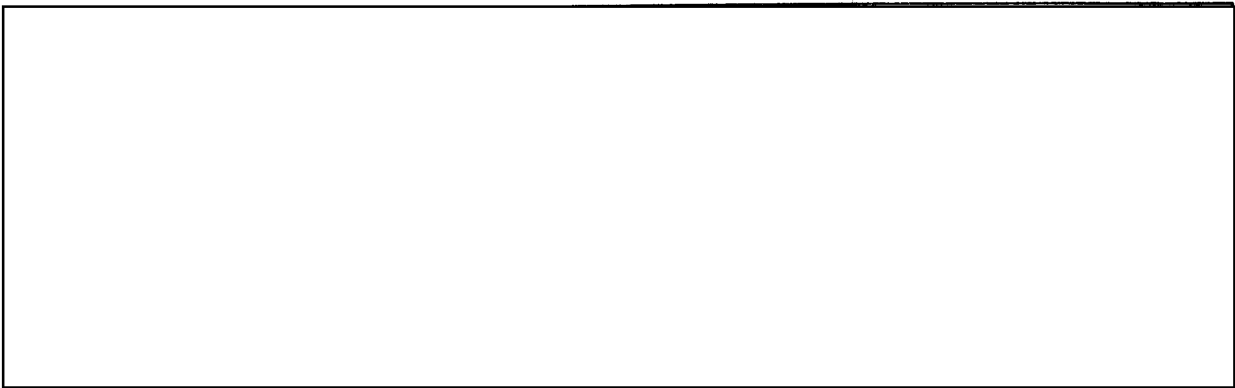
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1. The organizing work for the collectivization of the farmers was not easily accomplished, because the Lithuanian farmers knew pretty well everything about the kolkhozy in Russia. The Russian brigades would come to a village and ask the inhabitants to appear at a meeting, at the end of which agreements would have to be signed stating that the people were joining the kolkhozy voluntarily. The farmers got to know that the brigades were coming before they actually appeared. The farmers would leave their houses and go into the woods, taking their families with them or leaving only small children at home. They would return only after the brigades had left having seen nobody. In this manner the people tried to prevent the organizational work of collectivization. The members of the brigades used to gather and discuss at length how to break the resistance of the people, how they could possibly become the first brigade in the district and receive premiums as a reward and buy new clothes and shoes to replace the old ones worn out by agitation work in the villages.
2. The solution for collectivization of farms was deportation and "debourgeoisement" (nubuozinimas). The Russians completely destroyed whole farms, deported people to Siberia or imprisoned them, and confiscated all their belongings. One could hardly think of any better means to speed up collectivization. Usually a prominent farmer of an area was taken as a debourgeoisement victim. He was found guilty of having exploited people before the war by tilling his land with the help of workers not actually members of his family. The party, according to a plan, decided to impose taxes on such a farmer.
3. Here is an example of a farmer debourgeoisified in the fall of 1948. He owned 25 hectares of land. The party ordered taxes of 9,000 rubles to be paid by the farmer. He was found guilty of having exploited people before the war by tilling his land with the help of workers not actually members of his family. The party, according to a plan, decided to impose taxes on such a farmer.

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be paid to the tax inspector's office within five days. If this sum was not paid within five days, all his property, houses, tools, animals (from horse to duck) would at once be confiscated and the farmer would have to leave his farm immediately. The property would become State property. Once debourgeoisied, a farmer is never permitted to join a kolkhoz. He may do everything for the party, but it will not help him. He is first on the list to be deported to Siberia. As a matter of course everybody tries to avoid such misfortune for himself and his family and would rather pay all taxes and fill all the norms, even trying to exceed those norms. The farmer was taken to court in the fall of 1948. When he was told of the fine imposed, he said he would do everything possible to pay the 9,000 rubles. Obviously he wanted to save his family from deportation; a debourgeoisied farmer is not permitted to take even a piece of bread from his farm. The man was again asked whether he would pay or not. If not, it was better to have a brigade sent out immediately to do the confiscation job. Since he again claimed he would pay, the question was not repeated. The farmer asked the judge for postponement of the date of pay but was rudely interrupted by the judge: "Shut up, bourgeois! Stop your talking vainly!" The farmer did not know what to say and instinctively raised his eyes to the ceiling. The judge barked at him, "Why are you looking to heaven? Do you think your bourgeois God will help you to maintain your bourgeois way of life even under our communist regime?" Not grasping the reality of the situation the farmer modestly asked the judge to please permit him, after having paid the taxes, to join a kolkhoz together with his family. Otherwise he would have to sell everything for the taxes and would not be able to farm. The judge answered ironically: "Do you damned bourgeois dream of becoming chairman of a kolkhoz? Your time is over, and there is nothing more to say to you. Prepare to leave for the country of the polar bears!" Those were the last words in this trial. The same day there were about 18 other debourgeoisising cases before the same court. All sentences were the same. The same number of cases were tried the following day. It is impossible to describe all the personal misfortune they brought to the people concerned.

4. Because of the terror, the fear of deportations, confiscations, etc., collectivization was somewhat successful. The number of those voluntarily joining kolkhozy increased. Those having more land joined first, since they were much more afraid of the terrorization policy. There was also speculation that whoever joined the kolkhoz first had a good chance of becoming chairman, brigade leader, or farm-leader in the new kolkhozy.
5. The richer farmers first tried to appease the Bolsheviks in order to save what reserves of produce they still had. Furthermore, they knew very well that life in a kolkhoz meant nothing but slavery and hunger. Even the most foolish villager knew it.
6. The lack of manpower for the kolkhozy was a serious problem. The younger and more capable men died in the war, some fought as partisans in the woods, a great number were in jail, and in addition nearly one-half of all former inhabitants were deported by the Russians to Siberia. There were no animals, agricultural machinery, tools (the confiscated tools disappeared), or seed. An average number of hands for 600 hectares would be approximately 20 people, women and old people. It was obvious to everybody that these people could, at the best, produce just enough food for their own nourishment, but that they never would be able to meet the norms imposed upon them by the Bolsheviks, even if they worked day and night.
7. The richer farmers knew that from the food reserves in their possession they might possibly keep alive two years. Therefore, they were the first to apply secretly for entry into a kolkhoz. If a few farmers in a village so declared their willingness to join a kolkhoz, the Bolsheviks increased terror against those still resisting.

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8. A small village in the Kartena area (55-55N, 21-27E) was the scene of a preliminary meeting for the organization of a kolkhoz. The meeting was to take place at the primary school, a bad place, because people had had bad experiences with all meetings held at this place. But, since absence at such meetings has been again and again severely punished and this time also threats had been made, nearly 60 percent of those invited appeared. The meeting was opened and its purpose at length explained, though all present knew too well for what purpose the comrades of the Kartena Agricultural Section appeared, accompanied by five armed istrebiteili. In terse words, benefits of kolkhoz life were enumerated. But also from the very first words of the chairman of the agricultural section, his inability to lie was obvious, and it was obvious too that he would not be able to convince the stubborn farmers and get their signatures. Subsequently, the other comrades started to speak and explain in detail that, if nobody would sign, taxes would be imposed, impossible requisition norms would come, debourgeoisement procedures would be applied, and deportations to Siberia would follow. The farmers were too much impressed by the reality of such threats to ignore them. But whatever the official agitators said and however much they threatened the farmers did not convince them. The istrebiteili with their guns prevented anybody from leaving the hall. The farmers protested and started revolting, insisting upon their rights to go home first to convince their families and then sign. From 10 a.m. until 1 a.m. the farmers were bombarded with threats. Nobody could leave the hall without having signed. Announcements were continually made: farmer so-and-so had signed his declaration weeks ago; he was going to become chairman of the kolkhoz. The other one, who also signed voluntarily would be the first brigadier. Everything was in vain. The argument that others had signed earlier did not impress the farmers or in any way diminish their stubbornness. A feeling of revenge and hatred was born against the new bosses, kolkhoz chairman and brigadiers. Although the brigade worked hard, agitated, and threatened, they did not succeed in getting even one signature from the farmers to join the kolkhoz.
9. Toward the end of 1948 the collectivization terror reached its climax: day and night brigades were under way, requisition norms were raised, threats of deportations to Siberia made, debourgeoisement proceedings applied, but all in vain. Until the beginning of 1949 no essential progress was made. Take, as an example, the same kolkhoz discussed in paragraph 8; nobody had signed; the kolkhoz was still in organization. Moreover, the partisans had gotten knowledge of those who had given their signature, the chairman-to-be and the brigadier-to-be who were elected.
10. Soon the partisans started their own agitation. They accused those who signed the collectivization agreements of being guilty of all the terror suffered by the majority of the farmers. They started visiting, day and night, the houses of those who signed, advising them to resign from their chairmanship or brigadiership. After such a visit some poor farmer who had also signed without being promised a high job would not come to new meetings to get his coffee and cake. Those however who had jobs promised or otherwise wanted to prove their Soviet patriotism came running to the party and enthusiastically asked for guns to defend themselves from the bandits. When the partisans saw that it was impossible to convince those patriots with words, they took action. The chairman disappeared to reside in the woods eternally. Others were badly beaten, their bottoms rubbed with a grater, etc. So the collectivization was withheld until the big deportation of people to Siberia in 1949. After the wave of deportations, people gave in, and the number of kolkhozy at the Kartena community increased from 3 to 24.

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