

VIA: ATTN

PATCH NO. WSSA-1481

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TO : Chief, Foreign Division W

DATE: 15 February 1950

FROM :

SUBJECT: ~~SECRET~~ Letter of Transmittal

~~SECRET~~ The struggle for power and position between the Lithuanian groups abroad, namely, BDPS abroad versus VLIK.

1. As a result of several general discussions between Tirralirra and [] on the problems of the Lithuanian Resistance, Tirralirra has prepared for us a summary report of the developments and circumstances which have occurred in the struggle for power and position between the Lithuanian groups abroad, namely the BDPS abroad and VLIK.
2. Tirralirra does not maintain this report is all inclusive in scope and detail on this phase of Lithuanian affairs abroad, but does claim it sets forth briefly and accurately the developments responsible for the lack of cooperation between the two Lithuanian groups. We, of course, cannot assume complete responsibility for the statements and allegations made herein, but present it as received from source -- for your interest and future reference.
3. Tirralirra believes that the failure of the Lithuanians abroad to achieve a cooperative effort is due principally to VLIK, their uncompromising attitude, and their ambition to become the Lithuanian Government-in-exile -- despite the opposition of the BDPS abroad and the Lithuanian diplomatic representatives still representing the Lithuanian Republic.
4. Tirralirra has reiterated his willingness to cooperate with us on any reasonable basis and claims his sole interest continues to be the performance of his duties in support of the Lithuanian Resistance Movement.
5. Attachments a through p are claimed to be the English translations from original letters and documents which tend to substantiate the claims made in the attached summary report.
6. Should any portions of the attachments above referred to be of particular interest, it is quite probable that additional details can be obtained.

Attachments: 2 -

- (1) 12-page report - 2 cc Wash, 2 cc Muni.
- (2) a thru p - 1 cc Wash, 1 cc Muni.

2 atts 4/14

Distribution:
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FORM NO 51-28A
MAY 1946

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74-6-17-4
DOCUMENT MICROFILM SERVICE

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

Extract made from [unclear] accounts

Since the inception of the first Lithuanian resistance activity in 1940-1941, this activity has developed and expanded through numerous organizations, and with many individuals and party factions imposing their opinions as to the fundamental objectives and needs of the Lithuanian Resistance. The first resistance organization was founded by the former Lithuanian Minister to Germany, Colonel Skirpa. This organization continued in existence until 1944. During the German occupation, numerous other resistance organizations were also formed. Of these, the oldest, strongest and most uncompromising toward the Nazis was the LLA (Union of the Fighters for the Freedom of Lithuania). This organization was lead by Valiulis, alias Prunga, Tilestone, Tirralirra, and Dr. Algirdas Vokietaitis, and supported by many others. This was the only resistance organization which sent its representatives abroad to Sweden, at the same time kept constant contact with the Estonian, Latvian and Polish resistance organizations, maintained a clandestine broadcasting station, and currently sent its information via Antenas Valiukas in Berlin to Dr. Gerutis in Switzerland, the Lithuanian Legation in London, and [unclear] and Vokietaitis in Sweden. The return of Vokietaitis to Lithuania in January 1944 and his subsequent attempt to return to Sweden is an indication of the effort being made to keep the contacts abroad informed on the situation inside Lithuania.

Another of the stronger resistance movements was the democratic organization known by the name "Independent Lithuania", which was in fact a development of the Liberal-Peasants party lead by Bostius Bieliukas. There was also the "Lithuanian Front" organization headed by Professor Brasaitis.

In the early period of the resistance the greatest single weakness was the lack of a coordinating center. To offset this situation, the Supreme Lithuanian Committee was formed in 1942-1943, but despite the necessity only token cooperation was accomplished, as the "Lithuanian Front" organization refused to subordinate itself to the orders of the committee. Only in November 1943, after very lengthy and painful negotiations, was the Supreme Lithuanian Committee of Liberation (VLIK) formed. In VLIK, for practical significance, all elements of the resistance effort were represented. The LLA (Lithuanian Liberation Army), a strong clandestine military organization which led the resistance during the beginning of the second Russian occupation, did not at any time subordinate itself to the authority of VLIK. In practice, VLIK was only the coordinating body, and all the tasks and objectives were carried out by the respective resistance organizations to whom the duties were to be delegated. Officially VLIK began to function on 16 February 1944, at which time its authority was published in the underground newspapers and leaflets. From the outset VLIK did not in reality represent all parties or organizations, although an effort was made to make this the case; instead, some groups were represented only in name. From the beginning the organization was known to be cumbersome, inefficient, and without real authority. Nevertheless it was at that time felt to be a step in the right direction, with the intention for early amendment provided for in the original draft of the organizational document.

After only a few months of existence, in April-May 1944, most of the members of VLIK were arrested by the Gestapo. This development was the direct result of

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the arrest of Colonel Ambrasius, a VLIK representative, who on his way to Finland was caught by the Gestapo in Estonia. His almost immediate confession resulted in the arrest of a large number of members of the organization. (It was remarked that the representatives for the "Fighters for Freedom" objected strongly to the appointment of Colonel Ambrasius, but were overruled for political considerations.) Others arrested at this time included Romius Bieliukas, leader of the Liberal Peasants Party; Colonel Vebra, one of the ^{Klamonsas} leaders of the "Lithuanian Front" organization; Engineer Brunius, leader of the Nationalist Party; Gaidziunas, leader of the National Union; Valiulis (alias Drunga), and Tilestone, leaders of the Free Fighters group -- all of whom were at that time members of the VLIK. Other resistance leaders arrested included persons identified as Rudzinas, Kurkietis, ^{Adomas} Mildzius, ^{Adomas} Kurkias, Vi-sila, Zickus, Gintautas, ^{Adomas} Radokas, and others. (* Died later in German prisons)

^{Povilas} After the arrests in April and May 1944, a provisional VLIK with three members was formed, but this group could not control the situation, and in July 1944, at the time the Russians were rapidly occupying Lithuania, it ceased to exist. Two of its members succeeded in escaping to Germany.

^{June} In June 1944 Tirralirra was asked by ^{Kivis} Bielinis, chairman of VLIK, and the Secretary for Foreign Affairs to form a Delegation of VLIK abroad. At the same time a former member, Professor Kaminskas, was selected by VLIK to escape to Sweden. This part of the plan was to have been executed by Vokietaitis, but on their return they were captured and returned to a prison at Liepaja and subsequently removed to Germany. Kaminskas was not recognized and he was released, but Vokietaitis was placed in the prison camp at Stuthof.

At the time indicated above Tirralirra formed the secret VLIK delegation abroad in Berlin and became one of its members. Tirralirra and Valiukenas tried to make arrangements to escape to Sweden through the help of the Swedish Military Attache in Berlin, Colonel Danfeld. (The contacts with Danfeld were established by Colonel Skirns and maintained by his secretary, Valiukenas). The Danish Resistance organization had also volunteered their services in effecting the escape but circumstances prevented the implementation of the plan.

^{Adomas} The VLIK delegation abroad was in Wurzburg at the time that city was occupied by the American Army - in April 1945. At the time the Lithuanian political prisoners were liberated at Bayreuth, a decision was made to dissolve the delegation abroad and restore VLIK in emigration. Several former members of VLIK - namely Bieliukas, Tilestone, Gaidziunas, Brunius and ^{Adomas} Damusis - were among those liberated.

The original VLIK organization inside Lithuania ceased to exist in July 1944. The VLIK organization was begun anew, with the following principal members: Professor Kaminskas of the Social Democratic Party; Tirralirra and Damusis of the Lithuanian Front group; Brunius, Gaidziunas, Krupavicius of the Christian Democrats, plus two representatives of the practically non-existent Peasants Party.

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From the very beginning the new VLIK organization began to lose its resistance character and became more and more an emigré political organ. Some of the original members soon resigned and were replaced by others with little experience or knowledge of the real resistance objectives and with no interest in that phase of the activity. They became members merely to avail themselves of the political position and status which membership would give them. Former VLIK members, who had been released from prison, were not entirely in favor of the establishment of VLIK abroad; they felt it should have its headquarters inside Lithuania. Two lines of policy became evident, with one group interested in supporting the resistance element inside the country and the other to consider the resistance for the time being "written off"; the latter's efforts were directed toward maneuvering into a favorable political position should the day of liberation arrive.

Two former members of VLIK, who had been imprisoned by the Germans, namely Tilestone and Brunius, refused to consider themselves emigres, and cooperating with Bieliukas and Tirralirra, they began to prepare a return to Lithuania. As the maintenance of any degree of security within VLIK had become impossible by this time, they informed only the VLIK chairman, Professor Kaminskas, who had also been the chairman of the original VLIK organization in Lithuania. Tilestone and Brunius departed during September 1945. At the same time, Tirralirra proceeded to the British Zone, his object being to reach Sweden and become a VLIK representative there, and attempt to reestablish contact with Lithuania from Sweden.

In December 1945 Tirralirra was at Lubeck when he discovered that Vokietaitis was alive and also trying to reach Sweden. He was informed also that Tilestone and Drunga (the latter had been liberated in Berlin), had succeeded in returning to Lithuania and were now returning to Germany. At this time the VLIK established itself in the French Zone of Germany through the assistance of General Schmitlein.

The information brought back by Tilestone and Drunga constituted the first definite and reliable information received from Lithuania since July 1944. Although at this time Tilestone and Drunga formally and individually requested VLIK not to use the information supplied without their consent, VLIK completely disregarded this request and the information was used very indiscreetly. All the information (including photographs) was published in American newspapers and Lithuanian publications abroad, with no consideration for the danger this caused the resistance forces still alive inside Lithuania. Also at this time VLIK showed no consideration for either Tilestone or Drunga, both of whom were original VLIK members, and who had come directly from Lithuania with first-hand information and experience, plus established contacts with the remaining resistance. Neither was invited to attend a special meeting called for the purpose of reviewing the situation inside Lithuania, the problems of resistance, the measures to be adopted, etc. (However, this circumstance later proved to be fortunate, as the one-time VLIK secretary, identified as Simoniyte, later (in 1948) repatriated to Lithuania, confessed that she had contacts with the German Communist Party in Tubingen. Subsequent newspaper articles which appeared in the Lithuanian Communist press proved beyond a doubt that she had

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revealed the activities of VLIK and the identities of its members.) A second security break occurred when a mysterious and suspicious character (identified as Kvaracejus) appeared at Tübingen, Germany, claiming to have come from the resistance forces in Lithuania. His entire story was suspicious but he was nevertheless interviewed by VLIK chairman M. Krupavicius. Kvaracejus subsequently returned to Lithuania, and the Resistance later discovered that he had been sent as a Russian agent. In addition to the generally suspicious circumstances, Kvaracejus claimed to have contacted a Lithuanian (identified as Ciuberkis) living in Poland. A subsequent check by VLIK revealed that the individual Kvaracejus was unknown to Ciuberkis. After Kvaracejus' return to Lithuania, the Communist press published articles which left little doubt of the purpose of his mission. Although Krupavicius denied revealing any information in his interview with Kvaracejus, the resultant press articles revealed much indiscretion on the part of Krupavicius.

Henceforth the plans of Tilestone, Drunga, Tirralirra and Bieliukas were for obvious reasons kept secret. At this time Tilestone and Vytautas Staneika (leader in the small resistance movement VS) "Movement of Unity", decided to return to Lithuania. Staneika had come secretly to Germany from Poland after his release following three years' imprisonment at Stutthof. Their plans were discussed only with Professor Kaminskas, who approved of their action. Contacts were also made with the Lithuanian Minister in London, and General Flechavicius was informed. Vokietaitis, who was aided by the Swedes, arrived to confer with Tilestone, Staneika and Tirralirra prior to their departure. The principal message to be taken back to Lithuania was advice to the Lithuanian resistance leaders that it was imperative that contact be established with their representatives abroad, preferably in Sweden. They were also to be advised that liberation would not be forthcoming in the immediate future and that the resistance must take a more passive form. Staneika and Tilestone departed on 1 May 1946. Disguised as Polish citizens, they proceeded first to Poland.

In July 1946 Staneika left Lithuania and succeeded in making his way to Sweden. In September Tilestone followed him on orders of the resistance organization, as they had received rumors that Staneika had been killed en route. Upon his return to Lithuania, Tilestone found the resistance work already underway and took an active part in it. One single resistance organization had been formed - the Joint Democratic Resistance Movement ("Bendrojo Demokratinio Pasipriesinimo Sąjūdis" or "BDPS"). At this time the importance of passive resistance only was reemphasized. At this time also the political organ, the Supreme Committee of Restoration of Lithuania, was organized. Vokietaitis was named as the individual responsible for the contacts between the delegates abroad and the BDPS in Lithuania.

At this time the resistance organization inside Lithuania, namely BDPS, refused to make VLIK its representative abroad because they were of the opinion that the political authority should be in a component part of the BDPS, namely the Supreme Committee of Restoration of Lithuania. The BDPS also bitterly

represented the fact that VLIK did nothing to prepare for the second Russian occupation and left the country at the most difficult moment -- referring to the period of June-July 1944. Antipathy between these persons ran very high. Therefore individuals were chosen to the delegation abroad because of their resistance record and personal reputation rather than for previous party allegiance. Almost all were former members of VLIK, namely, Professor Kaminskas (Social Democrat), Krupavicius (Christian Democrat), Bieliukas (liberal Peasants Party), Tirralirra, Professor Brazaitis, Professor Padalakis, Staneika and Vokietaitis. To the BDPS delegation abroad, formed entirely for resistance purposes, were appointed Tirralirra, Professor Brazaitis, Professor Padalakis, Vokietaitis and Staneika. Tilestone came abroad as a member of the political and resistance authorities inside Lithuania - the BDPS. His purpose was to explain the situation existing inside Lithuania and to supervise the effective reorganization of the organization abroad and then return to Lithuania. Vokietaitis and Staneika, with the help of the Swedes and the Danes, met Tirralirra at Copenhagen in October 1946, and there Tirralirra presented his credentials.

During this time VLIK is characterized as merrily going on its way, continuing to busy itself with political intrigues, fanciful positions, etc. In the summer of 1946 a conference, composed of VLIK people and some of the Lithuanian ministers abroad, convened in Bern. Lozaraitis represented the Lithuanian Ministers abroad. Drunga, at this time, was one of the first victims of the VLIK political intrigues, and consequently was prevented from attending the conference.

When Tirralirra first came to Tübingen he was confronted with great difficulties. For example, Krupavicius and Professor Kaminskas recognized the extreme importance of what was being accomplished in Lithuania, but they still did not wish to face the facts. Professor Kaminskas refused to accept Tirralirra's credentials; Krupavicius accepted them only conditionally; Professor Brazaitis refused to consider seriously any of the information received or the capability of BDPS to do the job; Bieliukas was the only one who accepted the credentials and supported the efforts being made by BDPS. Some even questioned the fact that Tilestone and Staneika had ever been in Lithuania. The greatest opponent to the organization of effective resistance work was Professor Brazaitis. VLIK generally declared that it would not believe that resistance was possible until a confirming report had been received from within Lithuania. Tilestone, Staneika, Tirralirra and Vokietaitis at this time were called agents of a foreign power, forgers of documents, adventurers; etc. - the intent being to thoroughly discredit them and their efforts.

In a further effort to seek a solution and enlightenment to the problem, Staneika, Tilestone and Vokietaitis traveled to Germany in January of 1947. At this time a conference was held at Kirchheim between the persons above listed and VLIK members - Kaminskas, Tirralirra, Bieliukas, Krupavicius and Brazaitis. (Padalakis was in the U.S. at the time.) No real solution to the problem was reached. Strangely enough, the people who considered themselves responsible

Dr. Pranas

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political leaders indicated no interest in clarifying the situation inside Lithuania or in finding ways and means of aiding and supporting the resistance leaders. Only three persons were interested in this matter, Kaminakas, Tirralirra and Bieliukas. Krupavicius and Brasaitis came to the conference only at the insistence of Kaminakas. It was clear the VLIK desired to go on considering itself the supreme political authority abroad without assuming any of the responsibilities of support to the resistance within Lithuania. VLIK obviously did not consider the resistance of importance at this time, and would do nothing to disturb the satisfactory party politics maintained at this time.

This situation existed until July 1948, and needless to say did much harm. It prevented dispatching moral support to the underground, which was of such necessity; it was directly responsible for the lack of organization and the development of passive resistance at an earlier date.

In the spring of 1947 Tilestone secretly met representatives of the Lithuanian Resistance in Poland; thereafter he conferred with Minister Lomazaitis, the chief Lithuanian diplomatic representative abroad. The latter had no reason to disbelieve Tilestone, promised him his full cooperation and gave great moral support and valuable advice to the resistance leaders in Lithuania.

In the summer of 1947, a conference of VLIK members and Lithuanian ministers was held in Paris. Prior to this conference, Bieliukas had requested that Tilestone, Vokietaitis or Stanski be invited to attend. VLIK voted against extending an invitation to them. At this conference the Lithuanian diplomats, particularly those still in office, refused to recognize VLIK an eventual government-in-exile. It had long been the aspiration of certain VLIK members to be recognized as the government-in-exile and probably accounts for much of the discredit and non-cooperation shown other Lithuanian leaders and particularly those engaged in resistance activity. The conference had no practical or positive results. The entire question of support and recognition to the underground was ignored.

Stoeyt

In September 1947 Vokietaitis and Tilestone traveled to Switzerland to meet Minister Lomazaitis. Lomazaitis again promised his support, and agreement was reached on the cooperation to be received.

In the spring of 1948 Tilestone again went to Poland to meet the representative of the resistance and came back with two delegates of the BDPS, namely Adomaitis, alias Skrajunas, and Vitkanakas, alias Andronis. Tilestone's credentials were confirmed by the information he furnished; all the material brought by them was addressed to the BDPS delegation abroad, namely Tilestone, Stanski, Vokietaitis and, recently, Tirralirra. Tomas A. Grimas, the BDPS representative in Paris was also requested to join the delegation abroad.

At the time Adomaitis met Tilestone and Stanski in Stockholm on 20/21 March 1948, it was officially declared that the resistance in Lithuania was well aware of the identities of their benefactors and that they looked critically upon VLIK with its personal ambitions and political quarrels.

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Credit was, however, extended also to the work of the Lithuanian diplomats abroad for their advice and encouragement.

Prior to the fusion of all resistance organizations into the BDPS, Adomaitis had been a member of the Lithuanian Front group. Upon his arrival in Sweden Adomaitis located and made contact with the former leaders of the Lithuanian Front, who it is understood were at that time in VLIK. When VLIK learned that representatives of the BDPS had come to Sweden their attitude suddenly changed to one of interest and sympathy for the BDPS and the Lithuanian Resistance. Apparently by political maneuvering the VLIK representatives were able to bring Adomaitis into their camp and thus isolate him from the Tilestone group and the ministers abroad, all of whom the BDPS had instructed him to contact and advise. Adomaitis also refused to see Bieliukas and Tirralirra -- for reasons which are now all too clear.

Tirralirra, in an effort to end the disagreements abroad, suggested that Tilestone arrange for a general conference to be held in Paris or London, to which Minister Losaraitis would invite all factions. The conference would be open and constructive, devoid of political intrigues and propaganda, and the general objectives, to aid the Lithuanian Resistance (or more specifically the BDPS) inside Lithuania, would be outlined. Tilestone's recommendation was agreed to by Minister Losaraitis and the latter attempted to get the disagreeing parties together over a conference table. VLIK at first refused to participate but after persuasion reluctantly agreed to send their representatives. Tilestone and Adomaitis proceeded to Germany and the conference was held at Baden Baden during July 1948. The following VLIK members participated: Sidaikauskas, Krupavicius, Kaminskas and Brazaitis. Bieliukas and Gaidaiunas were not invited to attend due to their pro-BDPS views -- another triumph for the political intrigues of VLIK.

Vacy

At the Baden Baden conference Tilestone participated as a member of the presidium of the BDPS in Lithuania. At this time no one contested his status; he was no longer referred to as a foreign agent, a forger of documents, etc.; he was recognized as the representative responsible for the establishment of contacts with the resistance inside Lithuania. On the other hand, he and Adomaitis agreed to cooperate and to recognize in VLIK a supreme political authority abroad (eventually a government-in-exile), although their credentials gave them no authority for such recognition. This particular action was protested by other members of the BDPS delegation abroad. Minister Losaraitis and Minister Saulys expressed the opinion of the Lithuanian diplomats and functioning accredited ministers that this agreement, arrived at without their knowledge and consent, did not concern them; that the constitution of the still formally existing independent Lithuanian Republic could not be changed, and that the status of the accredited Lithuanian ministers abroad was in no way affected.

At this time Tilestone again tried to take up the discussion of the important problems of the resistance inside Lithuania and abroad, and the future plans to be developed for the reinforcement and support of the BDPS. The attempt was again doomed to failure, as the VLIK representatives showed no interest and

did not support this program. Also, contrary to Tilestone's request, a communique was published making known the Baden Baden meeting between VLIK and representatives of the Lithuanian Resistance.

It is difficult to say whether any good resulted from this meeting. It did not help clarify VLIK's stand in its illusionary struggle for recognition as an eventual government-in-exile. It did much harm in disclosing facts which should have remained secret. Minister Logoraitis very rightly pointed out the fact that information on resistance activities inside Lithuania should not be used for propaganda purposes, as such action was not reconcilable with underground activities; that in every case the meetings with representatives of the resistance must be kept secret, and that indiscreet propaganda abroad concerning the resistance activity could only bring disaster to the entire nation.

Although VLIK pretended to recognize Tilestone as the representative of the resistance and the individual solely responsible for resistance matters abroad, many things were done without his approval and knowledge. Adomaitis left for Paris, whence he expected to depart soon for Lithuania. From the outset, this was recognized as an idle gesture and it is doubtful that the contact with the French was necessary or even advisable for security reasons. It is also highly doubtful that any help could be expected from the French for the Lithuanian Resistance.

On the other hand, it is not yet known how the chairman of the executive council, Sidzikauskas, presented the whole support problem to the Americans on his trip to the U.S. in 1949. In all events, according to Sidzikauskas' own opinion, this presentation should not have been undertaken by him alone. It is obvious that Tilestone or some other member of the delegation of the BDPs abroad, who from long experience were cognizant of all facts involved, were the only responsible people to make either the formal or the practical presentation to the Americans. There was never any indication that resistance matters were to be entrusted to VLIK. Resistance matters were to be left in the hands of the BDPs and its representatives abroad, with some means of cooperation worked out to achieve the best results for both groups. The inadequacy of Sidzikauskas was well illustrated by the fact that at the time of his departure from the U.S. he made an open statement to the effect that contacts were being maintained between the resistance groups in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia; yet at this very time Tilestone and his compatriots were making their way through this particular area.

Due to the confused picture of circumstances inside Lithuania, Tilestone decided to return. He felt that the resistance program being followed was wrong, that it was based on the premise that war was just around the corner, with too much importance placed on support in the way of arms and munitions. He also had many doubts concerning the information brought earlier by Adomaitis and Vitkauskas.

In the spring of 1948 Tilestone requested Colonel Skirpa, then in Ireland,

to come to Stockholm to assume his (Tilestone's) duties. Colonel Skirpa was unable to accept this position. Tilestone then requested Tirralirra to take over his duties. Tilestone, as a recognized member of VLIK, in addition held credentials authorizing him to appoint members of the BDPs delegation abroad, and felt he had the right to make the above appointment. Tirralirra had however already been appointed a member of the BDPs in Lithuania in 1946.

It is quite clear that all efforts to organize the resistance abroad on a coalition basis have failed. Experience has shown that no delegation could function successfully with party politics playing a major role in its activity; in addition there was the handicap resulting from its members being dispersed over most of Europe. Furthermore, conspirative activity is a primary function in resistance work either inside Lithuania or abroad. There were many delicate contacts to be maintained and many subjects which could not be discussed even in a small collective group, and particularly not by open correspondence. On the other hand Tilestone understood only too well that internal politics should be put aside and that the resistance abroad should avoid controversies between the various political factions, political committees, etc. Therefore, after careful consideration, instead of reorganizing a delegation of BDPs, Tilestone decided, temporarily at least, to appoint only one representative of the resistance abroad; this representative to have full power to choose his collaborators, take up only problems directly related to the resistance movement, and to avoid insofar as possible any controversies. Tirralirra, as aforementioned, had already been appointed a member of the BDPs in Lithuania; he was also a former member of VLIK, and had left Lithuania in 1944 at the request of VLIK to organize its delegation abroad. Audronis, one of the delegates of BDPs, countersigned the decision of Tilestone. Audronis returned to Lithuania together with Tilestone, and the mission of Audronis and Adomaitis was considered closed. Minister Losoraitis was informed about it; he acknowledged Tirralirra's appointment and gladly agreed to cooperate and to inform his colleagues when it became necessary.

After Tirralirra was assured there was no longer any danger to Tilestone and Audronis - from indiscretion or leakage - he took up contact with Adomaitis in Paris on 11 May 1949, and laid the ground for the expected forthcoming mutual cooperation. He also wrote to Krupavicius, the chairman of VLIK, and to Sidzikauskas, the chairman of the executive council. He received no reply from Krupavicius. Adomaitis, aware that Tilestone and Audronis were out of reach, answered Tirralirra by requesting the latter to subordinate himself to his (Adomaitis') direction. This would have been impossible even if Tirralirra had been willing, as Adomaitis was located in Paris, was without personal contacts, and unable to render support to the operation. On the other hand, Adomaitis and Tirralirra, as delegates of BDPs, had equal rights, but both were subordinate to Tilestone, who was a member of the supreme resistance authority inside Lithuania. As Tilestone and Vitkauskas had returned to Lithuania, Adomaitis could not possibly hope to invalidate Tilestone's decision. Tirralirra, on the other hand, could not disregard his instructions and subordinate himself to Adomaitis. Tirralirra, however, still tried to find a solution,

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and pointed out to Adomaitis that their duties did not conflict; that he was replacing Tilestone, and Adomaitis was a temporary delegate of BDPS abroad. However, no solution could be reached without a personal meeting, which might perhaps have resulted in the clarification of many of the troublesome questions. The chairman of the executive council, Sidzikauskas, agreed to cooperate, however, and aided by sending money to Sweden to cover the debts (totalling 350 dollars) left by Tilestone on 23 June 1949.

In July of 1949 Tirralirra traveled to Germany where he met Sidzikauskas and Professor Kaminskas, and an exchange of information and mutual cooperation was agreed upon. Tirralirra at this time avoided controversial subjects, but pointed out the danger of running different lines of communication into Lithuania. Further arrangements could not be made because VLIK at that time was passing through an acute crisis and no one apparently had the power to make a decision.

Upon his return to Sweden on 4 September 1949, Tirralirra sent Sidzikauskas all the information he had obtained on the situation inside Lithuania. A reply from Sidzikauskas on 14 November 1949 advised that he no longer had anything to do with the matter. In the meantime Tirralirra received an invitation from VLIK, dated 18 October 1949, to come to Germany. He agreed and in his reply on 26 October 1949 asked assistance for travel expenses in advance. When his letter was received by VLIK, its sponsoring member and secretary Gaidziunas had already immigrated to the U.S. In a private letter to Bieliukas, Tirralirra pointed out that the presence of Minister Lozoraitis would be extremely advisable, as great care should be taken at this time to reach positive results, and that a proper agenda should be prepared in advance of a meeting. There was no reply from VLIK. Apparently, with the help promised by the Americans, VLIK was of the opinion that they would be able to handle matters and consolidate their position without the cooperation of the active BDPS representative abroad. (An individual identified as A. Sovai is reportedly maintaining the link between VLIK and the Americans.)

It was at this time that peculiar, baseless rumors began circulating about Tilestone - his personal insecurity, loyalty, etc. -- another obvious smoke screen tactic by VLIK and a last effort to attain its ambition of becoming the foremost Lithuanian organization abroad.

Recent information from Lithuania indicates that the active resistance units are slowly but surely liquidating themselves. To curtail this useless sacrifice and self-liquidation, all effort must be placed upon passive or moral resistance, with the establishment of an intelligence-gathering organization rather than active partisan activity. All propaganda abroad concerning partisan activity, the coming liberation, etc. must also cease - as this provides leads to the Soviets and eventually results in the liquidation of other resistance personalities. By continuing this propaganda, the resistance leaders without a doubt are playing directly into the hands of the Russians.

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In January, Tirralirra met Minister Lorraitis in London for the purpose of discussing the problems of support to the Lithuanian Resistance and the manner of implementation. The Minister again went on record to approve the line of action adopted by Tlestone and Tirralirra, and promised his full moral support. After enumerating the difficulties and the danger and inadequacy of separate efforts, Tirralirra requested him to call a conference and made one last effort to find a solution to the problem. Minister Lorraitis agreed to this proposal but admitted that he was not hopeful of the results.

Meanwhile VLIK and the caliber of its representatives has grown steadily weaker. The following is a list of the individuals who for one reason or another have left the organization or have refused to actively participate any longer. Brief background data on each is included:

- a. VOKIENAITIS - Resigned as VLIK representative in Sweden in late 1946 or early 1947.
- b. DRUNGIA - A representative of the Free Fighters group, an experienced resistance worker, and an efficient organizer. Resigned from VLIK in 1947 and joined the BDPS abroad.
- c. BRONIUS - An active resistance leader since 1940; leader of the Nationalist Party. He was arrested in 1947 upon his return to Lithuania. Since that time the Nationalist Party has been without membership in VLIK.
- d. STANIKIA - Organizer of the "Movement of Unity"; one-time member of VLIK. Resigned some time ago and has been an active supporter of BDPS.
- e. VILKISIS - Immigrated to the U.S.
- f. Dr. KERRA - The most prominent leader of the Lithuanian Front, well known and respected both in scientific and military circles (a colonel in the army); a capable resistance leader; now a member of the BDPS.
- g. Col. SKIRPA - Former Lithuanian Minister to Germany, leader of original resistance organization, formerly member of VLIK. Highly respected, an excellent organizer; now a member of the BDPS. Presently in the USA.
- h. (Gen) PLECHAVICIUS - Appointed by VLIK as commander-in-chief of the Lithuanian armed forces. Resigned as a result of tactics employed by VLIK.
- i. GAIDZEMIS - General secretary of the National Movement. Resigned from VLIK as a result of political intrigues which originated there. Now in the USA.
- j. GAIDZEMAS - Resigned from VLIK and immigrated to the USA.

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- k. RELIUKAS - Leader of the Liberal Peasant Party; active in resistance activity during the German occupation. Resigned recently from membership in VLIK.
- l. M. MACKEVICIUS - Disagreed with VLIK policy and resigned in 1949. Now in the USA.
- m. S. KUDZINSKAS - Resigned from VLIK and joined the BDPS. Now in Great Britain.
- n. Prof. KRUPVICIUS - Resigned from VLIK in 1949; proceeding to the USA.

The VLIK organization is now principally represented by Chairman Krupavicius, Professor J. Kaminskas and Professor J. Brazaitis. The first two are now elderly individuals who do not appreciate the need for a resistance movement. Brazaitis, leader of the Lithuanian Front, is one of the bitterest opponents of the BDPS abroad. He is largely personally responsible for the political intrigues within VLIK since its formation in Germany.

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Attachment b

Excerpt from a report prepared and written by Adomaitis alias Skirpunas, dated 20/21 March, 1948 and presented to Tilestone and Staneika in Stockholm:

" The resistance at home (meaning Lithuania), except through you, have received nothing from any Lithuanian organization abroad Some of the published declarations of VLIK and especially its executive council are offending us directly and indirectly. They are not helping the struggle of the resistance and are actually jeopardizing our existence by attempting to discredit our BDPS representatives abroad our aims are directly opposite at this time - we are fighting for freedom and they (VLIK) are fighting for government position

The leadership in Lithuania appreciates very positively the attitude of the plenipotentiary ministers, namely, Lomzraitis, Skirpa, Balutis and Saulys toward the resistance, their sincere understanding as well as wish to help actively in the struggle. The leadership at home accepts it sincerely with great confidence and best hope for the future collaboration"

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