

Brazil's Urban Guerrillas Take High Toll in Killings and Thefts

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Special to The New York Times

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 28—An underground war without quarter is being fought between Brazil's military Government and small cells of radical terrorists in the largest cities.

Over the last two years the underground struggle, which came to public attention most recently in the kidnapping of the West German Ambassador to Brazil, has included bank robberies, three abductions of diplomats, raids, arrests and running gun battles in the streets of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Belo Horizonte.

The shift in leftist violence in Latin America from the rugged mountains to the growing cities first became evident in Uruguay. After Ernesto Che Guevara was captured and killed in Bolivia in 1967, an Uruguayan underground organization called the Tupamaros began an urban guerrilla campaign of the kind that followed shortly afterward in Brazil. A similar campaign has been taken up in Chile by a small group called the revolutionary Left Movement. But in Colombia and Venezuela, where rural guerrillas still operate, urban organizations are used only to support bands in the countryside.

The urban guerrillas, in the picture that has emerged from Brazilian intelligence reports and occasional leaks from underground sources, live in cells of two to five people, constantly on the move between apartments and houses.

As far as their stated aims have become public, they want to overthrow the military Government and establish a socialist state in Latin America's largest nation.

13 Agents Slain, 62 Hurt

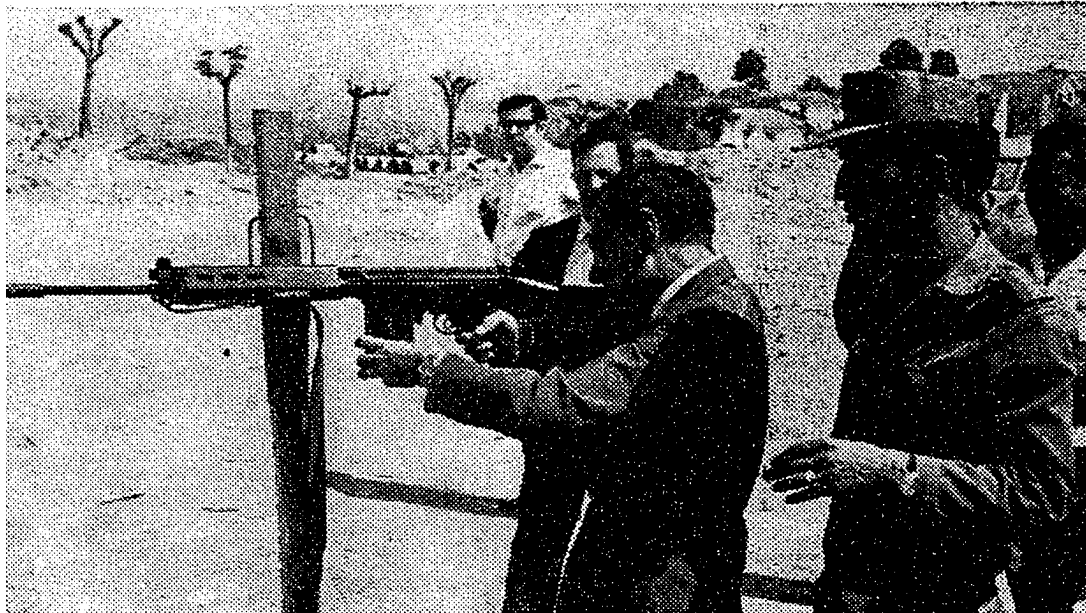
Outside the three major cities, which form a triangle that encloses most of the country's industrial wealth, the struggle has rarely been noticeable to most of the nearly 90 million Brazilians.

Nonetheless, according to the Government, 13 agents of counterterrorist forces — army, navy, air force and regular and political police — have been killed and 62 have been wounded. An estimate made public recently put the yield to terrorist groups from bank robberies at more than \$2-million in cruzeiros.

It is a rough and sometimes bloody struggle. The terrorists, mainly students and former military officers and noncommissioned officers, with a sprinkling of professional Communist revolutionaries, shoot when stopped or raided.

The violence is not all on one side. Prisoners who were not terrorists have reported after their release that torture is often used in police and army interrogation, Ambassador Ehrenfried von Holleben's kidnapers asserted that nine of their comrades had died in jail.

A Brazilian officer would not concede that torture was used on suspected terrorists, but he said: "We have to get information fast or the whole cell will be gone. Unfortunately, our policemen are not very sophisticated."



Manchete from Pictorial

Carlos Lamarca, shown when he was a captain in the Brazilian Army, teaching marksmanship to civilians. He defected and became leader of Popular Revolutionary Vanguard, a leftist terrorist group said to have kidnapped the West German Ambassador to Brazil.

The Government has denied that torture is used in jails.

"The terrorists are all that is really happening politically now," a man with leftist sympathies said recently. He has been arrested several times, probably for those sympathies, and cannot be identified.

"But, my God, I couldn't join them or support them," he added. "They want something just as totalitarian and repressive as what we have now."

Before the United States Ambassador, C. Burke-Elbrick, was kidnapped last September, the army estimated that there were 400 activists divided among about 10 shadowy groups. One current estimate has put the number of activists at a maximum of 200, almost all connected to one of two groups that have survived nine months of Government pressure and internal differences.

The two groups, the Popular Revolutionary Vanguard and National Liberating Action, came together, apparently for the first time, to take responsibility for the abduction of Ambassador von Holleben on June 11. Statements made outside Brazil on behalf of both groups have spoken of their commitment to a rural guerrilla

campaign that may take many years.

The Action group owes allegiance to a splinter of the outlawed Brazilian Communist party. The Vanguard has been identified with Carlos Lamarca, until January, 1969, an infantry captain with a reputation as a taciturn, intense man and a crack shot. Some qualified observers have asserted that the abduction of the West German envoy—he was set free in exchange for 40 political prisoners—might mark the emergence of Mr. Lamarca as the tactical leader of the two groups.

A Harried Existence

The small groups live a harried existence underground in the large cities and, according to intelligence reports, no single man has been recognized as leader since last November, when Carlos Marighella, an aging Communist rebel, was killed by the police.

Lamarca, born 32 years ago, the son of a cobbler in Rio de Janeiro, made his aims public in an interview published late last year in the Chilean leftist magazine *Punto Final*.

"The countryside is the weakest link in the imperialist chain," the magazine quoted

him as saying. "In the countryside we will build the first guerrilla column, as an alternative to the power of the dominant classes and as the embryo of the future popular army."

The former captain added in the sometimes-stilted style of the revolutionary. left: "The Brazilian revolution is part of a greater whole: the struggle of the exploited of the whole world for their social and political liberation and, more specifically, the Latin-American revolution, the struggle to free the continent from North American imperialism and to implant the social system that will solve our problems—socialism."

\$2.4-Million Robbery

Lamarca's group was built around him and three sergeants who fled their infantry regiments near São Paulo on January 25, 1969, taking with them 63 light automatic weapons and ammunition. The group carried out the single largest robbery ever organized in Brazil—a paramilitary raid on a house in Rio de Janeiro that netted \$2.4-million in cash from a safe belonging to a former Governor of the State of São Paulo.

The Governor, Ademar de

Barros, had accepted the unofficial motto "He steals but he gets the job done" during a tumultuous career in Brazilian politics. According to official accounts, after he died in 1968 the safe became the property of Mrs. Ana Benchimol Capriglione, a friend.

During the von Hollenben kidnapping, it became clear that the Popular Vanguard tried earlier this year to establish a rural guerrilla column in a valley of tangled forests 150 miles south of São Paulo. Six of the prisoners released in exchange for the Ambassador had been seized during the army encirclement of the guerrilla training camp last April and May. The kidnapers said that Lamarca had escaped with 20 others, and the Brazilian authorities believe that he organized the kidnappings.

On the list of prisoners, which presented a cross section of the activists who have entered the guerrilla underground, 24 people were identified as members of the Vanguard or as followers of Lamarca. Among the prisoners whose occupations were known, 16 were students or intellectuals, seven were former military officers or noncommissioned officers and only three were laborers or office employees.

There was a doctor, who arranged for the plastic surgery that changed Lamarca's face slightly last April, and a lawyer.

There was also Apolônio de Carvalho, a 58-year-old lifetime Communist revolutionary who fought in the Spanish Civil War and was decorated by the French Government for his combat leadership in the World War II Resistance.

Mr. de Carvalho has been identified with National Liberating Action, whose titular head is believed to be a former Communist congressman named Joaquim Câmara Ferreira. Mr. Câmara, whose picture on wanted posters shows a serious man with rimless spectacles on a square face, succeeded Mr. Marighella.

Intelligence reports earlier this year said he was trying to pull all the urban guerrilla fragments together.