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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 ALGIERS 01695

PARIS FOR ROSENBLATT

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: KISL, PTER, PINS, ASEC, AG
SUBJECT: POLITICAL ISLAM IN ALGERIA: BALLOTS,
BULLIES, AND BOMBS
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REF: ALGIERS 1629

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: IN THE UPCOMING ELECTORAL CONTEST BETWEEN ISLAMIST AND SECULAR VISIONS OF ALGERIA, THE SPECTER OF VIOLENCE (DISORDER QUELLED BY REPRESSION) HANGS OVER THE LANDSCAPE. WHILE THE "MAINSTREAM" ISLAMIST PARTY, THE FIS, EXHIBITS INTOLERANCE AND HAS ON OCCASION BEEN GUILTY OF INTIMIDATION AND

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VIOLENCE, IT HAS ALSO SUCCESSFULLY USED DEMOCRATIC MEANS TO ITS END. THOUGH THE FIS "GOOD COP/BAD COP" APPROACH MAY SIMPLY BE TACTICAL, IT ALSO REFLECTS THE DIVERSITY OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP, AND A DETERMINATION THAT VIOLENT CONFRONTATION WILL BE AN OPTION ONLY IF AND WHEN THE ROUTE TO POWER IS BLOCKED BY UNFAIR MEANS.

3. THERE ARE OTHER GROUPS HOWEVER, ON THE FRINGE OF THE ISLAMIST MOVEMENT, FOR WHOM VIOLENCE IS THE PREFERRED MEANS FOR ATTAINING POWER. FOUNDER OF THE "ARMED ALGERIAN ISLAMIC MOVEMENT" MUSTAFA BUYA 'ALI, DEAD SOME THREE YEARS, CONTINUES TO INSPIRE FOLLOWERS OF HIS BRAND OF ISLAMIC TERROR. SHADOWY GROUPS LIKE "AL-HIJRA WA AL-TAKFIR" AND ISLAMIC JIHAD HAVE BEEN ACCUSED OF ARMS THEFTS AND POLITICAL ASSASSINATION. THE FRINGES OF THE ISLAMIST MOVEMENT CONTRIBUTE TO THE NOTION THAT ISLAMIC POLITICS EQUATES WITH VIOLENT EXTREMISM, A POINT WHICH THE SECULAR PARTIES AND THE GOA NEVER FAIL TO MAKE.

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THOUGH A DISTINCTION MUST BE DRAWN BETWEEN MAINSTREAM ISLAMIST INTOLERANCE/STRONG ARMING, AND FRINGE GROUPS' PRACTICE OF TERRORISM, THE FACT IS THAT TOGETHER THEY FORM AN ISLAMIST CONTINUUM TO WHICH VIOLENCE IS NO STRANGER. END SUMMARY.

THE FIS: USING THE BALLOT, FOR NOW

4. THOUGH THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT THE ISLAMIC SALVATION FRONT (FIS) CONTAINS ITS SHARE OF MEMBERS PRONE TO VIOLENCE, THE PARTY HAS HAD ITS GREATEST SUCCESS WHEN IT HAS PLAYED BY THE RULES; WITNESS JUNE 12, 1990. THE FIS UNHAPPINESS OVER HAVING TO FIGHT THE COMING LEGISLATIVE ELECTION BATTLE USING REVISED ELECTORAL RULES CONTAINS AN UNDERLYING THREAT OF RECOURSE TO VIOLENCE: IF BENDJEDID DOES NOT AGREE TO PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, THERE WILL BE A GENERAL STRIKE; IF THE AUTHORITIES BRING OUT THE ARMY TO QUELL THE STRIKE, THERE WILL BE JIHAD. IN THE CONFUSED ATMOSPHERE FOLLOWING THE UPSET FIS VICTORY OF JUNE 1990, MANY ALGERIANS' FEELINGS OF SHOCK WERE COMBINED WITH A SENSE OF RELIEF: "AT

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LEAST THE FIS WILL BE HAPPY IT HAS WON THE ELECTIONS -- IT WON'T BE OUT ON THE STREET," A REFERENCE TO ABASSI MADANI'S PROMISE ON ELECTION EVE THAT THERE WOULD BE TROUBLE IF THE FIS DID NOT RECEIVE AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY.

5. IN THE LEADUP TO THE JUNE 1991 ELECTIONS, WE SEE
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A FIS TORN BETWEEN WANTING TO PARTICIPATE IN SOMETHING IT DOES WELL, AND FEARING THAT BY DOING SO IT MAY WELL LOSE AT ITS BEST SHOT AT NATIONAL POWER. THUS FAR, FIS LEADER MADANI'S ALLUSIONS TO VIOLENCE ARE COUCHED IN REACTIVE TERMS: "IF THE ARMY COMES OUT, THEN..." SHOULD THE FIS FEEL THAT A RECOURSE TO VIOLENCE IS NECESSARY, ITS ORGANIZATIONAL ABILITIES WILL ENSURE THAT IT CAN GET OUT LARGE NUMBERS OF MILITANTS. FOLLOWING A FIS ATTACK ON A RCD PARTY MARCH IN BATNA IN JANUARY, RCD

[REDACTED] TOLD
POLCHIEF THAT THE FIS HAD A MILITIA, ARMED MAINLY WITH KNIVES BUT ALSO POSSESSING FIREARMS, AND THAT

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THIS MILITIA WAS CLEAN-SHAVEN SO AS TO PRESENT A FRONT CONFUSING TO THE "ENEMY." PART OF THE FEAR OF THE NON-FIS PARTIES IN THE CONTROVERSY OVER VOLUNTEER TRAINING CAMPS FOR SERVICE IN IRAQ DURING THE GULF WAR WAS THAT THE FIS WOULD USE SUCH CAMPS AND UNITS TO CREATE (OR AUGMENT) ITS OWN MILITIA, LEBANESE-STYLE.

6. THE FIS' CHOICE OF FRIENDS FROM ABROAD HARDLY REASSURES THOSE LOOKING FOR A KINDER, GENTLER FUNDAMENTALISM: THE DECEMBER 1990 FIS CELEBRATION OF THE INTIFADHA FEATURED SUCH ISLAMIST HEAVIES AS SHAIKH AS'AD BAYYUD AL-TAMIMI AND HIS SON "COLONEL" NAZHIR BAYYUD AL-TAMIMI, OF THE PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD; THE BROTHER OF ANWAR SADAT'S ASSASSIN WAS ALSO AN HONORED GUEST. THE PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD - BAYT AL MAQDIS FACTION, A TERRORIST GROUP FOR WHICH TAMIMI PERE IS THE SPIRITUAL ADVISOR, USED THE FIS BIWEEKLY "AL-MUNQIDH" IN MARCH 1990 TO CLAIM RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ATTACK ON AN ISRAELI TOURIST

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BUS IN ISMAILIA, EGYPT.

7. FIS INTOLERANCE RAISES MAJOR QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE PARTY'S COMMITMENT TO MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY, AND REACHING IT THROUGH NONVIOLENT MEANS. ITS CAMPAIGN OF INTIMIDATION AGAINST BARS, CINEMAS, BEACHES, AND OTHER ASPECTS OF MODERN SECULAR ALGERIAN LIFE HAS ONLY BEEN KEPT IN CHECK BY FIRMNESS ON THE PART OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. DURING THE DECEMBER 1990 ACYPL DELEGATION VISIT TO

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THE ORAN WILAYA ASSEMBLY (APW), YOUNG AMERICAN POLITICAL LEADERS GRILLED FIS ELECTED OFFICIALS ON THEIR LONG-TERM COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY. THE FIS ANSWERS WERE NON-COMMITTAL. FIS PARTY OFFICIALS COMPLAINED THAT THE FIS WAS BEING HELD ACCOUNTABLE TO DEMONSTRATE ITS COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY, WHEN FOR YEARS THE U.S. HAD DEALT -- UNCOMPLAININGLY THEY SAID -- WITH REPRESSIVE AND UNDEMOCRATIC ALGERIAN REGIMES. ONE HIGH FIS PARTY OFFICIAL INTIMATED THAT THE FIS GOAL OF SOCIAL JUSTICE WAS SO IMPORTANT AS TO OUTWEIGH THE NEED TO USE NONVIOLENT DEMOCRATIC MEANS IN ITS ACHIEVEMENT. IN OTHER WORDS, THE ENDS JUSTIFY THE MEANS.

8. ANY DISCUSSION OF THE FIS POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE MUST CONSIDER ALI BELHADJ, ITS FIREBRAND PREACHER. HIS PERFORMANCE AT A NOVEMBER 1990 FIS RALLY IN DOWNTOWN ALGIERS, CAPTURED ON A FIS VIDEOCASSETTE, IS AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE KIND OF DEMAGOGERY WHICH SENDS CHILLS DOWN THE BACKS OF NON-ISLAMISTS. BELHADJ IS AT HIS BEST -- AND MOST DISCONCERTING -- WHEN ATTACKING THE RULING ELITE. LOOKING UP AT THE CRUMBLING CASBAH, THE HISTORIC HEART OF ALGIERS, BELHADJ MAKES A BITING REFERENCE TO PRESIDENT BENDJEDID, WHO HAD THE MISFORTUNE (OR WAS IT SIMPLY BAD PR ADVICE?) TO HAVE REFERRED IN A TV INTERVIEW TO HIS SPARE TIME TENNIS HABIT. SAYS BELHADJ, TURNING TO LOOK UP AT THE CASBAH, "HOUSES FALLING DOWN, AND WHAT DOES HE DO? PLAY TENNIS|" THE IRONIC LAUGH QUICKLY TURNS NASTY: "AND THEY (THE FLN NOMENKLATURA AND THE REST OF THE RULING ELITE) THINK

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 WE'LL LET THEM GET AWAY (I.E. WHEN THE FIS IS IN
 POWER)? NO, WE'LL KEEP THEM HERE| THEY HAVE
 STOLEN, THEY HAVE TORTURED AND KILLED PEOPLE| THEY
 WILL HAVE TO SETTLE ACCOUNTS WITH US." THERE ARE
 THOSE WHO FEAR THAT BELHADJ (AND HIS LIKE) MAY
 REPRESENT SO GREAT A DANGER TO THOSE IN POWER THAT
 SOONER OR LATER HE WILL BECOME A MARTYR, EITHER AS
 THE VICTIM OF AN ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT OR AT THE
 HEAD OF A MOB. WE CAN ONLY IMAGINE WHAT BELHADJ THE
 MARTYR WOULD BE FOR THE ISLAMIC MILITANTS.

 NON-FIS ISLAMISTS: THE "GOOD" AND THE REALLY BAD

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9. THOUGH THE FIS HAS BEEN THE FOCUS OF MOST OF THE ATTENTION GIVEN TO ALGERIA'S ISLAMISTS, IT IS BY NO MEANS ALONE. ON THE "RESPECTABLE" SIDE IS SHAIKH NAHNAH'S ISLAMIC BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION "AL-IRSHAD WA AL-ISLAH," WHICH HAS ADDED A POLITICAL WING BY THE NAME OF "HAMAS" -- A CATCHY ACRONYM WHICH MIMICS THE NAME OF THE PALESTINIAN ISLAMIST GROUP RESPONSIBLE FOR MUCH OF THE INTIFADHA-INSPIRED VIOLENCE IN THE ISRAELI-OCCUPIED TERRITORIES -- AS WELL AS SHAIKH DJABALLAH'S "NAHDA" PARTY. THOUGH BOTH NAHNAH AND DJABALLAH ARE WIDELY CONSIDERED TO BE PART OF A GOA-INSPIRED ATTEMPT TO SPLIT THE ISLAMISTS' RANKS THROUGH THE ADDITION OF MODERATE ALTERNATIVES, THEIR "MODERATION" IS ONLY A QUESTION OF DEGREE. NAHNAH, WITH HIS PAST LINKS TO THE EARLY 80'S TERRORIST BUYA 'ALI (MORE BELOW) AND HIS CONTINUING ASSOCIATION WITH THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD "INTERNATIONAL," MAY BE SETTING HIS SIGHTS ON THE "MODERATE" ISLAMISTS SIMPLY BECAUSE THE LUMPENPROLETARIAT IS ALREADY WITH THE LIKES OF ALI BELHADJ. FOR HIS PART, DJABALLAH, DURING THE GULF WAR, CALLED FOR AN ISLAMIC MILITARY ALLIANCE AND A DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST THE UNITED STATES. IN THE EVER SHIFTING CURRENTS OF ISLAMIST POLITICS, THERE IS STILL THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ALLIANCE GROUPING THE SHAIKHS' PARTIES WITH THE FIS.

10. ON THE LESS RESPECTABLE SIDE, OUTSIDE THE

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POLITICAL PALE, ARE SHADOWY GROUPS ABOUT WHICH
RELATIVELY LITTLE IS KNOWN. MUSTAFA BUYA 'ALI,
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KILLED IN A 1987 SHOOTOUT AFTER A SERIES OF EARLY
EIGHTIES TERRORIST ACTIONS, CONTINUES TO BE A FIGURE
OF MYSTERY. BUYA 'ALI WAS THE FIRST ISLAMIST TO
TAKE UP ARMS AGAINST THE AUTHORITIES, IN THE DAYS
WHEN THE SECURITY APPARATUS WAS STILL A FIERCELY
REPRESSIVE FORCE, WHICH PROBABLY ACCOUNTS FOR HIS
LEGENDARY STATUS. HIS LEGACY INSPIRED A GROUP
CONSISTING PRIMARILY OF MISGUIDED YOUTHS TO ATTACK A
COURTHOUSE IN BLIDA IN JANUARY 1990, ENDING IN
SEVERAL DEATHS AND THE SENTENCING TO DEATH IN
ABSENTIA OF SEVERAL OF THE RINGLEADERS.

11. THOUGH OSTENSIBLY IT DIED WITH BUYA 'ALI, HIS
GROUP CLAIMS TO LIVE ON AS THE "ARMED ALGERIAN
ISLAMIC MOVEMENT." JUST AFTER THE FIS ELECTORAL
VICTORY IN JUNE 1990, AN ALGERIAN PURPORTING TO BE A
FIS OPERATIVE IN FRANCE DESCRIBED THE MIAA (THE
FRENCH ACRONYM FOR THE MOVEMENT) AS THE ARMED BRANCH
OF THE FIS, THOUGH THIS WAS PUBLICLY DENIED BY THE
FIS. ATTEMPTING TO PUT A DAMPER ON THE RISING MEDIA
IMAGE OF SHAIKH NAHNAH, SOMEONE DESCRIBING HIMSELF
AS A FOUNDING MEMBER OF THE MIAA DENOUNCED THE
SHAIKH, IN CONSIDERABLE DETAIL, AS THE ONE WHO
"SOLD" BUYA 'ALI TO THE AUTHORITIES IN EXCHANGE FOR
THEIR TOLERATION OF HIS BRAND OF RELATIVELY MODERATE
ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM.

12. IN LATE 1990, THEFTS OF ARMS AND EXPLOSIVES
FROM SEVERAL SPOTS AROUND THE COUNTRY, AS WELL AS A
MAFIA-STYLE HIT OF TWO BARROOM CLIENTS IN ALGIERS,
WERE BLAMED BY THE AUTHORITIES ON SUCH GROUPS AS

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"AL-HIJRA WA AL-TAKFIR," OR ON "ISLAMIC JIHAD," WHO,
ACCORDING TO GOA SOURCES, WERE PREPARING ANTI-U.S.
TERRORIST ACTION IN ALGERIA IN OCTOBER 1990. A
SHOOTOUT IN THE TOWN OF BOUIRA IN DECEMBER 1990 WAS
PART OF A POLICE ROUNDUP OF ISLAMIST EXTREMISTS

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BELONGING TO THESE GROUPS. UNHEARD OF BEFORE
OCTOBER 1988, HIJRA IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE APPEARED,
WEARING BLACK HEADBANDS, DURING MOB ATTACKS ON
PUBLIC BUILDINGS. IN AN ALGERIA WHICH IS ONLY A FEW
YEARS OUT OF THE PRE-OCTOBER 88 POLICE STATE, THERE
IS THE LINGERING SUSPICION THAT SOME OF THE PUTATIVE
ISLAMIST VIOLENCE IS IN FACT THE WORK OF THE
SECURITY APPARATUS, ATTEMPTING TO BLACKEN THE
REPUTATION OF THE FIS, STILL THE PARTY TO BEAT IN
THE UPCOMING LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS.

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13. "AL-HIJRA WA AL-TAKFIR," ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, IS SAID TO FOLLOW THE TEACHINGS OF "THE ULTRA-ORTHODOX IMAM NASSEREDDINE AL-ALBANI," THOUGH SOME REPORTS SAY THAT HIJRA INCONGRUOUSLY MIXES IN SHI'A THEOLOGY. THE WEEKLY "OBSERVATEUR" SAYS THAT IT MAY HAVE AS MANY AS 20,000 FOLLOWERS IN ALGIERS, BUT THIS COULD BE WILD CONJECTURE. THE PAPER ALSO SAYS THAT HIJRA HAS BATTLED WITH THE FIS IN SOME MOSQUES IN THE HEAVILY ISLAMIST NEIGHBORHOOD OF BELCOURT, WHICH HAS MORE CREDIBILITY: WE RECALL THAT ABASSI MADANI AND ALI BELHADJ APPEALED FOR CALM AFTER HIJRA WAS BLAMED FOR ATTACKS ON RAMADAN CONCERTS. THOUGH SEEMINGLY DISTINCT FROM THE MAINSTREAM PARTIES, IT IS LIKELY THAT MEMBERS OF THE EXTREMIST FRINGE COME FROM THE SAME BASE. A LEADER OF A SMALL ISLAMIST PARTY WHICH MERGED WITH SHAIKH NAHNAH'S HAMAS, DR. MOHAMED BENMOHAMED, IS SAID TO ONCE HAVE BEEN A MEMBER OF HIJRA.

14. EARLIER THIS YEAR, THE CRUSADING WEEKLY "NOUVEL HEBDO" PRINTED AN EXPOSE ON ALGERIAN ARMS TRAFFICKING, SUBTITLED "PARTITION BY 9 MM." THEREIN THE AUTHOR DESCRIBES HIS ATTEMPTS TO PROCURE WEAPONS, FINALLY GETTING TO WHERE HE COULD HAVE PROCURED A BERETTA FOR A LITTLE OVER ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS. THE POINT OF THE ARTICLE IS THAT THE WEAPONS MARKET HERE IS THE DOMAIN OF THE ISLAMISTS, MENTIONING IN PASSING A GROUP ABOUT WHICH WE HAVE HEARD NOTHING: "TABLIGH AL-ISLAM." THE SAME ISSUE
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CARRIES A "COMMUNIQUE" FROM ANOTHER HITHERTO UNKNOWN GROUP, "AL-FIJR WA AL-TAKFIR, WESTERN CELL" (WE THINK THIS MAY HAVE BEEN A MISPRINT OF "AL-HIJRA WA AL-TAKFIR). THE COMMUNIQUE SPEAKS OF ALGERIAN MINISTERS "TREMBLING WITH FEAR" AT THE PROSPECT OF AN "E.T.A.-LIKE" PROFUSION OF DYNAMITE THROUGHOUT ALGERIA.

THE OUTLOOK: BULLIES AND BOMBS IN RESERVE

15. ANY THREAT TO INTERNAL STABILITY COULD MAKE ITS REPERCUSSIONS FELT THROUGHOUT THE REGION. THE NERVOUSNESS OF ALGERIA'S TUNISIAN AND MOROCCAN NEIGHBORS, AS WELL AS ITS FORMER COLONIAL MASTERS TO THE NORTH, AT THE PROSPECT OF AN ISLAMIST MARCH TO POWER IS WELL DOCUMENTED. ALREADY THERE IS CONCERN OVER FUNDAMENTALIST INFLUENCE SPILLING ACROSS BORDERS, AS HAS APPARENTLY HAPPENED IN ALGERIA ITSELF. REFTTEL DESCRIBED THE WIDESPREAD IMPRESSION THAT THE FIS GOT ITS START WITH SAUDI FINANCING, AND THAT THE LESSONS LEARNED BY ALGERIAN ISLAMIST VOLUNTEERS IN AFGHANISTAN WILL SOMEDAY BE APPLIED AGAINST THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS.

16. WE INFER FROM THE RECENT ATTEMPTS OF ABASSI MADANI AND ALI BELHADJ TO RESTORE ORDER AT THE RAMADAN CONCERTS A WILLINGNESS TO KEEP THE "TROOPS" IN RESERVE. WHY RISK A CRACKDOWN OVER THEIR PURITANICAL REACTION TO ALGERIAN POPULAR MUSIC WHEN

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THE EXCITABLE MILITANTS COULD BE USED ONE DAY TO CONFRONT AUTHORITIES INTENT ON BLOCKING FIS ACCESS TO POWER? IN FACT, TOO LITTLE IS KNOWN ABOUT THE INFLUENCE, IF ANY, THE FIS HAS OVER THE MORE RADICAL GROUPS. BUYA 'ALI IS SAID TO HAVE CONSIDERED THE MAINSTREAM ISLAMISTS OF HIS DAY TOO TAME, AND SCORNEDEMONSTRATIONS WHEN BULLETS WERE AVAILABLE. THE MADANI AND BELHADJ "JAWBONING" OF RAMADAN SEEMED TO WORK AT THE TIME, BUT WILL THE FIS LEADERS BE ABLE (OR WILLING) TO CONTAIN PASSIONS IN THE EVENT OF PERCEIVED OR ACTUAL GOVERNMENT HIJACKING OF WHAT THEY FEEL IS THEIR LEGITIMATE RIGHT TO POWER?

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17. FOR ITS PART, THE GOA MUST CALCULATE THE RISKS INVOLVED IN ANY RECOURSE TO REPRESSION. BUYA 'ALI

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BEGAN OPERATIONS AT A TIME WHEN BENDJEDID HAD IMPRISONED OTHER ISLAMISTS (INCLUDING ABASSI MADANI). THAT WAS THE ALGERIA OF THE EARLY EIGHTIES. CLOSE TO A DECADE LATER, THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY IS NOT NEARLY AS HEALTHY, THE POPULATION HAS ALREADY REBELLED AGAINST THE STIFLING ATMOSPHERE OF ONE PARTY RULE (OCTOBER 1988), AND THE POOL OF SYMPATHIZERS TO ANY ARMED ISLAMIC RESISTANCE HAS MULTIPLIED CONSIDERABLY. MADE UP OF THE SAME CROSS SECTION OF SOCIETY, IT IS EVEN QUESTIONABLE WHETHER THE POLICE AND ARMY WOULD FIRE ON FELLOW CITIZENS, ISLAMIST OR NOT, IF IT CAME TO A CONFRONTATION.

18. ALI BELHADJ IS FOND OF SAYING THAT HIS POLITICAL PROGRAM IS THE KORAN, MEANING THAT AN ISLAMIC STATE IN ALGERIA WOULD APPLY THE ISLAMIC PUNISHMENTS PRESCRIBED BY THE KORAN. THOUGH OTHER ISLAMISTS MAY HEDGE ON THIS AND OTHER ASPECTS OF ISLAMIC GOVERNANCE, THE PRESENCE OF THE ALI BELHADJ SCHOOL, SHOULD THE ISLAMISTS EVENTUALLY COME TO POWER, IS VERY LIKELY TO UPSET ACCEPTED NOTIONS OF CIVIL LIBERTIES. THE MESSAGE IS NOT LOST ON THOSE IN POWER, AND THE PROSPECT OF SETTLING ACCOUNTS WITH AN ISLAMIC COURT BENT ON REVENGE MUST COLOR EVERY MOVE THE REGIME MAKES REGARDING THE DELICATE OPENING TO DEMOCRACY. AN ISLAMIC STATE IN ALGERIA IS STILL BY NO MEANS A FOREGONE CONCLUSION. BUT WHEN WE LOOK AT THE ISLAMIST COLLECTION OF POLITICAL TRICKS, WE MUST NOT UNDERESTIMATE THEIR USE OF VIOLENCE, BOTH ACTUAL AND INFERRED, AS A MEANS TO THEIR ENDS.

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