

tance against the state.⁷¹ In 70 percent of the cases since 1968 in which military force was effective, it was against groups that had more than 100 members. For example, military force was successful in defeating the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in Sierra Leone. Britain was especially helpful in deploying approximately 4,500 soldiers and an aircraft carrier to Sierra Leone in 2000, which were pivotal in routing RUF forces and stabilizing the country.⁷² As one 19-year-old student in Sierra Leone noted, “We love the British soldiers—they are showing some military guarantee. They are well equipped. They are not afraid like the U.N., like the Kenyans and Zambians who just gave up their arms and were taken hostage. They are not here to take any rubbish.”⁷³ In Uruguay, the military unleashed a bloody campaign of mass arrests and selected disappearances against the Tupamaros, dispersing those guerrillas who were not killed or arrested. By 1972, the Tupamaros had been severely weakened, and its principal leaders were imprisoned. Even during insurgencies, however, there are limits to how military force can be used. As David Galula argued, “[C]onventional operations by themselves have at best no more effect than a fly swatter. Some guerrillas are bound to be caught, but new recruits will replace them as fast as they are lost.”⁷⁴

Victory

Since 1968, 10 percent of the terrorist groups that ended did so because they had achieved their goals. As Nobel Laureate in Economics Thomas Schelling wrote, terrorist groups may accomplish “intermediate means toward political objectives . . . but with a few exceptions it is hard to see

⁷¹ On definitions of insurgency and civil war, see, for example, Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006, p. 31; Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 5; and Fearon and Laitin (2003).

⁷² See, for example, Richard Connaughton, “Operation ‘Barass,’” *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 12, No. 2, Summer 2001, pp. 110–119; and Doyle and Sambanis (2006, p. 318).

⁷³ Norimitsu Onishi, “British Plans to Leave Sierra Leone Prompt Worry,” *New York Times*, June 7, 2000, p. A14.

⁷⁴ Galula (2005, p. 72).