

that the attention and publicity have been of much value except as ends in themselves.”<sup>75</sup> When they have achieved victory, it has usually been because they had narrow goals, such as policy or territorial change. No terrorist group that sought empire or social revolution has achieved victory since 1968. Perhaps more importantly, in most cases, terrorism had little or nothing to do with the outcome. There is rarely a causal link between the use of terrorism and the achievement of its goals.

One of the most significant exceptions is the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC was created in 1912 and turned to terrorism in the 1960s. ANC leader Nelson Mandela, imprisoned for terrorist acts from 1964 to 1990, was elected South Africa’s first president following the end of apartheid. The last ANC attack occurred in 1989, and the organization became a legal political actor in 1990. As Mandela remarked at his 1964 trial, “without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of white supremacy. All lawful modes of expressing opposition to this principle had been closed by legislation, and we were placed in a position in which we had either to accept a permanent state of inferiority, or to defy the Government.”<sup>76</sup> There are also a number of historical examples of successes. For example, the FLN against the French in Algeria (1954–1962) and the Irgun and Lohamei Herut Israel (Lehi) against the British during the Palestine Mandate (1937–1948) were successful in achieving their objectives. In both cases, terrorism played an important role in change, but it was not sufficient in Algerian independence or the creation of the state of Israel.<sup>77</sup>

Terrorism’s ineffectiveness cuts against the prevailing view among much of the literature on terrorism, which assumes that terrorism is an

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<sup>75</sup> Thomas Schelling, “What Purposes Can ‘International Terrorism’ Serve?” in R. G. Frey and Christopher W. Morris, eds., *Violence, Terrorism, and Justice*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 18–32, p. 20.

<sup>76</sup> Nelson Mandela, “An Ideal for Which I Am Prepared to Die: Nelson Mandela April 20 1964,” *Guardian*, April 23, 2007.

<sup>77</sup> On the FLN and Irgun cases as successful cases of terrorism, see Crenshaw (1996, pp. 260–261) and Hoffman (2006, pp. 43–62).