

Contribution of the European Union in Combating Terrorism in Peru from 1993 to 2013

**How has the EU contributed in combating terrorism in Peru during the years of
1993-2013?**



http://www.rree.gob.pe/politicaexterior/Paginas/El_Peru_en_Europa_Comunitaria.aspx

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates how the EU has contributed in combating terrorism in Peru. The thesis focuses on the terrorist group Sendero Luminoso during the years 1993-2013. It also investigates why terrorism in Peru should be of concern for the EU and if Sendero Luminoso should be considered a threat today. The theories used are securitization theories developed by Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver, as well as a theory developed by Sven Biscop. The method applied in the thesis is a literature review with a primary source analysis. The treaties have been analyzed with a frequency analysis. The historical information has been applied to the information found in the treaties to find if there are any explanations to why the treaties made between the EU and Peru have been focusing on terrorism more some years than others. During the years of 2001-2005 the focus on terrorism was significantly bigger than other years. There are different opinions regarding whether Sendero Luminoso should be considered a threat today but there are many factors that point to their being in fact a threat. As the remaining parts of *Sendero Luminoso* have ventured into illicit drug trafficking, it is of concern for both Peru and Europe. If the EU continues its cooperation with Peru as a part of its foreign policy, acknowledging that it could improve international relations and the security situation, it could contribute to combating terrorism in Peru.

Keywords: Terrorism, Peru, European Union, Sendero Luminoso, International security.

Table of contents

1. Introduction.....	4
2. Theory.....	6
3. Method.....	10
3.1 Material and sources.....	11
3.2 Previous research.....	13
4. Research.....	15
4.1 Historical overview of the history of terrorism in Peru	15
4.2 Peru’s foreign attitude and attitude towards the EU.....	19
4.3 The EU foreign policy and Peru relationship.....	21
4.4 The EU counter-terrorism strategy.....	24
5. Results.....	26
6. Analysis and discussion.....	29
7. Conclusion.....	37
8. Appendix – List of vocabulary.....	39
9. Sources.....	40

1. Introduction

“We all share the same planet. Poverty, organised crime, terrorism, climate change: these are problems that do not respect national borders. We share the same aspirations and universal values: these are progressively taking root in a growing number of countries all over the world. We share “l’irréductible humain”, the irreducible uniqueness of the human being. Beyond our nation, beyond our continent, we are all part of one mankind.”¹

This is a quote from the Nobel Peace Prize Lecture on behalf of the European Union presented by the president of the European Commission José Manuel Durão Barroso. The European Union broadened its horizons and realised that there are many problems that concern the entire world, not just themselves. Like Barroso states in this quote from the Nobel Peace Prize lecture “these are problems that do not respect national borders.”²

Peru is still plagued by the internal conflict with the terrorist organisation *Sendero Luminoso* that took place in Peru during the years 1980-2000. Terrorism is a problem that could affect the entire world. In 2012 the EU won the Nobel peace prize with the motivation “for over six decades contributed to the advancement of peace and reconciliation, democracy and human rights in Europe”³ But what has the EU done outside of Europe to deal with problems that effect all countries such as terrorism? Has it contributed to improving human rights and peace outside of Europe as well? With this in mind I came up with the research question: How has the EU contributed in combating terrorism in Peru during the years of 1993-2013? I also have the follow-up questions: Why is terrorism in Peru a concern of the EU? And is *Sendero Luminoso* a threat today?

A terrorist attack is defined as: “[It] must be violent, must be directed at those the observer (if not the perpetrator) considers innocent or non-combatant, must inspire fear and terror, and is often symbolic in some sense.”⁴ Another definition of terrorism states that it is “the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of

¹ European Union (EU) - Nobel Lecture: From War to Peace: A European Tale". Nobelprize.org. 25 Apr 2013
http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2012/eu-lecture_en.html

² European Union (EU) - Nobel Lecture: From War to Peace: A European Tale". Nobelprize.org. 25 Apr 2013
http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2012/eu-lecture_en.html

³ European Union (EU) - History". Nobelprize.org. 25 Apr 2013
http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2012/eu.html

⁴, Jones, J. (2008). *The blood that Cries out from the Earth: The Psychological Roots of Religious Terrorism*. New York: Oxford University Press. (p. 2)

political change”.⁵ The definitions of terrorism are quite broad and could include many different types of attacks carried out to harm innocent people as well as a variety of motivations. The Peruvian terrorist organisation Sendero Luminoso is an organisation that fought the Peruvian government in an internal conflict between the years of 1980-2000. They are still active although terrorist attacks carried out by them are rare nowadays. Nevertheless, the topic of terrorism is still an issue at present and is often mentioned in political elections and the media discourse. The attacks made by *Sendero Luminoso* did great damage during the internal conflict with the Peruvian state but also today. Although around 10 years later its activities have reduced, it is still very present.

I believe that this topic is important to do research on and investigate how organisations that specialize in one area such as the EU, can reach out to another area and study the effects of an international cooperation. We might be able to break the “us” and “them” mentality and together try to prevent the problems that concern us all. How much has the EU contributed in trying to combat terrorism in Peru? The Buzan and Weaver securitization theory is applied but since it includes aspects such as the neighbourhood policy, the securitization theory of Sven Biscop is also applied to give an extra perspective. Biscop's theory does not mention the neighbourhood policy and since Peru and Europe is geographically far apart, it contradicts the neighbourhood policy. Can one find anything pointing towards the fact that the cooperation has helped to decrease the terrorist activity in Peru? The European Union cares for the security of Europe and surely one might think how can terrorism in Peru be a concern of Europe? But what is left of Sendero Luminoso has turned its focus into drug production and smugglings which is being brought to and sold in other parts of the world such as Europe.

⁵ Jones, J. *The blood that Cries out from the Earth: The Psychological Roots of Religious Terrorism*. New York: Oxford University Press. (2008, p. 2)

2. Theory

There are many definitions of terrorism, and the EU has concluded their definition to: “the intentional and systematic use of actions designed to provoke terror in the public as means to certain ends”⁶ In the area of terrorism there are several types. The once identified by the EU are: Islamist, Left-wing & anarchist, right-wing, separatist and ethno-nationalist, and single-issue terrorism. The different types of terrorism also have different goals with their terrorist actions. *Sendero Luminoso* belongs to the left-wing terrorism type and has a Leninist-Marxist perspective and sought after to creating a communist government. However the EU continues to see Islamist terrorism as the biggest threat. The reason for this is because they perceive Islamist terrorist aims to be to achieve mass casualties in their attacks whilst the other types of terrorists such as left-wing terrorists are more regionally focused. However, according to EU statistics only one Islamist attack was carried out in 2009 (Italy) and in total 40 left-wing attacks were carried out in the same year in EU member countries⁷.

It is important to study how contribution from organisation such as the EU can be used to prevent conflicts. Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver have been of significant importance in the field of International Security. Weaver coined the term of Securitization which is a more complex approach on the classical idea of international security. They reject the traditional view that the military sector would be the only one when it comes to International Security⁸. Buzan and Weaver meant that there are at least five political factors that play an important role in a conflict. These factors are: military, political, economical, societal and environmental factors. All factors must not be included in all conflicts and the theorists conclude that some factors arise to more extreme situation than others.⁹ Securitization is the extreme form of politicization. Politicization is when an issue is being addressed by a public debate or the government as it is regarded as a problem which is risking the security.¹⁰ The authors state that

⁶ International Organization for Migration, accessed: 7/4-2013 from <http://www.west-info.eu/files/iom.pdf> p.98

⁷ EUROPOL TE-sat 2010 EU Terrorism and Trend rapport, accessed: 20/3-2013 from

<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/TE-SAT%202010.pdf>

p.12, figure 2.

⁸Buzan, Weaver and De Wilde, A New Framework for Analysis, (1998 by Lynne Rienner Publishers)P. VII

⁹ Buzan, Weaver and De Wilde, A new Framework for Analysis (1998 by Lynne Rienner Publishers) p.165

Figure 8.1

¹⁰ ¹⁰Buzan, Weaver and De Wilde, A New Framework for Analysis, (1998 by Lynne Rienner Publishers)P.23

“there are intellectual and political dangers in simply tacking the word security onto an ever wider range of issues.”¹¹ Since the word security has been used to justify extreme actions which often are against fundamental rights, there is a danger to move the word to other sectors than the military one.¹² The theory of securitization includes three units: a referent object, a security actor, and a functional actor. The referent object is the one being threatened; the security actor is the one declaring the referent object is being threatened. The functional actor is affecting the dynamics without being a security actor or referent object. The different types of actors can be difficult to identify and in many conflicts there are several actors of the same type.¹³

The securitization theory by Buzan and Weaver also include a part called the neighbourhood policy.¹⁴ The neighbourhood policy implies that what is most important for each country are the neighbouring countries because their borders are linked together.¹⁵ In a world which is globalizing more and more, some could argue that the neighbourhood policy is not accurate to the same extent. Organised crime and terrorism implies that a country geographically far away from us can still be a threat. Sven Biscop argues that “...both military and non-military issues are equally important...”¹⁶ He continues by saying that prevention of conflicts are of utmost importance for example by fighting extreme poverty. “All dimensions of international relations are inextricably linked, and that durable results with regard to the politico-military dimension therefore cannot be achieved if the other dimensions i.e. the other global public goals, are ignored.”¹⁷ Biscop thinks it might be difficult to make everyone agree that poverty and HIV/AIDS could be threats in terms of security. Biscop shares the same view as Buzan, that there are several factors besides militarism that should be included when it comes to security and also in preventing conflicts. These factors are societal political, economical, and environmental factors. The theory created by Buzan & Weaver is used because the two are leading in international security theories and Biscop’s theory is used to add an additional perspective. The securitization theory is very relevant for the thesis since it examines several

¹¹ Ibid, P.1

¹² Ibid, p.1

¹³ Ibid, p.40

¹⁴ Biscop, Sven. The European Security Strategy - A global agenda for positive power (Ashgate publishing company 2005) p.35

¹⁵ Ibid p.35

¹⁶ Ibid p.67

¹⁷ Ibid, p.67

factors in international security besides the military sector. Trying to prevent conflict in several areas in the society could help to prevent future conflict and also help to explain previous ones.

With the EU engaging in issues such as poverty prevention and different types of treaties with Peru this might lead to a more secure future, preventing conflicts to arise.

By engaging in this type of cooperation with regions outside of Europe, the EU can contribute to improve situations for its member countries as well. For example identifying and preventing the roots of terrorism and recruitment would decrease the threat to member states. Also, increasing cooperation could also improve other parts of the relations between the countries such as trade. If a country that has been battling with terrorism receives help to combat it, it might be more equipped to participate in other aspects such as trade, improvement of human rights, climate changes etc. Further on, some problems tend to go hand in hand with others. The remaining parts of Sendero Luminoso have its focus on drug production and Peru is the second biggest export country of cocaine. The cocaine is exported mainly to the United States but also to Europe where it enters mostly through Spain and the Netherlands.¹⁸ As Biscop mentions in his idea of problem prevention, if one tries to solve the issue within the societal zone and try to improve living standards and put efforts into trying to resolve the drug trafficking before it leads to bigger conflicts. By tackling the problem of terrorism in Peru it could contribute to helping to solve the problems of illegal drug trafficking in Europe.

In turn, Peru is benefitting from the contributions made by the EU who is the biggest investor in Latin America¹⁹, the second biggest trading partner and has financed many projects in the area. The EU earmarked 135 million Euros for Peru 2007-2013²⁰. Some of the main goals of the EU and Peru relation are to make sure that human rights are being implemented and followed as well as strengthening democracy. The EU is also encouraging cooperation between the countries in Latin America and contributed to start the CAN (The Andean community).

To limit the area of focus the thesis has been narrowed down to one area of cooperation; terrorism in Peru. The years studied are from 1993-2013. The treaties used are the ones that deal with the cooperation in the area of terrorism or treaties that are of importance for the

¹⁸ Drugscope, accessed: 20/05/2013, <http://www.drugscope.org.uk/resources/faqs/faqpages/where-do-drugs-come-from>

¹⁹The European Union and Latin America: Global players in Partnership, accessed 20/05/2013 from http://eeas.europa.eu/la/docs/com09_495_en.pdf (p.2)

²⁰ European Union – External Actions http://eeas.europa.eu/peru/index_en.htm, Last modified: 2013

cooperation. The treaties of 1993 and 1996 do not deal with terrorism but they make up an essential part of the cooperation and can be seen as the basis of the cooperation. The area of interest has been chosen because it is a theme that is very up to date and it is a world wide concern and by studying this, one might be able to see if the type of contribution from the EU and cooperation can be applied in other areas of the world. Peru has been chosen as area of interest due to its history of terrorism and how it has in a short amount of time gone from a country with an internal conflict, filled with corruption to a democracy. It is also especially interesting to study how the EU can have affect on a geographical area outside of Europe. The years studied 1993-2013 have been chosen due to the fact that *Sendero Luminoso* and the internal conflict was approximately between 1980-2000 but as we now know it, the EU was not founded until 1993 with the Maastricht Treaty, the years of focus are from that year until 2013. The years from 2000 until today are of interest since they show how Peru has developed after the terrorist era and how the cooperation has developed.

3. Method

In the thesis a content method analysis²¹ is used. The aim of the thesis is to investigate how the EU has contributed to combat terrorism in Peru by examining their cooperation through the treaties that have been made. It is appropriate because by recognizing the frequency of words such as “terrorism”, “global security”, and “organised crime” in the treaties, it makes it easier to see which treaties are important for the thesis. However, a weakness with content analysis is that it shows the frequency of a theme but does not focus on how it is being presented²². Therefore, after the content analysis and the word cloud systems, the sentences have been analysed to examine how terrorism is written about. For example if it is written in an aggressive way, a determined, an indifferent way etc. A content method is however very suitable for quantifying phenomena²³, in our case, terrorism. Content analysis is also appropriate to combine with other types of analysis. To add an additional perspective a media analysis is used to investigate the follow up question to whether as *Sendero Luminoso* is a threat today. By using a media analysis to see different opinions expressed in the media, one can receive an understanding of how the different opinions existing in Peru at the moment.

The word cloud system is used in the thesis to find the keywords of the treaties and from that be able to draw conclusions if there are any words that are recurring. By investigating the words that occur most frequently, one can investigate if for example words with a positive or negative connotation are used. The choice of words can contribute to a positive or negative tone in the treaties and from that one could try to find out if the attitude towards combating against terrorism becomes stronger or weaker.

To be able to draw a conclusion of what the content analysis shows, historical information has been added, to examine if what is shown in the treaties could have anything to do with the political situation at the time.

²¹ Bergström, Göran. Boréus, Kristina. Textens mening och makt. Metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig text och diskursanalys. Studentlitteratur (2009) P.45

²² Ibid. P.77

²³ Ibid, p.48

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Primary sources from Peru were used to offer contextual background information. The main sources used for this are: The Commission of Truth and Reconciliation (La Comisión de Verdad y Reconociliación) which is a commission formed in Peru in 2001 to explain and analyze the terrorist era in Peru from the years 1980- 2000. This source together with the books *Para Recordar: El Conflicto Armado Interno en Piura 1980* and *Sendero Luminoso – La Guerra Equivocada* makes up a main source for the historical background as well as an explanation to how Sendero Luminoso was founded and what concludes its goals, leaders and ideology. Further on, the five selected treaties between the European Union and Peru/ The Andean Community signed between 1993 and 2013 were analyzed.

The treaties selected are multilateral mostly between the Andean community (Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia and Colombia) and the European Union. The EU treaties and the historical and political context from the years in focus have then been analyzed to see how the EU has contributed by cooperation to combat terrorism. Also if one can find a pattern in the cooperation, by using the historical and political context together with the treaties to see what effect the treaties have had if they have had any effect. For example if during the elected time span the cooperation has decreased or increased, or differed in any other way and what effect this might have had. To give a deeper understanding, the foreign policy, relation, attitude towards terrorism and history between Peru and the EU have also been included in the thesis.

3.1 Material and sources

The Peru-EU cooperation on combating terrorism is based on several documents. The first one which laid the foundation for the cooperation was signed in 1993. It covered the themes of human rights protections, to combat organised crime, drug production and to support democracy and was aiming to increase cooperation between the EU and the concerned countries. Participants were the Republic of Bolivia, the Republic of Colombia, the Republic of Ecuador, the Republic of Peru and the Republic of Venezuela and the European Economic Community. Although the treaty was signed in 1993 it did not enter into force until 1998 due to problems to concretize it.

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Lund University 2013.

The cooperation continued and based on the agreements made in treaties in 1993 and 1996 a new agreement on political dialogue was signed in 2003²⁴. One of the main goals was to enable an information exchange between the parties by creating a global forum. In the agreement both parties, the European Union and the Andean Community stressed the importance of fighting terrorism. They agreed to the United Nations reform against terrorism and to cooperate in an attempt to prevent terrorism.

A summit between Latin American countries, the Caribbean and the EU was held in 2004 in Guadalajara, Mexico. The theme of terrorism was the central theme and they discussed how the EU and the concerned countries might find a way to stop illicit drugs and related crimes such as terrorism.

“To combat terrorism in all its forms and manifestations - which threatens our democratic systems, liberties and development, as well as international peace and security - in accordance with the UN Charter and with full respect for international law, including human rights and humanitarian law Provisions. We are committed to strengthening our political, legal and operational co-operation mechanisms, and to promote the conclusion of, and adherence to, all international conventions relating to terrorism and the implementation of UN resolutions on the matter.”²⁵

Besides terrorism, the theme of migration was discussed. The participants at the summit also condemned all acts of terrorism and encouraged all countries to join the UN's 1373 resolution.

Additionally, a meeting was held in Vienna in 2005 with the purpose of encouraging and improving relations between the EU and the Andean community and to update agreements that had been made earlier such at the Madrid and Rio de Janeiro summits. This meeting also kept terrorism, drugs, organised crime and poverty as main themes. Participants of the meeting were the governments and head of the state of the EU and of Latin America and the Caribbean. “We will expand and deepen EU-LAC cooperation in all areas in a spirit of mutual respect, equality, and solidarity. Building on a special historical and cultural links, we are determined to maximise the potential

²⁴Acuerdo de diálogo Político y cooperacion entre la Union Europa y la comunidad Andina., accessed: 21/05/2013 from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2003:0695:FIN:ES:PDF> (p.11)

²⁵Madrid summit, accessed: 25/04/2013 from http://www.eeas.europa.eu/lac/madrid/dec_02_en.pdf (p.1)

for joint action between our regions.”²⁶ The importance of respect, democracy, human rights, economic and social development and to respect international law to preserve peace and security was also stressed. The participants condemned terrorism and stressed the importance of battling it since it poses a direct threat to social and economic development. However, it was also agreed upon that it is vital not to neglect human rights and fundamental freedom when battling terrorism.

3.2 Previous research

There is very little previous research in the area of Peru and EU cooperation to fight terrorism. However, One academic article *Europe and the Colombian conflict* written by Sabine Kurtenbach (June 2005) and published by Inter-American Dialogue addresses the armed conflict in Colombia and how it has been handled by the EU and the US. Kurtenbach states that the US has been urging the EU to take a more active role in the Colombian conflict. In previous conflict in Colombia, the EU has been considered a counter balance to the US. The author claims that to solve the conflict in Colombia there is a need for international actors such as the US and the EU to cooperate. There are differences in the approach to the Colombian conflict by the US and the EU²⁷. George H.W Bush declared a war on drugs and aimed to externalise the accessibility. In contrary, the EU aimed for a more long term approach and to reduce the demand. The EU does not have a specific strategy for Colombia but has a regional plan which includes all the Andean countries. Whilst the US takes a more heads on attitude to the Colombian conflict, the EU just recently started to plan a military strategy²⁸. The EU completed a peace plan which would show FARC how a democracy could benefit the country. However, the situation changed after 11/9 when both the EU and the US changed their approach to the conflict. FARC was made part of the official list of terrorist groups, making it illegal for them to for example have meetings in Europe²⁹.

After 11/9, all non-state armed groups were considered terrorist both by the EU and by the government. In the past a great deal of the drug production from Colombia has been exported

²⁶ The Vienna declaration <http://eulacfoundation.org/documents/2006-vienna-declaration> [<http://eulacfoundation.org/>] Accessed: 2013-04-25(p.7)

²⁷ Kurtenbach, Sabina. *Europe and the Colombian Conflict*. Inter-American Dialogue, (2005) Accessed: 2013-09-06 <http://dspace.cigilibrary.org/jspui/bitstream/123456789/17782/1/Europe%20and%20the%20Colombian%20Conflict.pdf?1> p.3

²⁸ Ibid p.4

²⁹ Ibid. P.6

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to the US but now there is an increase in the drugs being transported to Europe. The Colombia conflict is not a priority on the foreign policy agenda but “the conflict is relevant to the EU and its role as a global player”³⁰. The author argues that factors such as trade, common history and values make the relationship and the Colombian conflict of interest for the EU.

In the article a common strategy plan between the US and the EU is encouraged to be able to not focus as much on the security politics as the US does, but to be more proactive than the human rights and peace approach that the EU has. The US would benefit from good relations with Colombia to be able to still their suspicion of interference in internal affairs and also would benefit from good relations to a country which geographically is quite close. The EU would benefit since it recently has been accused to focus too much on the Middle East, ignoring other regions such as Latin America³¹.

³⁰ Ibid P.7

³¹ Ibid. P.12

4. Research

4.1 Historical Overview of the Terrorism in Peru

The Communist party *Sendero Luminoso* was founded in 1976. At the time, Peru was led by General Francisco Morales Bermúdez and his military regime. The first attack by *Sendero Luminoso* took place in Chuschi, Ayacucho in May 1980. The attack was in response to the free elections held in Peru, where *Sendero Luminoso* declined to participate and instead attempted to burn the electoral urns. During this election *Sendero Luminoso* declared war against the Peruvian government. Fernando Belaúnde won the elections putting an end to the military regime in Peru. The first encounter between the Peruvian state and *Sendero Luminoso* was in May 1981 when the state sent police to Ayacucho, a city in the south of Peru to attempt to fight the terrorist group. Between 1981-2002 *Sendero Luminoso* carried out a series of attacks in Peru, for instance on, the 3d of April 1983 they carried out a massacre in Lucanamarca, killing 69 people, 20 of them where children. The 13th of November the same year, 32 famers where murdered by the Peruvian police for suspicion of being terrorists. Another attack was carried out by *Sendero Luminoso* in 1989, where 30 teachers and 15 students disappeared in the city of Huancayo, in the north of Peru³².

In 1985, Alan Garcia was elected president and applied a new politic to fight terrorism but at the same time the state continued the brutal hunt for terrorists, assassinating many Peruvians without a proper trial. For example in April 1985, 63 people where murdered by the Peruvian military in Accomarca. Garcia removed many of the privileges hold by the army, that they had received during the independence war in the 1920's, in order to try to prevent the killings carried out in secret without trials. A problem during Garcia's government was the lack of foreign investment which made it difficult to pay the external debt, excluding Peru from the rest of the world in for instance the area of trade³³.

³² Hidalgo Morey, Coronel EP Teodoro, *Sendero Luminoso – la guerra equivocada*, segunda edición, editorial Monterico S.A, La victoria, Lima. P.101

³³ Camacho, Fernando. Joaquín Masoliver. Vidales, Carlos. *América Latina*, cuarta edición, samfundslitteratur (2009) p.166

In 1990, new elections were held and Alberto Fujimori was elected president. Fujimori's goals were to improve the economic situation by using neo-liberalism, and try to reintegrate Peru with the international market. Another goal was to centralize the power, mostly by giving much of the power to Fujimori himself but also to give executive power to the military. Other important goals were to end corruption and put an end to the terrorism carried out by *Sendero Luminoso*. However, there was a lot of corruption during Fujimori's rule and many judges were for example replaced to others who supported Fujimori and Montesino.

In 1992, Fujimori carried out a military coup to reorganize the state power and to dissolve the legislation. Three months after Fujimori's the military coup a car bomb exploded in Mira Flores, central Lima killing 23 people and wounding over one hundred. Nevertheless, during Fujimori's rule, the army managed to capture the leader of Sendero Luminoso, Abimael Guzman. It was on the 12 of September 1992 when the police arrested Guzman and his girlfriend Elena Iparraguirre and around one hundred other members of the organisation. On the 1st of October 1993, Guzman offered a peace settlement which was declared officially on the news. Some saw it as the end of *Sendero Luminoso* and others said Guzman was forced to announce it. Although, many say that the capturing of Guzman was not an accomplishment of Fujimori as he was simply continuing the counter-terrorism politics introduced by the former president Garcia³⁴.

A former UN Human rights commissioner, Robert Goldman expressed his opinions on the Fujimori regime and *Sendero Luminoso* saying that:

No one had seen in the past a group that was as brutal as they were. They engaged in all sorts of massacres — this was not like the FMLN in Salvador, or the Guatemalan insurgents, or even the FARC in Colombia, for that matter. Not that those groups have not committed very gross violations of the laws of war, but Sendero was really an exceptional and extremely brutal group³⁵.

He continues by saying that the Peruvians lived in fear and that when Fujimori was elected he had a lot of support and when he carried out his auto-coup and started to dissolve some basic

³⁴ *Historia de la lucla armada de Sendero Luminoso en Perú*, El Mundo (2006), accessed: 16/03/2013

<http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2006/10/14/internacional/1160796742.html>

³⁵ Documentaries with a point of view, The fall of Fujimori, accessed: 04/05/2013
http://www.pbs.org/pov/falloffujimori/special_goldman.php#.UZNhprWN4QV

Bachelor thesis in European studies.
Lund University 2013.

democratic fundamentals, removing many judges and closing the constitutional court³⁶.

Goldman says that the population did not complain because they thought that in the times of terror these were necessary measures. Although, things escalated and the fight against terrorists became very lawless and Goldman emphasizes the importance of maintain laws and human rights even in times of terror, as many innocent Peruvians were murdered or disappeared due to the lack of order³⁷.

Two days before the visit of the American president George W. Bush a car bomb exploded outside of the American embassy in Lima, killing 6 people, March 21, 2002. The Commission of Truth and Reconciliation came to the conclusion that *Sendero Luminoso* is being responsible for 69000 people losing their lives through the attacks taking place between the years 1980-2000³⁸.

The Ideology and goals

Sendero Luminoso is based on a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communism with special emphasis on Mao's strategy of fighting in the countryside first and then to approach the cities. Guzman based his politics on the assumption that Peru was: 1) semi-feudal, and semi-colonial, 2) The bourgeoisie was bureaucratic, 3) the revolutionary war was between the country side and the city and 4) that Peru was experiencing a revolutionary situation³⁹. When *Sendero Luminoso* intensified their propaganda, Guzman further on explained his opinion of the politics of Peru:

“1) The Peruvian state is a bureaucratic landowner, a dictatorship is made by feudal landowners and great bourgeoisies and controlled by the imperialist North America; we fight against this village to construct a new democratic state that requires the destruction of the existing old order; 2) The Peruvian state, like the whole state is based, defends and develops revolutionary violence following the road of approaching the cities from the countryside; 3) the elections are means of domination of landlords and big bourgeoisie, not for the people processing instruments or means to defeat the power of the dominant, hence the guidance for fair use purposes agitation and propaganda⁴⁰.

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Willakuy, Hatun. *Versión abreviada del informe final de la comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación*. Comisión de entrega de la comisión de la verdad y Reconciliación (2004). P.17

³⁹ Hidalgo Morey, Coronel EP Teodoro, *Sendero Luminoso – la guerra equivocada*, (segunda edición, editorial Monterico S.A, La victoria, Lima,1992) (p.32)

⁴⁰ All quotations in Spanish are translated by author unless otherwise stated.

Bachelor thesis in European studies.
Lund University 2013.

Based on these three points Guzman created a strategy to destroy the existing political situation in Peru and it focused on two main aims: 1) the fight against ruling classes 2) an armed warfare in form of guerrillas conducted in order to solve the class problem. *Sendero Luminoso* was also inspired by Leninism and Stalinism and included some elements derived from these approaches in their own strategy. However, the most important inspiration for *Sendero Luminoso* was MaoTse-tong.

Many academics have commented on the combat part of the ideology. *Sendero Luminoso* saw violence as a cleansing activity, allowing new revolutionary features root. Guzman has allegedly said in a speech once that “blood makes us stronger.”⁴¹ The violence was also directed within the movement. *Sendero Luminoso* assassinated around 300 left wing politicians who they saw as opposition.

The *Sendero Luminoso* ideology has been said to be a mix of Andean-mysticism and Maoism⁴². Both emphasize the importance of ideological purity and they share a dichotomous black-white perception of the world, where the white need to eliminate the black. In the case of *Sendero Luminoso*, the black would be the state and the left wing politicians.

The strategy of *Sendero Luminoso*

In the beginning, *Sendero Luminoso* used a strategy which was inspired by Mao and his Chinese communist party. They wanted to use the country side to create camps for the guerrillas. Their camps where mostly based in the mountain of Peru. Another important part of their strategy was the use of car bombs which was used to frighten the state and the population. During the years when *Sendero Luminoso* was active, the Peruvian population suffered a lot. Later they changed their strategy and focused more on the authorities, the military and the infrastructure. Today, terrorist attacks are not very common, but they try to gain support and they are trying to assume the power over student councils at universities, one organisation especially popular is Movadef, whose main goal is to free Guzman and his girlfriend.

⁴¹ Ron, James, *Ideology in Context: Explaining Sendero Luminoso's tactical Escalation*, (Department of Sociology, McGill University, Journal of Peace Research 2001)
<http://www.jstor.org.ludwig.lub.lu.se/stable/424776?seq=1> (p.575)

⁴² Hidalgo Morey, Coronel EP Teodoro, *Sendero Luminoso – la guerra equivocada*, segunda edición, editorial Monterico S.A, La victoria, Lima. (P.98)

Bachelor thesis in European studies.
Lund University 2013.

When Guzman was arrested in 1992 *Sendero Luminoso* changed in many ways. The party lost many members. At its peak, *Sendero Luminoso* had over ten thousand members but after Guzman was arrested it dropped to around a couple of thousands. The group was split into two factions. The first faction group operated in Alto Huallaga River Valley and the other one operated in the VRAE region in the southeast of Peru. The Huallaga group focus on drug trafficking whilst the other fraction group but have had a lot of setbacks and in the April 2012 their leader was captured and the police has proclaimed that *Sendero Luminoso* no longer is active in the area. The fraction group that operates in the VRAE region is stronger but they do not follow the party ideology that Guzman developed. It still contains some of the political features but it is more focused on cocaine production and operates mostly in Colombia. Their goal is no longer to change the government in Peru but to continue the cocaine production.

Sendero Luminoso's goal is to install a communist regime similar to Maoism, because they think that the political institutions that exist today are bourgeoisie. Other political goals are to promote human rights and end the exploitation of workers and to create a communist state by a military coup. Today, the main goal for *Sendero Luminoso* is to liberate Guzman from prison. To recruit new members they often used violence and terror. *Sendero Luminoso* had a centralized and hierarchical ideology where Guzman's radical thinking was in focus.

Sendero Luminoso started using violence in 1980, right when Peru was in the transit of military regime to democracy. It has been said that the reason for starting at that point was because they believed the new regime would be hesitant to use severe repression right after the transit from military regime.

4.2 Peru's Foreign Policy and Attitude Towards the European Union

*"In human rights: committed, in moral: inflexible, in peace: with solidarity, in war: invincible"*⁴³ Motto of the foreign ministry of Peru.

In the Peruvian foreign ministry's vision, mission and politics they state their role in the international scene. It states that Peru will work actively to preserve the peace and international

⁴³ Perú Política Exterior, Last modified: 2012,
http://www.rree.gob.pe/politicaexterior/Paginas/El_Peru_en_Europa_Comunitaria.aspx

Bachelor thesis in European studies.
Lund University 2013.

security. More importantly for this thesis one of the main objectives concerns the international co-operation and terrorism stating that the goal is to “Dismantle terrorist organizations, illicit drug trafficking and other crimes, and re-establish stability and security within the VRAE zone;”⁴⁴ as well as “Participate in peace preservation and international security.”⁴⁵

One of the main directions of the Peruvian foreign policy is relations with Europe and the European Union. In official statements the government stresses that “the general direction of Europe promote and defends the interests and objectives of Peru in the political and diplomatic environment in the bilateral relations and together with the countries of the European continent and maintain and improve these relations.”⁴⁶ Apart from the official declarations, there is a record of bilateral and multilateral agreements and co-operation between Peru and the EU. When Catherine Ashton visited Latin America for a meeting with the joint EU-Latin America Parliamentary Assembly (EUROLAT) she referred to the Assembly as “the parliamentary voice of a billion people in the European Union and Latin America’.⁴⁷ She talked about close cooperation at a global level and “stressed that “in today’s world, no one can do it alone. We have to build on our joint successes to work even more closely on security, non-proliferation, on fighting organised crime and terrorism, to become even stronger partners”⁴⁸. Similarly, the vice-president of the European Commission, Antonio Tajani states that “Peru is one of the most important countries because there is juridical security, stability and the European companies that work here are content. More over, it has an economy that is increasing by 7% which is a lot, he stated.”⁴⁹

The EUROLAT Assembly on the other hand writes in the resolution for the Euro-Latin American Charter for Peace and Security, from 8 April, 2009 that they “Believe(s) that terrorism is a serious threat to peace and international security, and therefore to the Euro-Latin American partners, and condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, on any grounds and wherever and by whomsoever it is perpetrated...”⁵⁰. It is visible in documents and official

⁴⁴ Ibid

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ Ibid

⁴⁷ European Union External Action, Last modified: January 2013,
http://www.eeas.europa.eu/top_stories/2013/250113_latinamerica_en.htm

⁴⁸ Ibid

⁴⁹ *Unión Europea: Perú tiene la seguridad jurídica para hacer inversiones*, El Comercio, (2013) accessed: 20/03/2013 <http://elcomercio.pe/actualidad/1527186/noticia-union-europea-peru-tiene-seguridad-juridica-hacer-inversiones>

⁵⁰ A Euro-Latin American Charter for Peace and Security, last modified: 08/04/2009
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/intcoop/eurolat/assembly/plenary_sessions/madrid_2009/adopted_docs/charter_en.pdf (p.5)

statements that both the European Union and the Latin American are concerned about the current terrorist threat in the world. It continues on the European Unions website where it says that

“Terrorism is a threat to all States and to all peoples. It poses a serious threat to our security, to the values of our democratic societies and to the rights and freedoms of the citizens, especially through the indiscriminate targeting of innocent people. Terrorism is criminal and unjustifiable under any circumstances. Despite all combined efforts and increased cooperation between Member States and with the third states and International Organisation the threat remains high...”⁵¹

The European Union is concerned with the current terrorist threat and is willing to cooperate to try to solve the problem worldwide. Although as it says that despite their efforts and increased cooperation the terrorist threat exists and one could argue that perhaps the cooperation has not done any difference.

4.3 The EU Foreign Policy and Peru Relations

Regarding how terrorism in Peru concerns the EU, it has to do with the role that the EU has chosen to play in the world. A senior British foreign policy-maker said:

The foreign policy process has become Europeanised, in the sense that in every international issue, there is an exchange of information and attempt to arrive at a common understanding and a common approach-compared to how things were in the past, where most issues were looked at in isolation without addressing the attitudes of other member states or a European dimension.⁵²

Ben Tonra and Thomas Christiansen state that when it comes to the EU’s foreign policy, the USA has always been a priority. Secondly, the relationship with former USSR members has been prominent but thirdly, developing countries such as Peru. It started with treaties regarding trade and has developed into more areas such as poverty prevention.⁵³ “Europe’s relations with developing countries have since the very beginning of the joint European enterprise been a significant feature of Europe’s external relations”⁵⁴ Christiansen and Tonra say that this has largely to do with the role of the EU in the world. An analyst describes the EU “as a civilian

⁵¹ Council of the European Union, accessed: 14/03/2013, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/policies/fight-against-terrorism?lang=en>

⁵² Tonra, Christiansen, *Rethinking European Union Foreign Policy*, Manchester University Press 2004) p.81

⁵³ Ibid, p.11

⁵⁴ Ibid. p.11

power in an uncivil world.”⁵⁵ And “Other views are associated with the image of a foreign policy as a civilising mission. Still other views are associated with conceptions of rights or responsibilities”⁵⁶. This would mean that the contribution and cooperation between the EU and Peru has to do with the EU believing that it is its responsibility to “civilize” developing countries such as Peru.

The Peru and the EU relations are perceived as important by both sides and they are growing over time. Peru has a fast growing economy and the EU has stated that Peru is one of the countries they have most interest in, in Latin America. One of the main agreements for the cooperation was signed in 1993. The first political agreement was established in Rome in 1996. Since then, many agreements have been created, mostly between the Andean Community and the EU and deals with questions such as trade, human rights, migration, drug trafficking, environment questions and also terrorism. In 2012 an agreement to facilitate trade between the EU member countries and Peru was signed⁵⁷. After the resignation of president Fujimori in 2001, the new president, Alejandro Toledo took a new more international approach in an attempt to improve the economy. By signing several agreements such as the OAS (Organisation of American States) convention which is about forced disappearances as well as agreements on human rights, the new government sought to show that Peru was moving towards becoming completely democratic. In 2000, 19% of Peru’s export went to EU. Products exported are mostly coffee, copper and gold. In return 20% of Peru’s import was from EU countries. The products imported were mostly manufactured goods, such as chemicals or machinery⁵⁸.

The main goal of co-operation carried out by the European Commission is to fight poverty. The cooperation is divided into two categories. Cooperation on financial and technological cooperation and the second one is cooperation in economy and food security. The European Commission and 13 member countries have bilateral cooperation with Peru and over 2% of the national budget of Peru consists of financial aid from the EU. The EU countries that invest most in Peru are Germany, the Netherlands and Spain. Peru is one of the countries in Latin

⁵⁵ Ibid p.13

⁵⁶ Ibid p.13

⁵⁷ Declaración de conclusion de las negociaciones de un acuerdo comercial entre la Republica de Perú, La Republica de Colombia y La Unión Europa, last modified: 19/05/20110
http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/peru/documents/eu_peru/declaration-conclusion-fta_colombia_peru_eu.pdf

⁵⁸ European Commission Peru Country strategy paper 2002-2006, accessed: 05/04/2013
http://eeas.europa.eu/peru/csp/02_06_en.pdf

America that receives most financial aid through cooperation than any other countries in the area. Between the years of 1990-2001 the cooperation costs where 276 million Euros⁵⁹. Due to the turbulent political situation, cooperation with the EU was frozen from 1998-2001 but humanitarian aid and support for food security remained.⁶⁰ The EU ended the halt of projects in December the same year, seeing that the elections where pointing in a direction towards transition to complete democracy. Past projects have been focusing on women's rights and equality, sanitation and clean water. Another big project was "Reforma salud" which was an extensive project to improve the health system. In cooperation projects in economy there have been attempts to increase the competition between important actors such as in tourism and agriculture. One of the areas where cooperation is most advanced is within food security. Peru has moved from direct food aid to a different approach where the financial aid aims to support areas such as health, local investment and educations so that it will indirectly help to improve the food security. Another important project is the "A trabajar" (To work) which was created to give more quantitative as well as quality jobs.

Trade is an important part of the cooperation and the EU wished to maximise the trading abilities by creating multilateral agreements allowing Peru to participate in worldwide trade. The EU has also financed projects aiming to improve the democracy and for example helped out with financing the Commission of Truth and Reconciliation.

In an attempt to improve the situation without outside help, the president Alberto Fujimori implemented anti-terrorist laws which still exist but they have been adapted to the new constitution. Due to the continuation of terrorist attacks by Sendero Luminoso, the government had to declare state of emergency in several parts of the country. Also, there was an attempt to renew the intelligence service by first dismantling it and then rebuild it. Although, after dismantling the existing intelligence service the project to renew it was forgotten. Between the years of 1990 and 2001 Peru also received a large amount of financial aid in response to its vulnerability of natural disasters and the social consequences of Sendero Luminoso. A EUROSOCIAL programme was implemented to combat inequalities and exclusion. 30 million Euros was financed by the EU for this programme and it was granted in the summits held in Rio de Janeiro in 1999 and in Madrid in 2002. A vital project in the Peru – EU cooperation

⁵⁹ Ibid

⁶⁰European Commission Peru Country strategy paper 2007-2013, last modified: April 2007
http://eeas.europa.eu/peru/csp/07_13_en.pdf

was started in 2003 with the purpose of finding out how efficient the cooperation really was and to acquire an over-view of the different existing projects. The project was successful in the way that it mapped out administrative weaknesses and gave an image of how many projects that existed at the moment.

However, some challenges have been encountered in the cooperation, for example the lack of a general framework and the lack of national policies in Peru. Also control of deadlines, and the question of how efficient the cooperation's are, has complicated the work. Nevertheless, the cooperation has proved to have good effects and the areas of complication are being improved. In the country strategy paper 2007-2013 states that "The most important challenges that Peru faces are democratic stability and institution building, poverty alleviation and improved social cohesion by fostering better distribution of wealth."⁶¹ The EU aims to support Peru in these challenges by cooperation and political dialogue as well as attempting to improve relations between the Andean countries. The general response strategy covers several themes such as for example cooperate in the fight against drugs, organized crime, trafficking etc. The EU believes in democracy and a goal is to implement and strengthen democracy in the countries where they have cooperation⁶². A stabile governing system could help to solve arising problems and conflicts. However, after 9/11 the EU took a more proactive approach in its fight against terrorism. They created the counter-terrorism strategy which is based on four goals: prevent, protect, pursue and respond.

3.3 The European Union's counter-terrorism strategy

"To combat terrorism globally while respecting human rights, and make Europe safer, allowing its citizens to live in an area of freedom, security and justice."

PREVENT

PROTECT

PURSUE

RESPOND

⁶¹ European Commission Peru country strategy paper 2006-2013, last modified: April 2007
http://eeas.europa.eu/peru/csp/07_13_en.pdf

⁶² Political dialogue and cooperation agreement between the EU and the Andean Community, last modified: 14/11/2013, <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2003:0695:FIN:EN:PDF> (p.10)

The European Union's counter-terrorism strategy is based on four main goals: "prevent", "protect", "pursue" and "respond". Tackling the causes of why people turn to terrorism, protecting our society and citizens by improved security of borders and our vulnerability to attacks, pursue terrorists globally and prohibit the planning of deeds, from travel and from communicating, and respond by being prepared for an attack and also try to prepare so in case of an attack the damage will be as little as possible. The European Union also adds to the aims with the subcategories: Strengthening national capability, Facilitating European cooperation, Developing collective capability, and Promoting International partnership.

In the Strengthening national capability subcategory they wish to collect information and analyze threats, as well as share knowledge to prevent terrorist attacks on a national level. By facilitating European cooperation they are to share information between member-countries and facilitate cooperation. They also aim to make collective responses to terrorist threats and make good use of EU bodies, such as EUROJUST and EUROPOL to develop collective capability. By promoting international partnership they aim to strengthen cooperation by working globally together with international organisations and the United Nations.

The European Union takes on a global role by engaging with a global concern. In the counter-terrorism strategy it is also stated that the EU are concerned for the global security and want to contribute towards preventing global challenges such as terrorism⁶⁴. It also says that they aim to make counter-terrorism a priority and that an important part of that is global cooperation and for example dialogue with non-member countries. The EU aim to promote democracy and resolve conflicts and since they believe that the terrorist threat is a global concern and want to keep an alliance between faiths, cultures, civilisations to try to solve the factors that lead to radical actions such as terrorism. It stated "There is much we can do with our partners overseas to assist them in combating radicalisation, including cooperation and assistance with third countries and work through international organisations."⁶⁵

⁶³ The European Unions counter-terrorism strategy, last modified: 30/11/2005, - <http://register.consilium.eu.int/pdf/en/05/st14/st14469-re04.en05.pdf>

⁶⁴ The European Union Strategy for Combating Radicalisation and Recruitment to terrorism. Last modified: November 2005. <http://register.consilium.eu.int/pdf/en/05/st14/st14781-re01.en05.pdf>

⁶⁵ The European Unions counter-terrorism strategy, last modified: 30/11/2005 <http://register.consilium.eu.int/pdf/en/05/st14/st14469-re04.en05.pdf>

5. Results

The first two treaties; the 1993 treaty and the 1996 Rome declaration do not emphasize terrorism but are the basis of the cooperation between the EU and the Andean community (Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and Colombia). According to the word clouds made, the words most frequently used were⁶⁶: “community”, “Andean”, “European Union”, “dialogue”, “countries”, “common interest”, “relations”, “democratic”, “rights” and “cooperation”. In the 1996 treaty it was⁶⁷: “cooperation”, “Andean”, “agreement”, “human rights”, “developing”, “democratic”, “promote”, “integrations” and “principles”. The 2003 political and cooperation agreement, the Madrid agreement from 2004 and the 2006 Vienna declaration both bring up terrorism in the agreements. The most frequent words used in the 2003 political agreement were⁶⁸: “international”, “legislation”, “prevention”, “terrorism”, “national”, “exchange”, “rights” and “counter-terrorism”. In the Vienna summit included the words⁶⁹: “terrorism”, “support”, “international”, “development”, “rights”, “combating”, “fundamental”, “law”, “humanitarian” and “counter-terrorism”. In the Madrid summit the words used most frequently were⁷⁰: “international”, “terrorism”, “rights”, “humanitarian”, “strength”, “combating”, “political”, “law”, “promote” and “the UN”. After this point there are no treaties made between the Andean community and the EU that has a focus on terrorism. Most treaties made after 2005 between the EU and Peru/the Andean community are about drugs, environment issues or/and poverty.

Applying the securitization theory in our case, would make the state of Peru the referent object since it is being threatened by the *Sendero Luminoso*. Security actors are both the state and the people of Peru declaring that the state is threatened. Security actors are the actors that are not directly included in the conflict but acknowledge that the referent object is being threatened. However, the problem with the internal conflict of Peru is that there were very few security

⁶⁶ The 1993 Agreement in Wordle, <http://www.wordle.net/delete?index=6944334&d=BBDN> www.wordle.net Accessed 19/8-2013

⁶⁷ The 1996 Agreement, <http://www.wordle.net/delete?index=6944360&d=OUDS>, www.wordle.net, Accessed: 19/8-2013

⁶⁸ The 2003 political Agreement in Wordle, <http://www.wordle.net/delete?index=6944345&d=CQBP>, www.wordle.net, Accessed: 19/8-2013

⁶⁹ The Vienna declaration in Wordle, <http://www.wordle.net/delete?index=6944330&d=ZQHY> www.wordle.net. Accessed 19/8-2013

⁷⁰ The Madrid summit, www.wordle.net <http://www.wordle.net/delete?index=6944324&d=BLPA>, accessed 19/8/2013

actors. It took many years for the conflict to end and this could be due to the fact that the lack of security actors declaring the state of Peru being threatened. The EU can also be seen as a security actor, although they did not acknowledge the conflict until years later. It is sometimes hard to identify the actors. In this case, functional actors could also be the population of Peru since many were either on *Sendero Luminoso*'s side or the states side, but victims of the situation. The sectors most prominently affected by the internal conflict in Peru are the political, the societal and the military sectors. When it comes to terrorism it is placed in the military sector "when the perceived threat is internal, military security is primarily about the ability of the ruling elite to maintain civil peace..."⁷¹ In the societal group one can see that Peru struggled with finding a common identity. For example the immigrants from Spain from the colonization period and tribes such as the Incas have never fully been integrated⁷² which has led to difficulties in finding a common identity which could have contributed to conflict. The threat in the political sector could be how *Sendero Luminoso* tried to infiltrate the universities to gain support from the students. The gained support would in turn be a threat to the state sovereignty since *Sendero Luminoso* wanted to overthrow the state.

Terrorism in Peru affects member states of the EU since the remaining parts of *Sendero Luminoso* today have a main focus on drug production and Peru has the second largest export of cocaine in the world and large parts of the cocaine is exported to EU countries. The EU has stated that Peru is a very important country for them and the cooperation is increasing and simultaneously the Peruvian economy is growing fast. However it came to a stop in the turbulent transition to democracy 1998 but was rescinded in 2001. The European Union and 13 member countries have bilateral treaties with Peru and 20% of the imports to Peru are from the EU. The main-goal with the cooperation between the EU and Peru is to fight poverty. The cooperation has been divided into two categories which are: cooperation on financial and technological cooperation and cooperation in economy and food security. The EU earmarked 135 million Euros for Peru for the period of 2007-2013⁷³. The cooperation also has a focus on developing and preserving democracy and human rights. In many of the treaties, the issue of terrorism has been raised and stated that all parties condemn it. The EU has also contributed with financing of the Commission of Truth and Reconciliation.

⁷¹The European Unions counter-terrorism strategy, last modified: 30/11/2005
<http://register.consilium.eu.int/pdf/en/05/st14/st14469-re04.en05.pdf> , p.50

⁷² Camacho, Fernando. Masoliver, Joaquín. Vidales, Carloss. *América Latina*. Cuarta edición de samfundslitteratur. (2009) p.38

⁷³European Union – External Action http://eeas.europa.eu/peru/index_en.htm, last modified: 2013

Peru is today a democracy and enjoys an extensive cooperation with the EU. In official statements the government stresses that

“the general direction of Europe promote and defends the interests and objectives of Peru in the political and diplomatic environment in the bilateral relations and together with the countries of the European continent and maintain and improve these relations.”⁷⁴.

However, Antonio Tajani, vice-president of the European Commission, says that:

“Peru is one of the most important countries because there is juridical security, stability and the European companies that work here are content. More over, it has an economy that is increasing by 7% which is a lot, he stated.”⁷⁵

The contribution made by the EU in form of cooperation treaties and financial aid, Peru it has achieved positive effects on Peru. Both in areas of trade where it has made it easier for Peru to export and import goods to and from the EU member states and *Sendero Luminoso* has also become less active then it was during the internal conflict in Peru. However, it is hard to state if this is due to the treaties made between the EU and Peru or if it depends on other factors such as the capturing of the leader of Sendero Luminoso.

⁷⁴ Perú Política exterior, modified: 2012,
http://www.rree.gob.pe/politicaexterior/Paginas/El_Peru_en_Europa_Comunitaria.aspx

⁷⁵ Unión Europea: Perú tiene la seguridad Jurídica para hacer inversiones, El Comercio (2013) accessed: 20/03/2013 <http://elcomercio.pe/actualidad/1527186/noticia-union-europea-peru-tiene-seguridad-juridica-hacer-inversiones>

6. Analysis and discussion

During the first treaties in Peru in 1993 and 1996 the terrorist era was still ongoing. In 1993 Guzman, the leader of *Sendero Luminoso* had recently been arrested and the terror organisation lost many members. Terrorism was a hot topic at the time but was not included in the treaty. Neither did the 1996 Rome declaration bring up terrorism, although the terrorist era was still on going and *Sendero Luminoso* had not stopped with the car bomb attacks. However, in the 2003, 2004 and 2006 terrorism was a well mentioned topic and was condemned in all forms. In the year 2000, the president of Peru, Fujimori who was given the honour for capturing Guzman, fled the country and was forced to resign as president. Shortly after, it was discovered that it existed an extensive system of corruption in his regime.

Both the EU and Peru agree on that terrorism is a worldwide concern and they wish to cooperate to combat terrorism. By winning the Nobel peace prize the EU it is shown that peace in Europe is of utmost importance for the EU. However, it also states that terrorism is not a problem that one can combat alone and cooperation is important. The EU perceives Islamist terrorism as one of the biggest threat to member states of the EU, even though there is statistics, as mentioned earlier, that show that for example left-wing attacks are much more frequent than Islamist attacks. In the EU counter terrorism strategy, the EU explains their attitude towards terrorism and how they plan to combat it. By preventing, protecting, pursuing and responding to terrorism they aim to end terrorist attacks and wish to find and combat the roots as to why terrorism arises.

The agreements that became the basis of the cooperation were signed in the beginning of the 1990s. They were designed to create foundations for bilateral and multilateral cooperation particularly trade relations however the issue of combating terrorism is one of the aspects covered by these agreements. Interestingly enough this coincided with the Fujimori becoming president as a result of the coup and his decision to dissolve a number of basic institutions as a part of a counter terrorism strategy. The strategy imposed by the new Peruvian leader was considered successful as the leader of *Sendero Luminoso* was captured the same year and the terrorist activities basically came to a halt. In this context and considering the scale of the internal conflict that took place in Peru and the central role of the arrest of the leaders of *Sendero Luminoso* it is incomprehensible that the agreement of 1993 did not mention terrorism

both from the side of the EU whose interest is in peace preserving and also of Peru as the internal conflict with *Sendero Luminoso* would appear to be of outmost concern for the stability and development of Peru. However, one must remember that Alberto Fujimori's regime was one of the most corrupt in the world, the reasons for which will be outlined in the next paragraph, and it might be that the EU was in fact not aware of the severity of the situation.

Fujimori performed a coup d'état 1992 and dissolved some basic institutions which presented his regime some dictator-like traits. Although due to the difficult situation in Peru at the time, caused by the internal conflict with *Sendero Luminoso*, the population did not complain. In fact many supported the decisions of Fujimori, thinking that it would improve the political situation. This might have led to the outside world not comprehending the severe situation in Peru. Since the population did not protest and because the Fujimori's government was very corrupt, information about the situation might have failed to reach other countries. Fujimori also gave more executive power to the army which caused them to sometimes take the law in their own hands and many suspected terrorists were murdered without trials.

The agreement signed in Rome in 1996 also forms a basis for the cooperation between the EU and Peru and did not include terrorism either. In 1996 Fujimori was still president in Peru and the internal conflict was not of such magnitude as before and *Sendero Luminoso* had lost a great number of members with the capture of its leaders. However, the organisation still existed but had fractured into two groups operating more in the rural areas of Peru. A few years after the most severe situation in the conflict with *Sendero Luminoso* and with their popularity decreasing, one might think that prevention of terrorism would be of such great concern that it would with no doubt be included in a treaty with the EU, but neither in 1996 was this an area of interest. Again, the government of Fujimori might have been the issue, as well as the cooperation between the EU and Peru being fairly new and the areas of where the cooperation could be needed might not have been mapped out. If one looks at the most frequent words found in the word clouds it has a theme of words such as cooperation, agreement, dialogue, and Andean. One can see that the treaties are more focused on promoting dialogue and cooperation in general within the Andean community.

In 2003 in the agreement on dialogue and politics terrorism was a major part of the agreement. The same year, there was a new president in Peru, Alejandro Toledo. The former president Fujimori was forced to resign in 2000 and fled to Japan. With his resignation the massive extent of corruption was revealed. Toledo started the transition to democracy and he also created the Commission of Truth and Reconciliation to map out what had taken place during the internal conflict with *Sendero Luminoso*. Cooperation between the EU and Peru had been frozen between 1998 and 2000 due to the turbulence but was reintroduced after the election. One might believe that terrorism was not brought up in the first agreements because perhaps the surrounding world did not grasp the intensity and the magnitude of the terrorist problem in Peru, which could be due to the severe corruption that existed. On the other hand, the fact that there was a focus on terrorism in the treaties in 2003, 2004 and 2006 is most likely due to the terrorist attack in New York in 9/11- 2001. Since after this attack, terrorism became more discussed and became a more important question to many countries⁷⁶. The terrorist attack in 9/11 in New York might have lead to the world realizing that terrorism is a severe threat to all cultures, societies and people and perhaps that is the reason for why terrorism was brought up in the agreement of 2003. Also the Madrid and Vienna summits held in 2004 and in 2005 had a focus on terrorism and also the importance of combating terrorism without breaking fundamental human rights, something that occurred frequently during the internal conflict in Peru. This is also something that the EU stresses the importance of in the country strategy papers made on Peru.

Usually in most treaties it is stated as standard that the EU as an organisation condemns all types of terrorism regardless of what the treaty is about, and seem to be more to show the values of the EU. In the word clouds, the words in common for all the selected treaties are: “international”, “rights”, “terrorism” and “fight/combat”. It is clear how the treaties from 1993 and 1996 were more reserved and focuses more on dialogue whilst the treaties from 2003 and forward are much more offensive. The political agreement from 2003 is still a bit more reserved, using the words prevention and counter-terrorism but also strong words such as “fight.” The Madrid and Vienna treaties are more offensive and use words such as “combating”, “fight”, “rights”, “strength” and “fundamental.” These words have a stronger connotation and show a stronger standpoint towards terrorism. One word that appears as one of

⁷⁶Enders, Walter.Sandler, Todd. *After 9/11 – is it all different now?*
<http://www.deu.edu.tr/userweb/onder.hanedar/dosyalar/end.pdf> Department of Economics, Finance, and Legal Studies University of Alabama (2004) P.1 Accessed: 2013-09-06

the most used words in all treaties besides the 1993 treaty is “rights” referring to human rights. In many of the treaties there was emphasize on combating terrorism without breaking human rights. This could be especially important to Peru since during the internal conflict with *Sendero Luminoso* since many people were assassinated without trials. It has also been a problem for the government trying to prevent terrorism, causing debates about wire-tapping. It could also imply that it is a fundamental right to live without fear of terrorism. Another interesting point is to see how the 1993 and 1996 treaties use words with a more regional dimension for example Andean whilst the later treaties all have the words international as very frequent. This could imply that terrorism became more acknowledged as an international problem which needs international cooperation. Also words such as “human”, “humanitarian” and democratic appears often which also reassure that combating terrorism without violating any “humanitarian” rights are very important. Besides the focus on human rights, the attitude towards combating terrorism seems to take a stronger position. This change seems to happen in the 2003 treaty probably due to 9/11 in New York which made security politics much more important. It is also two years after the fall of Fujimori. A big corruption scandal was revealed and terrorism became more recognised and talked about in Peru.

The EU states that it is each country’s responsibility to defend its people from terrorism and insisted on all countries supporting the 1373 resolution made by the UN and to investigate thoroughly all suspected terrorists. There exists 13 international protocols regarding combating terrorism and the EU urges all states to apply the suggested recommendations from these protocols. In 2007 The International convention for the suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism entered into force⁷⁷. For the 60th session of the UN General Assembly the EU stresses the importance to develop the counter terrorist strategy and reach a mutual agreement and take a firm stand against terrorism⁷⁸.

In Peru, the internal conflict and *Sendero Luminoso* is still a hot topic and is usually brought to life in times of election. Today an important question is if *Sendero Luminoso* is still a threat to Peru and the opinions vary. The terrorist era is considered from approximately 1980-2000 one could argue that *Sendero Luminoso* is no longer a threat to Peru or other countries. Guzman is

⁷⁷International Convention on the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism, NTI, Accessed: 2013-09-07
<http://www.nti.org/treaties-and-regimes/international-convention-suppression-acts-nuclear-terrorism/>

⁷⁸Vienna declaration, last modified: 12/05/2006, <http://eulacfoundation.org/documents/2006-vienna-declaration>

Bachelor thesis in European studies.
Lund University 2013.

still in prison and the organisation is no longer as influential as it used to be. Although, it does still exist and there is also a new group forming called Movadef which is inspired from *Sendero Luminoso*, as well as the remaining parts of *Sendero Luminoso* dedicate itself to drug trafficking. A Peruvian anti-terrorist lawyer Julio Galindo writes in a column for the newspaper *La Republica* that he is concerned for the future of Peru. He says that “it is a big mistake that many politicians and journalists think that terrorism does not exist today in Peru”⁷⁹ He continues by saying that one need to understand that *Sendero Luminoso* is looking for support at the universities as they did when it first was started. He says that he is concerned that the adolescents of Peru will get the wrong opinion of *Sendero Luminoso* thinking that they did nothing to harm Peru. In the same newspaper a Peruvian teacher Efraín Condori, shares his opinion by saying that Galindo is wrong and only is defending his paycheck. Condori says that the *Sendero Luminoso* is not a threat for Peru today and the politicians are just trying to avoid how to deal with important questions of today⁸⁰. Further on, the president Ollanta Humala made a statement saying:

“I want to stress that terrorism is not a threat to the rule of law. We are not in the 80s. Indeed it [terrorism] is a problem that can threaten authorities, public infrastructure and security forces but this topic is exaggerated. I think this could be corrected by giving framework and resources to law enforcement.”⁸¹

But this statement can also be an attempt from the president to encourage international investors. As recently as this year, the United States published an article⁸² warning American citizens from travelling to Cusco as Sendero Luminoso had expressed a threat to kidnap American citizens travelling to the region. These different opinions displays that there is still some voices that state that Sendero Luminoso is a threat to Peru and one should not stop the attempts to prevent terrorism thinking that Sendero Luminoso no longer exists.

One should not forget that Peru has gone through many changes in a short period of time. It has become more democratic while battling with corruption and poverty and a history filled with terrorism and conflict. Today there are still many issues and Peru is still considered a third

⁷⁹ Sendero Luminoso Amenaza, La Republica (2012) accessed: 20/05/2013
<http://www.larepublica.pe/columnistas/punto-de-vista/sendero-luminoso-amenaza-20-09-2012>

⁸⁰ Ibid

⁸¹ Humala pide calma: el terrorismo no es una amenaza al estado de derecho, La Republica (2012), accessed: 15/05/2013 <http://www.larepublica.pe/10-11-2012/humala-pide-calma-el-terrorismo-no-es-una-amenaza-al-estado-de-derecho>

⁸² Peru object to U.S embassy's warning to tourists, The New York times,(2013), accessed: 7/4/2013
http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/16/world/americas/peru-objects-to-us-embassys-warning-to-tourists.html?_r=0

world country but the situation is improving and the economy is growing fast. With this mind, one could think that the Peruvians today who lived during the internal conflict are seeing the improvement and that there is a mentality that the situation is improving and there is more trust in government and police forces so the population does not fear a revival of Sendero Luminoso.

The EU has contributed to combating poverty and increasing trade in Peru by making treaties of cooperation and giving financial aid. These contributions are agreeing with the theory of Biscop that the EU is trying to combat issues such as terrorism but doing it via a prevention method. By preventing and combating poverty, increasing trade which in turn makes Peru economically stronger it could increase social stability and prevent further conflicts. It also agrees with Buzan and Beavers securitization theory since it shows that there are several factors that are important when it comes to security. However it disagrees with the neighbourhood policy subpart of the theory. The EU does focus on cooperation with countries geographically closer to Europe but it is also shown that developing countries further away, in our case Peru, are also important. If one looks at the counter-terrorism strategy of the EU it states that it aims to combat terrorism globally but without breaking human rights. This reinforces Biscop's theory of the EU taking on the role of being responsible for the world.

Instead the EU has its main focus of counter-terrorism on Islamic terrorism⁸³. Which one can find strange based on the information that there was a plenty of more attempts made by other types of terrorist groups than Islamic ones. Although, the EU states that Islamist terrorists are more of a threat to EU member states since they view western culture as a threat. On the other hand, the growing drug trafficking is also a threat to EU member states. A further area of research after this thesis would be the illicit drug trafficking and how new global issues are arising and that one must be aware that for example drug production in Peru has more than only domestic effects. Another take on further research would be the further investigate the effects of cooperation between the EU and other regions so find more detailed answers of how cooperation can be improved and more efficient. The battle against illicit drug trafficking is important for the EU and they attempt to tackle the problem by cooperation with other

⁸³ Kurtenbach, Sabina. Europe and the Colombian Conflict. Inter-American Dialogue, (2005) Accessed: 2013-09-06
<http://dspace.cigilibrary.org/jspui/bitstream/123456789/17782/1/Europe%20and%20the%20Colombian%20Conflict.pdf?1> P.11

countries to obtain the best and most efficient ways to prevent drug trafficking as well as reaching out worldwide to assist in the attempt to prevent drug trafficking⁸⁴.

The cooperation between the EU and Peru has had positive effects on Peru since it has facilitated trade for Peru, introducing it to the world economy and initiating bilateral treaties between member states and Peru as well as working towards preventing poverty, promoting human rights and democracy. *Sendero Luminoso* is not as active as during the internal conflict. The organisation is weakened and has not carried out large attacks in many years. This could of course be something that speaks in favour of the treaties and that the cooperation between the EU and Peru to prevent terrorism has had a positive effect. But the fact that *Sendero Luminoso* is not active could also be due to the fact that they have no strong leader since Guzman was arrested. That their aims naturally changed after his arrest and they fractured into groups with a focus on drug trafficking. On the other hand this might also have been due to the treaties and cooperation complicating the situation for *Sendero Luminoso* forcing them to branch out to other areas in order to survive. The EU has rather, by cooperation helped Peru through financial aid in creating the Commission of truth and reconciliation and to promote democracy, factors that might have contributed to the decreasing existence of *Sendero Luminoso*. The treaties made after 2001 have brought attention to the problem of terrorism and the seriousness of the internal conflict in Peru. However, after 2005 no new treaties have been made in the area of terrorism.

The question whether *Sendero Luminoso* is a threat to Peru today is still much debated. The American embassy warned American tourists in the Cusco area of Peru in February of 2013 that *Sendero Luminoso* had expressed a threat to kidnap American citizens⁸⁵. Still, the Peruvian president Ollanta Humala has stated that *Sendero Luminoso* is not a threat to Peru today.

“I want to designate that terrorism is not a threat to the rule of law. We are not in the 80’s. It is exaggerated. It [terrorism] is definitely a problem that can be a threat to authorities, public infrastructure, and security forced but

⁸⁴ European Commission Drug control policy, last modified: 08/01/2013 <http://ec.europa.eu/justice/anti-drugs/>

⁸⁵ Peru Objects to U.S Embassy’s Warning to American tourists, The New York times, (2013) , accessed: 07/04/2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/16/world/americas/peru-objects-to-us-embassy-warning-to-tourists.html?_r=1&

it should not be exaggerated. I think this can be corrected by taking an adequate standpoint with law enforcement.⁸⁶”

On the other hand, there are opinions that *Sendero Luminoso* does exist and is still a threat to Peru. Julio Galindo, lawyer and anti-terrorist activist and he believe that *Sendero Luminoso* is a threat.

“ One must understand that Sendero Luminoso is going back its roots, and is starting to gain support at the universities, where they are Sendero Luminoso are returning to their roots and finding support at the universities, where they are distorting and perverting the brains of our future generations through force⁸⁷.”

The former president, Alan García is asking President Ollanta Humala to take measures to solve the problem of terrorism which has a strong bond with drug-trafficking. García states that the president should create a national agreement between parties to fight the terrorism and stop drug trafficking⁸⁸. Also the EU finds it important to stop the current drug trafficking and granted Peru 32 million Euros to fight the drug trafficking⁸⁹.

⁸⁶ Humala pide calma: “el terrorismo no es una amenaza al estado de derecho” , La Republica (2012) accessed: 07/04/2013 <http://www.larepublica.pe/10-11-2012/humala-pide-calma-el-terrorismo-no-es-una-amenaza-al-estado-de-derecho>

⁸⁷ Sendero Luminoso amenaza, La Republica, (2012), Accessed: 07/04/2013, <http://www.larepublica.pe/columnistas/punto-de-vista/sendero-luminoso-amenaza-20-09-2012>

⁸⁸ <http://diario16.pe/noticia/16103-alan-garcaia-plantea-acuerdo-nacional-contra-el-terrorismo> published: 15/05/2012 , downloaded: 14/03/2013

⁸⁹ <http://www.andina.com.pe/Ingles/noticia-european-union-to-help-peru-fight-drug-trafficking-449570.aspx> March 4th of 2013, downloaded: 27/4-2013

7. Conclusion

The thesis investigates the question of how the EU has contributed in combating terrorism in Peru during the years 1993-2013. It also investigates the follow-up questions if terrorism in Peru is of concern for the EU, as well as if *Sendero Luminoso* is a threat today. The method used is a content analysis which together with a word cloud system and historical information is used to answer the research question. The main sources used are the Commission of Truth and Reconciliation and treaties signed between the EU and the Andean Community.

The results of the thesis are that the treaties of 1993, 1996 do not mention terrorism but focus on dialogue and regional relations in the Andean community. After 2001 the tone towards terrorism becomes more aggressive. The result from the wordcloud system also shows that the words mostly used have a more negative connotation and are more aggressive, showing that the EU takes a more active role in combating terrorism. The EU's commitment in creating treaties and dialogue agrees with Biscop's theory and Buzan & Weaver's theory of trying to combat terrorism from other areas besides the military one. By preventing poverty and societal problems they hope to combat terrorism.

In Peru's foreign policy it's declared that Peru wishes to work actively to preserve international peace and to prevent global issues such as terrorism and that the Peruvian government believes that the EU defends Peru's interests. The first treaties included the issues of poverty and lack of human rights but did not mention terrorism. At most it mentioned briefly the importance to combat organised crime but without specifying what is included in that. In agreements signed between 2003-2006 terrorism was a more emphasized topic. This is most likely due to the recent terrorist attack carried out September 11th 2001 in New York, making terrorism a bigger concern for the world. However it could also be due to the fact that the very corrupt government of Alberto Fujimori was over. Fujimori had to resign in 2001 and fled to Japan but later returning to Peru he was arrested due to the rigorous corruption in his government. The resignation of Fujimori and the discovery of the corruption revealed the brutal crimes against humanity and how many individuals had been killed in the conflict between *Sendero Luminoso* and the Peruvian government. This might also be a reason for why terrorism became a more important theme in the later treaties. After 2005 no agreement with a focus on terrorism has been made with the Andean community. This could be due to

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the EU finding Islamist terrorism as a bigger threat to Europe than leftist localised terrorism such as *Sendero Luminoso*. Nevertheless in statistics made by the EU themselves from 2009 showed that left wing attacks are much more frequent than Islamist attacks in Europe.

Combating terrorism in Peru is a concern of the EU since they find combating terrorism a main goal. It could also be due to the role they have taken on as being responsible for “civilizing”⁹⁰ the world. The EU has created a counter terrorist strategy that consists of four main goals: prevent, protect, pursue and respond. The counter terrorist strategy goes against the neighbour policy since it is aimed to prevent terrorism in the whole world. Another related issue is the illicit drug trafficking. The EU affirms that Peru is an important country for them, with its fast growing economy but also because it is the second largest cocaine exporter in the world. The cocaine is produced in Peru and then exported to the United States and to Europe.

As to whether *Sendero Luminoso* is a threat to Peru today, there are different opinions. The Peruvian president Ollanta Humala states that *Sendero Luminoso* is not a threat to Peru whilst anti-terrorist lawyer Julio Galindo declares that *Sendero Luminoso* is returning to its roots, trying to gain support at the universities once again. As late as this year the American embassy in Peru warned Americans travelling to the city of Cusco after a warning from *Sendero Luminoso* about kidnapping American tourists. During the internal conflict, *Sendero Luminoso* was domestically focused and not really perceived as a threat to other countries. However, with the new focus on illicit drug trafficking one could recognize *Sendero Luminoso* as a threat to not only Peru but to Europe as well. However, if the cooperation continues between the EU and Peru in the area of terrorism and if the weaknesses within the cooperation would be acknowledged and improved, this might help with combating terrorism in the future.

⁹⁰ Biscop, Sven. *The European Security Strategy: A global Agenda For Positive Power*. Ashgate Publishing Company (2005) P.38

Appendix

List of Vocabulary

- **UN 1373 resolution**⁹¹: The UN's strategy of how to combat international terrorism.
- **VRAE region**: Apurimac and Ene River Valley, In the area of Ayacucho, south of Peru.
- **EUROLAT**: Euro-Latin American Parliamentary Assembly.
- **CAN**: Comunidad Andina, which consists of Peru, Colombia, Ecuador and Colombia.
- **EUROSOCIAL**: Program for social cohesion in Latin America
- **EUROJUST**: A unit set up by the European Council to reinforce the fight in organised crime.
- **EUROPOL**: Europol is the law enforcement agency and aim to achieve a safer Europe.

⁹¹ Security council press release, last modified: 28/09/2001
<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2001/sc7158.doc.htm>

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