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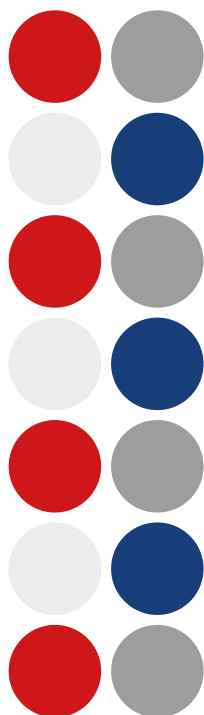
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200 YEARS OF PERUVIAN FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS PROJECTION IN A CHANGING WORLD

Fabián Novak
Sandra Namihas

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200 years of Peruvian foreign policy and its projection in a changing world

Fabián NOVAK and Sandra NAMIHAS¹

Peru's Ministry of Foreign Affairs was born together with the Republic in 1821. Therefore, it will reach 200 years of institutional life in a few months. This commemoration marked the interest of the authors in carrying out research on the various guidelines of Peruvian foreign policy and, in turn, evaluate whether they have been followed successfully in the past two centuries. This research also had to understand the institutional issue in such a way as to verify if the diplomatic service had been strengthened as an institution and adapted to the changes and needs over time. Here are the results.

I Great guidelines of the Peruvian foreign policy and institutionalization of Torre Tagle (1821-2000)

1. Institutionalization of Torre Tagle

Days after the independence of Peru was proclaimed on July 28, 1821, the Liberator José de San Martín issued the August 3rd decree that created the Ministry of State and Foreign Affairs. The first steps towards institutionalization were taken from that moment on. Thus, since 1822, norms were issued to regulate the State's diplomatic function, protocol and ceremonial rules, and the use of secret code for secure communication of diplomatic agents was organized. Similarly, and early on, the Peruvian Foreign Ministry became aware of the need and importance of having a wide diplomatic representation abroad, and it made strenuous efforts to convince the Peruvian political class about its necessity.

1 This document has been prepared based upon the book: Novak, F. and Namihas, S. (2020). *The Peruvian foreign policy and its projection in a changing world*. Lima: Inter-national Studies Institute (IDEI) - Pontifical Catholic University of Peru and Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS). Its digital version is found at: <http://repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/handle/123456789/>

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However, it is during the government of President Ramón Castilla (1845-1851, 1855-1858, 1858-1862) and under the leadership José Gregorio Paz Soldán at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that the organization and structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was affirmed, consisting of 6 features: First, foreign policy principles that would guide the external action of the Peruvian State almost until the end of the 20th century were established. Second, the first law of Peru's diplomatic service, the decree 90 of July 31, 1846, provided an organization and structure to the ministry, which would also become the first regulation of this nature in all of the Americas. Here, not only the categories of the diplomatic and consular service were indicated, but also other provisions that gave the service an internal structure, including the studies that applicants had to follow. Third, the ministry's funds were increased, which made it possible to open more diplomatic missions abroad and, thus, improve Peru's relationship with the powers of that time. Fourth, during the presidency of Manuel Pardo y Lavalle in 1872, an advisory commission consisting of former Foreign ministers was created. This would be very useful, since their lucidity and experience in formulating and conducting foreign policy was harnessed.

This institutional strengthening was followed by a brief interruption process due to the War of the Pacific (1879-1881), after which it continued. Thus fifth, the permanence and continuity of diplomatic officials was ensured, properly creating a diplomatic career, which not only made it possible to provide stability to the service but also to have an institutional memory and a consistent foreign policy.

A sixth factor that powerfully contributed to institutionalizing the ministry and the diplomatic service was the forging of a sense of loyalty among diplomatic officials and between them and their institution, which were decisive for institutional strengthening.

Already in the twentieth century, specifically in 1916, during the presidency of José Pardo y Barreda, the Torre Tagle Palace was acquired as the Chancellery historical seat. From this moment on Peruvian diplomacy would be identified as „Torre Tagle diplomacy.”

Likewise, in the first half of this century, under the presidency of Augusto B. Leguía and with Pedro José Rada y Gamio as Chancellor, there was an important expansion of Peru's diplomatic missions abroad, but also recognition of the diplomatic career as a public career in 1929 (Law 6602).

Another important milestone in this institution building process was the creation of the Diplomatic Academy of Peru through the Supreme Decree 326 of August 18, 1955, appointing Alberto Ulloa Sotomayor, the renowned internationalist and Peruvian ambassador, as its first director. This not only sought to ensure excellent education for diplomatic cadres, but also, through of the adoption of other rules, to ensure that the entry into the diplomatic career could not occur through any other means than the Academy, thus guaranteeing, a professional service.

Then came the organic laws of 1969 and 1981, by which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was incorporated as a member of the National Defense System. Service categories that exist until today were established, as well as diplomatic and consular duties and functions; however, there was a setback on this last issue in the 1992 organic law, which was later corrected.

In summary, from the great reform carried out by President Ramón Castilla and his Chancellor José Gregorio Paz Soldán in the mid-19th century to the end of the 20th century, it was possible to create not only a modern and efficient institution but also a professional Diplomatic Service, all of which had a positive impact on Peru's foreign policy in those two centuries. This institutional consolidation continued, as we will later see, in the 21st century.

2. Peruvian foreign policy guidelines

2.1. The search for recognition and expansion of external relations

The first major guideline of Peruvian foreign policy in the first half of the 19th century was to achieve recognition as an independent State not only by countries in the region but mainly by the powers of that time.

Thus, after intense diplomatic action, two decades before the end of the 19th century, Peruvian diplomacy achieved this important objective, by establishing diplomatic and consular relations with the main state actors in the Americas (Provincias del Río de la Plata, 1821; Chile, 1822; Gran Colombia, 1822; Mexico, 1822; Bolivia, 1826; Brazil, 1827; Ecuador, 1831; USA, 1822), Europe (Great Britain, 1831; the Papal States, 1852; Portugal, 1853; France, 1861; Italy, 1864; Germany, 1874; Spain, 1879) and even Asia (Japan, 1873; China, 1874; and Russia, 1874).

Having achieved the objective of recognition for the Peruvian State, starting in the 20th century, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs worked to expand the number of States with which it was important to establish diplomatic and consular relations, because of the importance of the countries, economic and commercial interests, or due to the Peruvian migrant populations abroad. It was then that Peru established relations with socialist countries, such as: Yugoslavia and Romania (1968), Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria (1969) and the German Democratic Republic (1971). In those years, the relationship with the European Economic Community (EEC) and the other two communities created in parallel was also formalized, and then consolidated in 1990 when an agreement was signed to establish the Commission of the European Communities Delegation in Lima. Peru's expansion into Asia and Africa began in that same decade, by formalizing relations with the Kingdom of Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore (1992), as well as with South Africa (1994).

2.2. Defining the national space

A second guideline of Peruvian foreign policy consisted in delimiting its international boundary, a long and complex process that was not exempt from serious political crises and even military conflicts, mainly led by the This Foreign Ministry.

Thus, a successful process of defining Peru's land boundaries with Bolivia was achieved both in the Collao and in the jungle sectors in 1909, which was complemented with the delimitation of Lake Titicaca, as well as with the establishment of an exclusive and indivisible joint sovereignty over its waters.

Peru defined its land boundaries with Brazil in 1909, after two treaties concluded in 1851 and 1858, by which Peru achieved the important objective of free navigation through the Amazon, despite the fact that Article XIII of the San Ildefonso Treaty granted this right exclusively to Brazil.



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President Leguía defined the boundaries with Colombia, after negotiations in 1922, without participation of the Peruvian Foreign Ministry. This triggered a military conflict and the intervention of the League of Nations, finally confirming the content of this agreement in the Washington Act of 1925.

The Treaty of Ancón was signed with Chile in 1883. It put an end to the fatal War of the Pacific and implied the definitive loss of the Peruvian province of Tarapacá. Then, the definitive boundaries were established in 1929 in new negotiation led directly by President Leguía that implied the loss of the province of Arica and the recovery of Tacna, in addition to the establishment of a series of rights and easements in Arica in favor of Peru.

Finally, the 1942 Protocol of Rio de Janeiro defined Peru's boundaries with Ecuador after the countries' military conflict in Zarumilla. However, several Ecuadorian governments ignored the treaty and provoked constant military confrontations until 1995, when the Cenepa War took place, which gave way to the Brasilia talks, considered the richest and most complex process of the Peruvian diplomatic history in the twentieth century, successfully culminated with the 1998 Brasilia Peace Accords. They not only confirmed the Peruvian position regarding the validity of the Rio de Janeiro Protocol which established the border with Ecuador, but also transformed the historical relationship of conflict between both countries, for one of brotherhood, peace and cooperation.

2.3. National defense in the face of Europe and USA interferences

Peru was the object of various acts of interference by the United States and Europe in the first decades of the Republic. They were mainly caused by the defense of their nationals' rights and interests in Peru. These interferences even tried to exercise typically sovereign rights in Peruvian territory or to support their claims with the use of force, through the naval stations that these powers had in Peruvian ports.

Faced with this, the Peruvian Foreign Affairs Ministry maintained a firm position in defense of national sovereignty, rejecting these acts of interference and thereby affirming its position as an independent and sovereign state. The successive chancellors who had to face these unpleasant situations finally managed to stop these interferences and to gain the respect through a firm and clear political and legal position, defined by several great diplomats and jurists in the Foreign Affairs Ministry, such as José Gregorio Paz Soldán.

Some of the most relevant events were: the incident of the brigantine-schooner *Hidalgo* (1830), the *Barrère* and *Saillard* (1835 and 1840) incidents, the impasse of the English steamers *Peru* and *Cormoran* (1844), the intrusion of William Pitt Adams and its effects (1846), the exploration by WL Herndon and L. Gibbon for possible colonization in the Amazon (1851), the US claim to the Lobos Islands (1852), the undue asylum granted by the US consul Oakford (1853), the claims of France (1854), the *Georgiana* and *Lizzie Thompson* ship incident (1857), the *Durhin* incident (1858), the *Barry-Brown* incident (1862), the Spanish occupation of the Chíncha guano islands and the Combat of May 2nd (1863-1866), the incident of the steamer *Luxor* (1879), the incident with the British minister Jones (1897), the impasse of the ship *Villa de Paris* (1908), the incident of the steamer *Lorton* (1917) and the incident



with Spain caused by the invasion of Peru's diplomatic premises in that country during the civil war (1937).

2.4. Continental leadership in the face of interferences in other countries in the region

Beyond the firm position assumed by the Peruvian Foreign Affairs Ministry for decades in the face of interference attempts by the US and European powers in Peru, this position was also defended against other similar attempts or adventures against other countries in the continent, in many cases assuming a clear continental leadership.

This leadership manifested itself not only in the fact that in several occasions Peru was the first State in the region to protest against these intrusions, but also in the repeated proposals to engage in negotiations for collective defense treaties on several occasions (pioneers of the system that was later established at regional level with the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance TIAR and at universal level with the United Nations). Such treaties had the objective to defend militarily against aggressions carried out to the harm of any American country. Ultimately, Peru's leadership role was reflected in the support provided to the countries that had yet to become independent. All of the above was very important in shaping the image of the Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs as one of the leading and most prestigious foreign ministries in the region.

The Peruvian continental leadership was demonstrated in facing the monarchical projects of Juan José Flores (1846) and the attempts of the United States to establish a protectorate in Ecuador (1854 and 1861), the interference of the Walker filibuster in Nicaragua (1856), the annexation of the Dominican Republic by Spain (1861), the imperial project of Maximiliano in Mexico and the prominent participation of the Peruvian diplomat Manuel Nicolás Corpancho (1861-1863), the Triple Alliance against Paraguay (1864-1870), the independence of Cuba (1898), the attempted dismemberment of Bolivia (1901), the European blockade of the Venezuelan coasts and the bombing of Puerto Cabello (1902), the independence of Panama (1903), the suspension and isolation of Cuba (1960), the war of the Malvinas Islands (1982), the invasion of Granada (1983), the Support Group for Contadora (1985), and the US invasion of Panama (1989).

2.5. Regional cooperation and integration

Regarding this fifth guideline of Peruvian foreign policy, it should be noted that the different governments and the Foreign Ministry tried to sign agreements aimed at consolidating a true league of Latin American States on numerous occasions. Their main - although not exclusive - purpose was the common defense against various imperialist and / or expansionist attempts of European powers and the US. Some to be highlighted were: the 1822 Perpetual Confederation Treaty with Colombia, the 1826 Panama Congress, the 1826 Andes Federation, the 1848 First Congress of Lima and Confederation Treaty, the 1856 Continental Treaty, the Alliance and Confederation Treaty of that same year, the Second American Congress of Lima in 1864 and the frustrated third Congress of Lima in 1867.



Then, already in the twentieth century, Peru would participate in integration processes of a different nature. Once the risk of intervention by foreign powers disappeared, Peru concentrated its efforts on finding it solutions to regional problems and on improving economic and commercial exchanges. Some milestones in this process were: the Organization of American States - OAS (1948), the Permanent Commission of the South Pacific - CPPS (1952), the Latin American Free Trade Association - ALALC (1960) / the Latin American Integration Association - ALADI (1980), the Andean Pact (1969) / Andean Community (1996) and the Amazon Cooperation Treaty (1978) / OTCA (1998).

Peruvian diplomacy contributed decisively by laying the ground for these integration processes, formulating their legal frameworks and assuming a position of leadership as within them.

2.6. Construction and strengthening of multilateralism

Another important line of Peruvian foreign policy has been its commitment to multilateralism, through the creation and strengthening of various international organizations. In this regard, Peru was present at the inception of the two most important universal organizations in contemporary history, namely, the League of Nations and the United Nations.

In these two universal organizations, Peru not only contributed to the drafting of various articles in its inception treaties, but chaired numerous commissions and bodies. Thus we can mention the presence of Peru in the Council of the League of Nations, its presidency of the Legal Committee of the United Nations Preparation Commission, its presidency of the International Court of Justice, its participation as non-permanent member of the UN Security Council on five occasions, its active presence in UN peacekeeping operations and its leadership of the UN General Secretariat during two successive terms.

All this strengthened the prestige of Torre Tagle and Peruvian diplomats, who stood out for their intelligent, serious and responsible work every time they had to assume leadership positions in these organizations. Likewise, it highlighted the Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs belief in the benefits of multilateralism as an instrument for solving differences, maintaining international peace and security and promoting cooperation among all countries of the world.

2.7. Economic and commercial opening

This Peruvian foreign policy guideline was established only in the last decade of the twentieth century, and steadily continued into the twenty-first century.

Indeed, although since the 19th century the Peruvian Foreign Ministry signed commercial agreements as part of its strategy to achieve recognition by foreign the powers of that time, it is only since 1990s, that Peru began a cycle of sustained economic growth and development, as a result of economic and trade liberalization, as well as by attracting foreign investment.

Thus, a stabilization program was first developed that included the elimination of currency exchange control policies and restrictions on most imports, broad reduction in tariffs, the elimination of price controls and subsidies, strong privatization of



public companies, elimination of restrictions on possession of foreign currency, incentives to attract foreign investment, among other measures. In that decade alone, Peru signed 24 investment protection agreements with the world's main economic powers, which highlighted Peru's clear commitment to economic openness, and to attracting foreign investment, and free trade.

In this regard, Peruvian foreign policy gave particular importance to economic and commercial matters. This led to the creation of new bodies inside the Ministry, such as the vice-ministry of international economy as well as economic and commercial line bodies, which highlighted the need for a new foreign policy. This process was consolidated in the early years of the 21st century.

3. Other positions, initiatives or achievements of the Peruvian foreign policy

In addition to the foreign policy guidelines implemented during the 19th and 20th centuries, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs undertook further initiatives for the defense of national principles and interests, such as well as freedom and territorial integrity of the States. For example, during both world wars, Peru adopted policies favorable to the allied countries and against the expansionism of the German Empire, and, afterwards, of Nazi Germany.

Peru's position regarding the 1947 Marshall Plan is also worth highlighting: Peruvian diplomacy warned of this plan's limitations, as well as the need to rethink it, so that US aid was not directed only to European powers but also to Latin American countries that had provided raw materials to the Allied Powers during World War II.

Similarly, since 1947, the Peruvian Foreign Ministry defended the 200 nautical miles proposal which sought recognition of the right of coastal States to explore, exploit and conserve natural resources of the sea adjacent to their coasts up to 200 nautical miles. This proposal was finally supported by the United States, after an initial resistance that led us to capture of several of its fishing vessels. It was finally incorporated in the 1982 Law of the Sea in the United Nations Convention, under the concept of exclusive economic zone, after several decades of work with various countries in the region.

There are also the diplomatic initiatives of the Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which has been aiming to be incorporated into the Antarctic Treaty since the 1970s as a consultative member, thus allowing it to defend its interests in the Antarctic continent.

Also in the 1970s, Peru stood out for its leadership in the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77, actively participating in the configuration of the so-called New International Economic Order. Already in the eighties, Peru planned and led the creation of the Group of 15, with the purpose of overcoming the difficulties of an organization as broad as that of the Non-Aligned Movement, which materialized in 1989. Likewise, in order to have a regional body linked to the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77, Peru led and hosted the meeting that created the Special Commission for Latin American Coordination (CECLA) in 1964, which derived into the Latin American Economic System (SELA) in 1975, where Peru occupied its Permanent Secretariat on more than one occasion.



On the other hand, the proposals of the Peruvian Foreign Ministry in favor of disarmament and against Apartheid should be highlighted. In the first case, it led the preparation and approval of the so-called Declaration of Ayacucho and other subsequent instruments in 1974. Later, it carried out a number of actions that determined the establishment of the United Nations Regional Center for Peace, Disarmament and Development in Peru. In the second case, Peru chaired the United Nations Conference on sanctions against South Africa in 1986, as just recognition for its firm position and actions developed by its diplomacy against racial segregation in that country.

Besides, the Peruvian Chancellery worked, in conjunction with other foreign ministries of the region, towards reformulating the standing principles to that moment in the war against drugs and for the enshrinement in the nineties of the principles of joint, common and shared responsibility to face this problem.

Another remarkable chapter of Peruvian diplomacy is its contribution to peace in Central America, since the time when José Luis Bustamante y Rivero was mediator of the controversy between Honduras and El Salvador to Allan Wagner's role as promoter of the creation of the Contadora Support Group that facilitated a peaceful solution to the crisis in Central America, and through Javier Pérez de Cuéllar who, as Secretary General of the UN, managed to culminate the peace process in El Salvador.

On the other hand, the 1992 Ilo Agreements marked a milestone in Peru's relations with Bolivia, by seeking a strategic approach with the highlands country which provided an alternative solution to the problem of its landlocked condition and, at the same time, tried to establish Peru as a meeting point between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

Finally, the Foreign Affairs Ministry closed the 20th century by solving the pending issues of the 1929 Treaty with Chile, by signing the 1999 Act of Execution that allowed Peru to exercise its rights and easements in Arica, in compliance with history and honoring the sacrifice of many Peruvians.

II Peru's foreign policy in the 21st century (2001–2020)

1. Consolidating Torre Tagle's institutionalization

The new century also marked other advances in affirming Torre Tagle's institutional character. They were of two types: on the one hand, new aspects were incorporated into the diplomatic function and, on the other, its structure and organization were reformulated.

Regarding the new aspects of diplomacy, the so-called *economic diplomacy* was strengthened since 2002 in order to promote an increase in foreign trade and foreign investment in Peru. The Peruvian Agency for International Cooperation (APCI) was created as part of *social diplomacy*, promoting donations and international cooperation to help reduce poverty in the country. Decentralized offices were opened to incorporate the needs and demands of the country's interior in a move towards *decentralized diplomacy*. *Cultural diplomacy* began to recover Peru's cultural heritage abroad and to create cultural industries.



The Ministry of Foreign Affairs adopted a number of regulations regarding its structure and organization. They incorporated new functions of the Chancellery, reinstated the officials who had been removed through the 1992 organic law in their rights and duties, required the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs to become head of the service and -as such- necessarily a diplomat, which would guarantee a professional vision and conduct within the ministry, notwithstanding changes in the position of the chancellor. Similarly, the so-called democratic clause was incorporated, by virtue of which the Heads of Mission must present their immediate resignation from office in cases where a usurping government is constituted, which was magnificently complemented by the enshrinement of the principle of due obedience, consisting in the fact that diplomatic officials are not obliged to comply with unconstitutional or illegal instructions or orders.

The strengthening of the diplomatic service and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs made it possible to face the challenges of the first decades in the 21st century, developing old and new foreign policy guidelines with the same seriousness and professionalism as in the 19th and 20th centuries.

2. Old and new guidelines in the 21st century foreign policy

2.1. Defining maritime boundaries

At the end of the 20th century, the Peruvian Chancellery had managed to define all of Peru's land borders with effort and determination. However, the definition of its maritime borders was still pending. Thus, a lawsuit against Chile was filed at the International Court of Justice in 2008 so that this high court could define the maritime boundaries. This process culminated successfully for Peru on January 27, 2014, the date on which the Court issued its final judgment. For Peru this meant the incorporation of some 50,000 km² to its maritime domain, that is, the recognition of 75% of what had been requested at the Court.

On the other hand, while this process was taking place, Peru began direct conversations with Ecuador that yielded a successful result on May 2, 2011, when the foreign ministers of both countries signed the agreement that definitively established the maritime boundary between the two countries.

2.2. Regional cooperation and integration

The 21st century led Peru to reflect on the different integration processes and even mechanisms of political dialogue in which it was involved. It drew the conclusion that most of them were inoperative or ineffective and others responded to the ideological interests of certain countries, all of which contrasted with a pragmatic vision of integration that began to prevail in Torre Tagle in the new century.

This new vision inspired the Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to promote since 2012, together its Colombian counterpart, the restructuration of the Andean Community (CAN). Likewise, it involved the Peruvian denunciation of the UNASUR Constitutional Treaty on March 28, 2019, thus formalizing its decision to withdraw from this body, which had been inoperative.

This reflection also inspired the formulation of a new, open, efficient, and non-bureaucratic integration process. Such is the case with the Pacific Alliance project,

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which was launched in October 2010 and which has made remarkable progress in its four key pillars up to this moment. In addition, 59 observer states from all continents have participated. Currently negotiations with Australia, Canada, New Zealand and Singapore are taking place, in order to incorporate them as associate states.

Similarly, Peru actively participates in CELAC with the purpose of maintaining relationships with the main powers and blocs in the world, such as the European Union, China, India, Russia and ASEAN, not only bilaterally but also on a multilateral level.

Finally, Peru has been making a number of efforts to join the OECD since 2008. It is currently in the process of adapting and complying with the conditions required by this organization for membership.

2.3. Multiple and pragmatic relationships

This is an undoubtedly an intelligent option because it allows the Peruvian State not to be dependent dependencies on a single power and also to reduce impacts and vulnerabilities caused by the several crises taking place around the world. Similarly, this type of relationship enables Peru to obtain benefits from all partners as well as to expand its presence in the world. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has resorted to four strategies to achieve this goal.

The first is the consolidation of the relations to its neighbors, by establishing a comprehensive dialogue mechanism at the highest level, consisting of holding annual presidential and binational cabinet meetings with each one of them. The second strategy involves entering into strategic alliances and / or creating mechanisms for bilateral political dialogue in order to strengthen and consolidate Peru's relations with the main powers or blocs of countries in the world. This has been achieved with the European Union, Spain and France, Brazil, Argentina and Mexico, China, Thailand and South Korea, as well as with Russia. Although these mechanisms and alliances present different characteristics and content, depending on the partner, the bottom line is that in every case the main objective is not only to establish a direct arrangement between Peru and the power or bloc of countries, but also to establish a broad bilateral agenda that consolidates its relations with each partner. The third strategy consists of expanding the geographic coverage of Peru's diplomatic representations abroad, opening embassies mainly in Asia (a priority region for Peru), but also in Africa and the Middle East. Finally, the fourth strategy has consisted of closely cooperating with the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism in the signing of free trade agreements, in such a way as to create new partners and thus facilitate the custom-free import of Peruvian goods.

2.4. Searching new markets and expanding commercial partnerships

In the new century, Peru engaged in intensive negotiations to ensure free entry for its main export goods and services in international markets. Thus it currently has 21 trade agreements in place (such as with the CAN, Cuba, Mercosur, Chile, USA, Canada, Singapore, China, Thailand, EFTA, European Union, South Korea, Mexico, Panama, Costa Rica, Japan, Venezuela, Pacific Alliance, Honduras, and Australia). Three other trade agreements, which have already been concluded but have not been yet implemented must also be taken into consideration: Guatemala, Brazil and TPP-11, as well as other agreements which are still in the negotiation stage (Trade in Ser-



vices Agreement-TISA, Turkey, India, El Salvador and Associated States of the Pacific Alliance).

This aggressive foreign trade policy has not only allowed to cover 91% of current exportable goods and services, but also to increase the Peruvian State's economic income, which reached \$45.98 billion in 2019. This has in turn decreased poverty levels in the country. Finally, this policy has protected the Peruvian economy from uncertainties and global economic crises, such as the one that occurred in 2008, and has given greater autonomy to Peruvian foreign policy.

2.5. Protection of Peruvian communities abroad

The Peruvian consular law amendment began in 2004. It changed the old paradigm of the prefect consul for that of the consul as a public servant. This led to the creation of the General Directorate of Peruvian Communities Abroad and Consular Affairs within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is in charge of implementing seven policies in the new consular action: reform and improvement of consular services; legal protection for migrants; humanitarian assistance; support for the productive, legal and human rights integration respectful of Peruvians in the receiving countries; promotion of cultural and national bonds; links of Peruvians with Peru from a productive perspective; promotion of citizenship and democratic participation of Peruvians abroad.

Additionally, the so-called Consultation Councils of Peruvian Communities Abroad were created, the purpose of which is to create dialogue forums between the consulates and Peruvian migrants in order to gather their initiatives, needs and problems.

In short, the new century has marked a true transformation regarding the protection policy of Peruvian communities abroad, expanding its scope and content for the benefit of migrants and the Peruvian State itself.

2.6. Strengthening democracy, human rights and the environment

Finally, although it is true that Peru actively participated in negotiating and signing international agreements aimed at the protection of human rights and humanitarian rights, as well as in promoting representative democracy in the region in the 19th and 20th centuries, these issues got the special commitment, attention and leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Peru in the 21st century.

Thus, in terms of representative democracy, Peru proposed the initiative of what became the Inter-American Democratic Charter in 2001. It aims at strengthening the instruments for the defense of representative democracy in the region, and was adopted on September 11 of that year by the OAS General Assembly. We also have the Peruvian initiative for the creation of the so-called Lima Group in 2017, aimed at solving the democratic and humanitarian crisis in Venezuela.

Regarding human rights and international humanitarian law, Peru was incorporated into the Rome Statute that created the International Criminal Court. Later, in 2017, the Peruvian candidate to that court was elected. As for the UN Human Rights Commission, Peru assumed its presidency in 2006 and it was elected a member of the newly created Human Rights Council in that same year. Within the Inter-American System, Peruvian diplomacy succeeded in having a Peruvian elected as judge of the



Inter-American Court of Human Rights, as well as three successive representatives in the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

Conclusión

Peru has managed to build a serious and efficient Ministry of Foreign Affairs in these 200 years of republican life, one which enjoys prestige and international recognition. Its leadership, education of cadres, structure and foreign policy guidelines have made it possible for the Peruvian Foreign Ministry to achieve a large part of the objectives set out throughout this period, and to be held in high regard by the Peruvian people.

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