

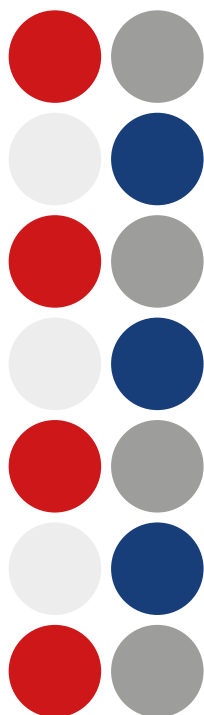


BOOK REPORT
APRIL 2022

www.idei.pucp.edu.pe

www.kas.de/es/peru

ISBN: 978-9972-671-91-3



Political guidelines and approaches of Peruvian foreign policy in the new 21st-century order (on the bicentennial of the MRE)

Fabián Novak
Sandra Namihás



*Political guidelines and approaches of Peruvian foreign policy in the new 21st-century order
(on the bicentennial of the MRE)*

1st ed., April 2022

Legal Deposit at the National Library of Peru:

ISBN Np. 978-9972-671-91-3

- © Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú
Instituto de Estudios Internacionales (IDEI)
Plaza Francia 1164, Lima 1 – Perú
Email: idei@pucp.edu.pe
Tel.: (51-1) 626-6170
URL: <www.pucp.edu.pe/idei>
<www.facebook.com/ideipucp>
- © Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS)
Av. Larco 109, 2^o Piso, Lima 18 – Perú
Email: kasperu@kas.de
URL: <www.kas.de/peru>
Tel.: (51-1) 416-6100
URL: <www.kas.de/peru/es>
<www.facebook.com/kasenperu>

Authors:

Fabián Novak (0000-0001-5125-1748)

Sandra Namihás (0000-0002-0936-5132)

All rights reserved, reproduction of this book by any means, in whole or in part, without the express permission of the publishers, is prohibited.

Layout: Interactiva Studio

1st ed. DIGITAL, April 2022

Available at <http://repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/handle/123456789/123985>



As a fitting tribute to the bicentennial of Peru's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MRE), created on August 3, 1821, the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru's Institute of International Studies (IDEI) and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) decided to conduct a research project that would analyze the progress and achievements of the MRE, in the new millennium not only in the field of institutional strengthening but also in the implementation and execution of the new approaches Peruvian diplomacy has been incorporating into its foreign policy. The book would also complement the text published by the same authors in 2020, focusing this time on the challenges the new international order poses to our diplomacy and the actions it should take to deal with them.

The MRE's main advances in each area are presented below, minus the multiple proposals the authors formulated to deepen and complement them. While we cannot address them here for space reasons, these proposals can be consulted at the following site: (<https://repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/handle/123456789/182860>), an open-access work.

I The new international order of the 21st century and the MRE reforms

Most analysts agree that 2008 marked the beginning of a new international order characterized by changes in the structure and relations of power that have been generating an unstable balance of forces between the old and new powers.

This new order is fundamentally *bipolar*, comprising two great superpowers, the United States of America (U.S.) and the People's Republic of China, although accompanied by other countries or blocs with less power and influence. In this regard, we see two great poles: the transatlantic democratic pole, made up of the U.S. and the European Union (EU), and the authoritarian Eurasian pole, formed by China and Russia. This contemporary re-edition of the balance of these powers will accompany us throughout the 21st century, with the liberal order clearly continuing but accompanied by an authoritarian sub-order.

As for these *secondary poles*, we have not only the EU and Russia but also India, as well as regional powers such as Germany (in Europe), South Africa (in Africa), Iran and Saudi Arabia (in the Persian Gulf), Turkey (in the Middle East), Brazil (in South America), and Indonesia and Japan (in Asia)—although the latter is only in economic terms and distant from China and India.

This bipolar power structure shared with secondary poles presents us with a *fragmented* governance in which each planetary problem involves a global discussion



among these actors that, due to their diversity of positions, generates only partial or non-binding commitments that render them ineffective in most cases.

This conclusion brings into clearer focus the following characteristics of the international order in transition: (a) criticisms of globalization and a weakened multilateralism; (b) the crisis of integration processes and a primacy of bilateralism as a mechanism for protecting national interests; (c) the emergence of protectionist policies; (d) the emergence of local, regional and national political movements and parties with nationalist and populist discourses and positions; (e) the crisis of representative democracy; f) the remarkable technological advances in recent decades, giving rise to what is called the fourth industrial revolution; g) the growing influence of non-state actors (nongovernmental organizations, transnational corporations, private security companies, social movements, investment funds, rating agencies, philanthropic organizations and think tanks, among others) in the shaping of international norms and decisions; and h) the emergence of new threats to the planet and an increase in securitization.

These changes and transformations taking place in the international order in recent years have prompted the foreign affairs ministries of various countries to engage in a deep reflection, leading to the implementation of internal reforms and the design of strategies aimed at asserting their national interests in this new scenario. These reforms take into account not only the redistribution of world power but also the technological and scientific revolution, the emergence of new virtual communication mechanisms, the modernizing of state administrative apparatuses and the emergence of different expressions or modalities of diplomacy, among other factors. They have even given birth to the hybrid concept of *innovation diplomacy*, which includes different approaches in which reforms and adaptations are being conducted.

Moreover, the Foreign Affairs Ministries have been facing new and growing observation by public opinion, from which they had long remained aloof. Today, citizens are demanding efficiency and ongoing accountability from these public servants.

The study highlights in detail the specific reforms being implemented in the world's main Foreign Affairs Ministries, and serves as an input for the second chapter of the book.

II Strengthening and modernizing the institutional framework of Peru's MRE in response to the new international order

This second chapter discusses how Peru's Foreign Affairs Ministry has been responding to the new international scenario, presenting the achievements and reforms implemented in its institutional framework.

Starting in the 21st century, the MRE progressively incorporated a new vision of public administration to achieve greater institutionality, a professional and meritocratic vision of the diplomatic service, an improved organizational structure, greater management capacity, the use of performance-based budgeting, and technological resources for public affairs management, among other actions and objectives.



With regard to *institutional strengthening, a new structure and new functions*, the position of foreign affairs vice minister was legally strengthened by establishing that he/she must always be a career diplomat, so that in the event of possible changes of government and of the foreign minister, the figure of vice minister would at least guarantee a certain continuity and basic ministerial guidelines, professional vision and management, isolating the diplomatic service from any kind of political interference. What was called the democratic clause was also incorporated, establishing that mission chiefs must resign their post in the event of a usurper government being formed. Moreover, the principle of due obedience was enshrined in the Diplomatic Service, according to which its members are not obliged to obey unconstitutional and illegal orders, thus strengthening the professional and institutional management of Peruvian foreign policy.

Legislation passed in this century also established a new structure and organization that make the MRE's management functions more efficient and professional. In addition to the traditional functions of Torre Tagle,¹ new ones were added or specified in the fields of cultural, economic/commercial, health, disaster, social, public, migratory, virtual, decentralized and scientific diplomacies.

Finally, Peru expanded its representations in Asia, Eurasia and the Arab world in this new century. This expansion is due to the necessary adaptation of Peruvian foreign policy to the restructuring of world power and the emergence of new powers or development poles. This process has not yet culminated, as it must remain in permanent adaptation, although always taking into account Peru's budgetary limitations as a developing country.

In addition, the MRE incorporated the results-based budgeting system into its administration and management, which has allowed more rational and efficient management of the budget allocated to the sector, as well as greater possibilities for control, transparency and oversight. Likewise, it implemented the design and preparation of strategic and operational plans, which allow it to identify strategies, priorities, policy guidelines, objectives, activities and actions to achieve goals and deadlines, among other elements of equal importance for institutional planning.

Similarly, the MRE incorporated a *public visitors service* and a *management and improvement plan* for its officials and employees to strengthen the public career. It also created the vitally important *Statistics Unit*, responsible for collecting, processing, analyzing and disseminating statistical information from its organizational units. The *infrastructure* of both its embassy and consular offices abroad has also been improved.

At the turn of the century, Peruvian diplomacy became aware that while its actions should mainly be concentrated abroad, it should also develop actions within the country to satisfy the demands and needs of Peru's different regional populations,

1 The Torre Tagle palace was built in the 18th century for José Bernardo de Tagle Bracho y Pérez de la Riva. It was acquired by the Peruvian State in 1916 and became the MRE headquarters two years later. Since then, Torre Tagle has become a synonym for the Peruvian MRE, just as the Itamaraty Palace has for Brazil's Foreign Ministry.



particularly those in the border regions, through efficient external action as well as supporting their insertion in the international market and scenario. It was then that twelve decentralized offices (ODEs), fundamental for the implementation of what was called decentralized diplomacy, were created.

With regard to the training of new diplomatic cadres, the Diplomatic Academy of Peru has incorporated courses or seminars related to the new aspects of diplomacy. In view of the changes taking place in the current international scenario it also added a course on foresight in international relations. Moreover, the lecture teaching method has been replaced by the competency-based interactive method, which facilitates discussion and both critical and prospective thinking.

Finally, the issue of strengthening their links with academic centers and think tanks has been included in the reform process that some foreign ministries around the world have been implementing since the turn of this century. For its part, Peru's Foreign Affairs Ministry has been developing links with leading national and foreign intellectuals in the different areas of international affairs, signing memorandums of understanding and inter-institutional cooperation agreements, and developing links with national and foreign academic centers specialized in diplomacy and international relations.

III Strengthening and modernizing of Peruvian foreign policy guidelines and approaches.

The third and last chapter of the book deals with the ways in which Peru's Foreign Affairs Ministry has been responding to the new international scenario, both adapting its foreign policy guidelines and incorporating the new diplomacy approaches being implemented in the most modern foreign ministries over the last twenty years.

In **political diplomacy** terms, having surmounted border or territorial issues, the MRE recognizes that *achieving a broad but also preferential relationship with strategic countries and regions of the world* is of vital foreign policy interest. It has made significant progress in accomplishing this objective by implementing various strategies.

A first strategy has been the formation of strategic alliances or the creation of mechanisms for political dialogue with the main powers or blocs of countries in the world. This has allowed the Peruvian State to deal directly with the power or bloc, as well as design and implement a bilateral agenda for cooperation and relations. During this century, Peru has formed eleven strategic partnerships: in the Latin American region with the three largest countries (Brazil in 2003, Argentina in 2010 and Mexico between 2014 and 2016); in Asia with the major powers (China in 2008, South Korea in 2012, Thailand in 2013 and Japan in 2016); in Europe with two strategic powers (Spain in 2008 and France in 2016) and with the Eurasian power (Russia in 2015); in addition to Uruguay (in 2008). Likewise, Peru has a bilateral consultation mechanism with the European Union (as of 2009) and should very soon move to the category of "global partner" with the largest European power, Germany, in the field of Germanic cooperation, given its positive leadership in the region.

A second strategy has been to expand the geographical coverage of our diplomatic representations abroad, particularly in Asia, a priority region for Peru, but also in Africa and the Middle East. Added to our representations in the Americas, Europe and Oceania, these allow us an active presence in all our priority foreign policy scenarios.

The third and final strategy has consisted of collaborating with the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism in the expansion of our trade partners, through the concluding of numerous free trade agreements, to which we will refer later on.

Also in the field of political diplomacy, the MRE has *expanded cooperation with neighboring countries and promoted border development and integration* by holding annual Binational Presidential and Cabinet Meetings with all neighboring countries except Brazil, as well as by creating regulatory and institutional bases for border development and integration.

Furthermore, the MRE has *intensified Peru's participation in multilateral and global processes*, prioritizing actions for the defense of the democratic system in the continent. To this end, it promoted the drafting and approval of the Inter-American Democratic Charter within the Organization of American States (OAS) framework and encouraged the creation of what was called the Lima Group with a view to assisting in the restoration of democracy in Venezuela. Similarly, in the framework of the fight against corruption, Peru headed up the adoption of the Lima Commitment for Democratic Governance at the VIII Summit of the Americas, held in April 2018, as well as the creation of the Lima Commitment's Follow-up and Implementation Mechanism, which seeks to ensure effective compliance with such mandates. Peru has also promoted the holding of the first United Nations General Assembly Special Session against Corruption (UNGASS2021), in which a concise and action-oriented Political Declaration was adopted on June 6, 2021, after having co-facilitated its negotiation. Likewise, under the mandate of the Conference of the States Parties to the UN Convention against Corruption, Peru, together with Norway, led the Working Group that adopted the Recommendations against Corruption in 2019.

Continuing with its multilateral action, in this case in the field of human rights in the UN framework, Peru has served three membership terms in the renewed Human Rights Council since 2006, having developed a convergence with States committed to the promotion and defense of these rights and attention to critical situations, exercising leadership in the case of Venezuela.

In the area of international peace and security, Peru returned as a non-permanent UN Security Council member for the fourth and fifth time in its history (the 2006-2007 and 2018-2019 biennia), where it led the debate/discussions on regional situations such as Haiti, the implementation of the peace agreements in Colombia and the Counter-Terrorism Committee agenda. Likewise, on November 11, 2003, Peru signed the Memorandum of Understanding regarding the contribution to the United Nations Standby Arrangement System, which laid the political and logistical foundation for the country to deploy troops in this organization's different peace missions. In March 2021, NATO formally invited Peru to participate in its Building Integrity Programme (BI), which aims to develop capacities to strengthen integrity, transparency and accountability, as well as reduce corruption in the defense sector,





and others with related activities such as the domestic sector. Participation in the BI Programme represents a first and important step for a country that wishes, as does Peru, to strengthen its cooperation with NATO. Along the same lines, Peru is currently negotiating a Framework Agreement with the European Union to participate in that bloc's crisis management operations.

With respect to terrorism, Peru has favored an approach based on police intelligence and full respect for human rights in the fight against this scourge and its possible association with criminal activities. Similarly, Peru is participating in the work of the Open-ended Working Group on International Security in the Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) field and is following the development of the ad hoc Intergovernmental Committee of Experts for the drafting of a Comprehensive International Convention on Combating the Criminal Misuse of ICTs. Both initiatives seek to lay the groundwork for a new international order in the field of cyber defense and the fight against cybercrime.

As a megadiverse country highly vulnerable to climate change, Peru has sought to be a leader in the defense and protection of the environment. An example of this was its role as host of the Conference of the Parties to Climate Change in 2014 (COP20), based on which it helped strengthen multilateralism and improve international governance in the fight against climate change. In this way, progress was made in key aspects that enabled the signing of the Paris Agreement at COP21 in 2015. Peru has also participated since 2012 in the Independent Association of Latin America and the Caribbean (AILAC), a formal negotiating group under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

Finally, Peru is firmly committed to the full implementation of the 2030 Agenda and its Social Development Goals (SDGs), for which the MRE has promoted multilateral actions that include the fight against poverty, hunger and social exclusion, and the recognition and promotion of gender equality, as well as attention to vulnerable populations.

To conclude the political agenda, the MRE has *promoted its participation in modern and efficient integration processes*, to which end it has focused on reforming and modernizing some of these processes, launching or joining new initiatives and withdrawing from those that were not responding to our foreign policy principles or interests.

The first of these decisions was Peru's proposal to create the Pacific Alliance, expressed in letters sent by President Alan García on October 14, 2010, to his counterparts in Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Panama. The idea was to create a new integration of open economies committed to free trade and the promotion of foreign investment rather than a process based simply on geographic proximity. It was finally accepted by the presidents of Chile, Colombia and Mexico at the meeting of April 28, 2011, in Lima, where the creation of this integration process was formalized.

The second decision was to promote, together with Colombia, the restructuring of the Andean Community starting in July 2012, in line with the new realities and challenges of the international context, reducing bureaucracy and focusing the organization on more realistic and useful goals.



The MRE's third decision was to request, in November 2012, its accession to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). This is a long and complex process that is still being developed with some difficulties, but it enjoys a firm conviction about the feasibility and appropriateness of its purpose.

The fourth decision, announced on April 21, 2018, and formalized through the charge filed on May 28, 2019, was Peru's withdrawal from the constitutive treaty of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR). The decision grew out of the paralysis into which this dialogue mechanism had fallen due to its excessive ideologization and impossibility of reaching consensus within it, but also its excessive bureaucracy, which ended up generating cost overruns and overlapping functions.

The fifth and related decision, adopted in March 2019, was its participation in the creation of the Forum for the Progress of South America (PROSUR), aimed at building a South American dialogue and coordination mechanism that would not repeat the mistakes of UNASUR.

In the area of **economic diplomacy**, the Ministry has not only played the transcendental role of creating the political and diplomatic conditions for the concluding of numerous trade agreements, but has also deployed various strategies to promote their approval by our partners' national congresses. This has led to 24 trade agreements—most of them already in force. To them must be added another ten or so agreements still being negotiated. The agreements Peru has signed or is currently negotiating are the following:

In force:

Comunidad Andina – CAN (1969) (Zona de libre comercios de bienes, 2006)

Andean Community (CAN), 1969 (Free Trade Area for Goods, 2006)

World Trade Organization (WTO), 1995

Economic Complementation Agreement No. 50 (ACE 50) with Cuba, 2000

Economic Complementation Agreement between Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay (Mercosur member states) and Peru (ACE 58), 2005

Peru-Chile Free Trade Agreement, 2006

Trade Promotion Agreement between Peru and the U.S.A., 2006

Free Trade Agreement between Peru and Canada, 2008

Peru-Singapore Free Trade Agreement, 2008

Peru-China Free Trade Agreement, 2009

Peru-Thailand Free Trade Agreement, 2006-2010

Free Trade Agreement between Peru and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), 2010

Multiparty Agreement between Peru and the European Union, 2011

Peru - South Korea Free Trade Agreement, 2011

Peru-Mexico Trade Integration Agreement, 2011

Peru-Panama Free Trade Agreement, 2011

Free Trade Agreement between Peru and Costa Rica, 2011

Economic Partnership Agreement between Peru and Japan, 2011

Partial Scope Trade Agreement between Peru and Venezuela, 2012

Additional Protocol to the Framework Agreement of the Pacific Alliance, 2014

Free Trade Agreement between Peru and Honduras, 2015

Free Trade Agreement between Peru and Australia, 2018

Agreement concerning the continuation of trade benefits between Peru and the United Kingdom, 2019

Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP-11), with Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Singapore and Vietnam, 2021

About to enter into force:

Free Trade Agreement between Peru and Guatemala, 2011

Economic and Commercial Deepening Agreement between Peru and Brazil, 2016

Under negotiation:

Trade in Services Agreement (TISA) with Australia, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Korea, Costa Rica, United States, Hong Kong, Iceland, Israel, Japan, Liechtenstein, Mauritius, Mexico, Norway, New Zealand, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Switzerland, Chinese Taipei, Turkey and the European Union.

Free trade agreement between Peru and Turkey

Free trade agreement between Peru and India

Free trade agreement between Peru and El Salvador

In the last two decades, the MRE has achieved diverse successes that would be impossible to list in this work. They include cultural promotion, heritage protection, the creation of foundations for a Peruvian sports diplomacy and the execution of a gastronomic diplomacy.

Regarding **digital diplomacy**, the MRE became aware in 2009 of the need to strengthen its communication strategy and its use of digital public diplomacy. Based on that it implemented a set of plans, systems and digital platforms to improve its services, procedures and linkages. Regarding digital communication, it strengthened the General Office of Communication (OGC) as the entity in charge of managing the Ministry's institutional social networks, incorporating tools such as YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and Flickr, to inform and maintain a permanent and real-time communication with the different state and non-state actors that today participate in international activity, and also to streamline the consular services it provides both in Peru and abroad.





An evaluation of the results shows that, of the 250 active profiles, the official Foreign Ministry accounts have the largest number of followers (450,000 fans on Twitter, Facebook and Instagram), with frequent updates and homogenization of their platforms. As for Facebook profiles, more than 90% of the embassies and consulates have a page, which demonstrates the preference for this social network over others such as Twitter, particularly for its interaction and audiovisual content options. The 59 embassies exceed 310,000 followers on Facebook, while the 66 consulates have 290,000 followers on this network. Participation is much lower on Twitter, with the 37 embassies present in this network having 31,785 followers and the 19 consulates having 7,898. The Twiplomacy.com portal established that Peru's Foreign Affairs Ministry placed first in Latin America in the ranking of the most connected on Twitter and in 16th place among the 50 in the world with the greatest presence. It is also important to highlight that the cyber risk of the Peruvian state platform, which received 433 million attacks just in the first quarter of 2020, has been minimized.

In the field of **science diplomacy**, the MRE has had a Department of Science and Technology within the General Division of Economic Affairs since 2002. Its main functions include participation in and follow-up to the negotiations of bilateral and multilateral instruments related to science, technology and innovation (STI) cooperation. In addition, the Foreign Ministry has created the Fourth Industrial Revolution Working Group to learn about its scope and implications for the country (in its productive system, trade, labor dynamics, society, etc.) and to propose guidelines on the subject in the foreign relations sector. Likewise, in the last twenty years, nearly one hundred bilateral and multilateral agreements of different kinds have been signed in the areas of technology transfer, technological innovation, scientific research, technical cooperation, academic collaboration and other areas in the field of STI.

In addition to these important STI agreements, the Foreign Ministry continues to promote inter-institutional collaboration between Peru and countries abroad that are leaders in innovation to increase technology transfer through coordinated work with our Missions. In this regard, there has been a tightening of relations in recent years with Nordic countries such as Finland and Estonia for cooperation in digital transformation and Peru is continuing to strengthen relations with Asia-Pacific countries such as China, Thailand, India and Russia to seek opportunities for cooperation in STI and knowledge transfer. This without neglecting the possibilities of exchanging experiences and collaborating with countries in the region such as the Pacific Alliance member States and Brazil.

Social diplomacy took on a new dimension in the MRE during the 2001-2006 period, when it became an objective of our foreign policy. Specifically, it became clear that the Foreign Affairs Ministry had a fundamental collaborative role to play in the fight against poverty by attracting donations and cooperation from States and multilateral organizations linked to economic and social development. Thus, in April 2001 it created the Peruvian Agency for International Cooperation (APCI).

We currently have bilateral STI programs in place with the European Union, United States of America, Germany, South Korea and Japan, as well as STI projects with various cooperating partners in several regions. Since Peru's classification as an upper middle-income country, the MRE, with the support of APCI, has defended the need



for indicators to measure the multidimensional nature of development, in order to maintain the flow of STI that complements national efforts to comply with the 2030 Agenda and an integral and inclusive development that takes into consideration the heterogeneity of the countries in the region. On the other hand, the promotion of multi-stakeholder alliances and other innovative cooperation mechanisms and schemes such as triangular cooperation was strengthened during these years.

Finally, the MRE has added the role of STI provider to that of recipient country. This began in 2010 with 15 South-South Cooperation projects, reaching 34 by 2021. As an STI provider, Peru shares knowledge and good practices mainly with our peers in Latin America and the Caribbean, with the aspiration of reaching other regions such as Oceania and Africa. By 2021, we had South-South cooperation links with 15 countries in Latin America, the English-speaking Caribbean and Southeast Asia.

Important achievements have been made in the areas of **disaster diplomacy** and **health diplomacy**. Regarding the former, the National Emergency Operations Center (COEN) was built with Chinese cooperation support, to provide adequate information services in emergency and disaster situations, as well as preparedness and response to the National Risk and Disaster Management System. Thanks to U.S. cooperation, 15 Regional Emergency Operations Centers (COERs) have been set up in the regions of Tumbes, Piura, Lambayeque, La Libertad, Loreto, San Martín, Ucayali, Junín, Arequipa, Cusco, Puno, Tacna, Áncash and Huánuco. The COERs of Amazonas and Apurímac are currently being built. For its part, Japanese cooperation supported the implementation of the Early Warning System to generate and disseminate timely warning information that allows individuals, communities and organizations exposed to a hazard to prepare and act appropriately and in advance. Likewise, we have reached out to different countries to exchange experiences and best practices in disaster risk management.

Regarding **health diplomacy**, the MRE has engaged in very complex and intense work in the fight against the COVID-19 pandemic. Firstly, Peruvian consulates had to assist thousands of Peruvians stranded abroad due to the closure of the borders of Peru and most countries, and the consequent cancellation of international flights. This implied not only looking for places to house the Peruvians, but also collaborating with them to seek resources for their maintenance.

Secondly, it was then necessary to repatriate more than 35,000 compatriots through humanitarian, charter and mixed flights. This tested the institutional efficiency of our consulates abroad with a successful result, and affirmed the Foreign Ministry's service vocation.

Thirdly, and directly linked to the two previous points, was the case of foreigners stranded in Peru. Close collaboration with their embassies was needed to return them to their countries of origin.

Fourthly, the Ministry also had to work arduously to assure that the State could acquire the sanitary equipment and materials needed to fight the pandemic, competing with different countries requiring the same products. In addition, it handled the visit of medical missions from countries with extensive health development and experience with the pandemic.



Fifth, in March 2020, the MRE established a working group for donations within the COVID-19 framework, coordinated by two of its bodies: the General Economic Affairs Division (DAE) and the International Cooperation Division (DCI). On behalf of the Peruvian health system's entities and regional and municipal governments, they solicited donations of medical equipment and supplies, technical assistance and projects from national and subnational governments, international organizations, companies, NGOs and other civil society members. A parallel work agenda related to COVID-19 also had to be implemented with cooperating partners, which consisted of readapting cooperation programs and projects, redirecting resources and identifying new cooperation initiatives. In addition, USD 89,790,324 in international technical cooperation was obtained from various entities and institutions of international organizations and States.

Finally, in sixth place is the issue of vaccine procurement, where the MRE played a decisive role in locating companies with available vaccines then negotiating multi-lateral and bilateral agreements, thus making possible a massive vaccination process that, at the close of this work exceeded 60% of the population, as well as ensuring the vaccination of the rest of the Peruvian population. The MRE has already started negotiations to ensure the vaccination of Peruvians during 2022.

Finally, with regard to what is called **migratory diplomacy**, Peru's Foreign Affairs Ministry modified its consular vision at the start of the 21st century, moving from the concept of prefect consul to that of public servant consul, which moved the consular policy towards the implementation of seven consular action policies that in turn laid the foundations for the new diplomatic management. These seven policies were: legal protection; humanitarian aid; reform and qualitative improvement of consular services; support for the productive, legal and respectful insertion of Peruvians' human rights into the receiving societies; promotion of cultural and national ties; linking of Peruvians with the country from a productive perspective; and promotion of the exercise of citizenship and democratic participation of Peruvians abroad.

Various programs were also created to cover new aspects, such as: maintaining the link of cultural and national roots, voluntary return and productive reintegration, promotion of the exercise of citizenship, and encouraging the investment of remittances. Then, in 2010, what were named Consultation Councils were created, composed of Peruvian migrants in different consular districts (12 so far), which allows their initiatives to be gathered and their needs and problems to be known. Moreover, during the last few years, negotiations have continued—especially with border countries—to strengthen control mechanisms that collaborate in the fight against human trafficking and smuggling, as well as the smuggling of migrants, with special regard to children and adolescents.

In synthesis, Peru's Foreign Affairs Ministry has been adapting to the changes in the international scenario at the beginning of the 21st century, not only in the institutional sphere but also in its foreign policy guidelines, incorporating new diplomacy approaches and developing a pragmatic and multifaceted foreign policy. Although this process is still being developed, much progress has been made.

AUTHORS

Fabián NOVAK

A lawyer, he holds a Master's Degree in International Economic Law and a Doctor's Degree in Law from the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (PUCP). Tenured Professor at the Law School of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, specialized in Public International Law. Deputy Director of the International Studies Institute (IDEI) of the PUCP. He is past-president of the OAS Inter-American Juridical Committee and Vice Minister of Defense Policies at the Ministry of Defense of Peru (2006-2008).

He is a full member of the Institut de Droit International and a member of the Hispanic-Luso-American Institute of International Law (IHLADI) and of the Peruvian Society of International Law.

Sandra NAMIHAS

A lawyer from the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, she holds a Diploma in National Security and Defense from the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (Lima, 2007) and one in Defense Planning and Resource Management from the Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies of the National Defense University of the United States of America (Washington, 2001).

Currently, she is the Coordinator and an Associate Member of the International Studies Institute (IDEI) of the PUCP. She is an Associate of the Hispanic-Luso-American Institute of International Law (IHLADI) and Associate Member of the Peruvian Society of International Law.

