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Reframing Relations in Peru

By Juan Pablo Cardenal¹

CHINA

INTRODUCTION Peru is one of China's most important Latin American partners, along with Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina. In 2013, China upgraded its bilateral relationship with Peru to the status of a “comprehensive strategic partnership,” which is the highest level of relations between China and a Latin American country to date.² Such recognition reflects the last decade's strong economic and institutional ties between the two nations. China is Peru's largest trading partner, as well as one of its top foreign investors. Furthermore, in 2009 Peru became one of only three Latin American countries that have signed a free-trade agreement with China. Lima has also granted Beijing “market economy status.”³

China has in fact been a key player in Peru's economy since the global economic crisis of 2008. With its demand for commodities, China is currently the largest source of foreign investment in Peru's mining industry, with more than one-third of the total portfolio. Given the size of Peru's mining industry, the impact on Peru's GDP is significant.⁴ Overall, 170 Peru-based Chinese companies invested US\$14 billion in 2015, while bilateral trade reached US\$16 billion.⁵ At the same time, traditional Western investors have reduced their investments and presence in Peru during the last decade.

As a result, the perception that China is an essential partner for Peru's future prosperity is well rooted among politicians, as well as in public opinion. In Peruvian eyes, Beijing's growing relevance in the country is not entirely unrelated to the United States' diminishing presence in the region, which China has successfully exploited. In this context, it was no surprise that Pedro Pablo Kuczynski, the current Peruvian president, chose to visit China for his first official trip abroad in September 2016.

Prospective economic opportunities, as well as a past relationship that is without historical or territorial disputes between the two countries, lay a solid foundation for China's soft power efforts in Peru.⁶ Cooperation with institutions and engagement with influential figures in all levels of Peruvian society—particularly in the political arena, the media, and academia—are the axis on which its strategy is based. As a result, prominent actors are regularly invited to China by different Chinese institutions to participate in trainings and exchange programs. However, as is explained in the regional chapter, these trips often present a one-sided view of the country.

These propagandistic tours of China, even if couched as trainings or exchange programs, are central to Beijing's people-to-people diplomacy. And it appears to be working: With relatively little financial outlay, China is winning the sympathies of more and more prominent Peruvians. "Many have culture shock after visiting China for the first time. They do not expect China's modernity, the way the Chinese dress or the entertainment industry, but rather a less-developed China. They say the trip completely changed their view of the world," says an interviewed source at one of Peru's Confucius Institutes.

In addition to this people-to-people strategy, Beijing is also trying to recruit Peru's ethnic Chinese population, one of the oldest and largest in Latin America, to its own cause. It is important to note that this group is far from homogeneous. Rather, it is a multi-layered community formed as the result of several waves of migration over time from China, each of which had its own identity due to different regions of origin, distinctive dialects, and motivations for emigrating.

However, within this diversity, the broader population could be divided into two larger groups that are relevant to their relationship with China's current government. The first are those who maintain Chinese citizenship and, therefore, have stronger, more direct ties to China; this group includes the descendants of the workers of Cantonese origin who migrated to Peru after 1849, as well as the so-called new migrants—mostly from Fujian province—who have been flowing into the country since the 1980s. The second group are Peruvian citizens born in the country with mixed Peruvian-Chinese ancestry, locally known as Tusan.⁷

The Tusan are thought to be quite numerous: Up to 2.5 million people, or 8 percent of Peru's population of 31 million may have Chinese ancestry, according to estimates—about which there is still much debate.⁸ Through a mix of blurry patriotism, the prospect of business opportunities and economic gain, and stereotyped views of the motherland, many in the community are generally supportive of the Chinese regime. And what is indeed more relevant, Chinese citizens living in Peru, together with parts of the Tusan population, are decisively contributing to the normalization of China's image in the country: downplaying the authoritarian nature of its regime, highlighting China's alleged developmental efficiency, and legitimizing China's one-party regime in comparison with multiparty liberal democracies.

Beijing is not indifferent to this. Quite the opposite, the Chinese embassy actively promotes "a policy of seduction."⁹ While China uses people-to-people diplomacy tactics to target Peruvian elites, this policy of seduction is more far-reaching. This is so because the Chinese government regards overseas Chinese—whether they are PRC nationals or Peruvian citizens of Chinese ethnicity—as national assets that can be leveraged to support China's integration with the world, serve as a lobby against Taiwan's independence, and act as soft power promoters of Chinese pride and culture.¹⁰ This outreach effort, known as *qiaowu*, is then the key: an evolving strategy of behavioral control and manipulation of Chinese groups abroad through micro-management techniques.

As a tool to promote the PRC's stance abroad, *qiaowu* aims to win over community leaders who do not already support the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), neutralize party critics, build temporary alliances of convenience, and systematically shut down regime adversaries. It employs social and psychological tools that seek to influence—through coercive pressure and positive incentives—the choices, direction, and loyalties of the population that the PRC considers as overseas Chinese. *Qiaowu* is therefore a shared duty for all government agencies, including Chinese embassies across the globe, under the guidance of the CCP.¹¹ While it appears to be a straightforward attempt to encourage transnational cultural interest, raise ethnic awareness, and promote business, *qiaowu* is in fact designed to legitimize the CCP and elevate China's international image.¹²

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Ultimately, the overseas Chinese happen to be, consciously or not, the custodians of the CCP's values. This is clearly the case with the two main institutions representing the Chinese community in Peru: the Beneficencia China (Chinese Benevolent Association) and the Association of Chinese Companies in Peru.¹³ Founded in 1886 to offer support and protection to the Chinese migrants, the Beneficencia China is a perfect example of how effective *qiaowu* can be. Not only does the Chinese embassy give its blessing—somehow invisibly—to the association's initiatives. It is also primarily through informal interaction and personal ties, rather than through financial support, that the Beneficencia China has become a significant platform enabling the embassy to connect with both Peru's Chinese residents and the broader Peruvian society.

Doing so is logical. The Beneficencia China enjoys a solid position in society: It has a long history of representing the local Chinese community in Peru, is recognized as the most well-established Chinese institution, and is a primary promoter of Chinese culture in the country. It also has physical space to share and has begun to promote values that are in line with official Chinese discourse, particularly during the last decade as a new wave of patriotic Chinese nationals has immigrated to Peru. Thus, it periodically hosts visiting Chinese delegations and organizes cultural activities jointly or with the participation of the embassy. The activities are nothing unusual:

From flashmob activities during the Chinese New Year, to exhibitions and shows celebrating the association's 130th anniversary, from gala dinners with 1,200 selected guests, to commemorating China's victory over Japan in World War II.

Perhaps more surprisingly, the Tusan community as a whole, and particularly those who are considered community leaders through different cultural or business associations, are increasingly growing closer to China despite historical isolation from the community of Chinese nationals. For the mix of reasons mentioned above, many Tusan are now active in promoting Chineseness in every possible way: Sponsoring cultural activities, encouraging business, engaging academically, and participating in trips to China to discover their roots. The words of a Lima-based scholar illustrate the pro-China hype: "It is now customary among Peruvians that approach the Chinese diplomatic or business ambits to unearth some remote ancestor, supposed or real, to suddenly rediscover that they belong to the Chinese community in Peru after all."

Likewise, some Chinese Peruvians are beginning to be referred to, and to refer to themselves, as *Huayi*—or overseas Chinese, in the Peruvian context.¹⁴ If the Tusan allow themselves to be

recognized as Huayi, this would be very significant, writes Isabelle Lausent-Herrera, a Lima-based China scholar. Yet “this is not impossible as China has great draw, and the sense of identity for the Tusan is diminishing in the process of globalization,” she adds.¹⁵ In addition, given that Chinese-Peruvians are represented across society and many are successful and influential people, they are receiving more attention from the Chinese embassy, too. For instance, Beijing contributed US\$3.2 million in aid to build the Chinese-Peruvian Friendship Center. This 294-seat facility was completed in 2014.¹⁶

It is estimated that around 10 percent of the 229 Chinese associations that have been founded in Peru since the late nineteenth century were still in existence in 2014.¹⁷ The Beneficencia China is the most active, continuously welcoming visitors from the motherland, hosting events to support political causes such as China’s position on the South China Sea, and developing a cultural agenda. Many of the other Tusan associations promote the integration of Chinese-Peruvians through socio-cultural activities. Among these, the most representative are the Peruvian-Chinese Association, the Peruvian-Chinese Cultural Center, and the Peruvian-Chinese Friendship Foundation. All three are quite dynamic in spreading Chinese culture.

In particular, the Peruvian-Chinese Friendship Foundation also created the Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, which is linked to former Peruvian president Alan Garcia’s Partido Aprista. Both the foundation and the institute, which is technically a research and study platform with an emphasis on China, are behind a great deal of pro-China activity, including conferences, book presentations, book fairs, and academic research. The mix of activities also includes public relations and networking initiatives with diplomats, intellectuals, politicians, and academics; publishing the Chinese-Spanish publication *Nuevo Mundo*; and was the driving force behind the twinning of two districts of Lima and Beijing in September 2016.¹⁸ The relationship with the Chinese embassy and the institute is friendly, and the institute’s promoters are regularly invited to China.

Media

China pays significant attention to the media sector in Peru. Historically, China was never a priority topic covered by Peruvian media. The cultural and geographical distance between the two countries, relatively modest economic ties (until recently), and the absence of permanent Peruvian correspondents based in Beijing¹⁹ probably explain why China was mostly absent from mainstream media coverage. Most news about China has instead traditionally come from Western outlets, whose own resources for reporting on China have generally shrunk over time. These factors partially explain why knowledge of China among the Peruvian public is limited.

But with China’s influence growing in the country in recent years, this is slowly starting to change. Beijing has two clear goals in mind with regard to media: on one hand, to promote among local audiences its own version of China and the country’s political system, in an attempt to neutralize what the regime considers to be a biased Western account; and, on the other, to build a friendly image that fosters support for its strategic objectives in Peru and Latin America at large—regardless of whether such objectives are economic, diplomatic, or geopolitical. Ultimately, Beijing’s intention is to legitimize the CCP regime, too.

Beijing’s strategy to shape public opinion and have some sort of sway in the local media is based on a three-pronged approach. The first is closer engagement with Peru’s state-owned media corporations, which has recently borne fruit with the signing of TV cooperation agreements at different levels. The second is for Beijing to rely on its own official media to eventually reach

Peruvian audiences with China's message. And the third, in line with China's people-to-people diplomacy strategy, entails putting resources into personal interactions with journalists and opinion leaders.

Cooperation between State-Owned Media

China's soft power hopes in Peru's media sector made significant inroads during Kuczynski's first official visit to China in September 2016, with the signing of two important deals. First, a memorandum of understanding between China's State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film, and Television and the National Institute of Radio and Television of Peru (IRTP, in Spanish), the public broadcasting television network also known as TV Peru, states that both parties will actively cooperate in news coverage and promote the exchange of documentaries, TV dramas, movies, and animation. "The Chinese part is ready to provide these products to IRTP's Peruvian radio and television," says article 1 of the agreement.

Second, a cooperation agreement between IRTP and China Central Television (CCTV),²⁰ now re-branded as China Global Television Network (CGTN), further emphasizes joint collaboration in four areas: news exchange,²¹ co-production and non-newsworthy content swaps, technological cooperation, and personnel training and mutual visits. In the weeks that followed the agreement, TV Peru's Channel 7 broadcast twelve documentaries about China for six consecutive days during the 21-nation Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum in Lima.²² All but one were entirely produced by CGTN and were screened during prime time.²³ Wang Yu, director of CGTN in Spanish, later called this milestone airing of several Chinese documentaries "the first great success."

On those same dates, seven of IRTP's radio and television journalists spent a month in China for a "training on sinology," while another crew of Peruvian journalists flew to China to produce a documentary—with all expenses paid for by the state-funded CGTN. Once again, China's financial muscle proved to be key. Although the deals established that the cost of all activities will be "covered by both sides as agreed between them," so far travel costs have been funded almost entirely by China.

In any case, this is the most comprehensive agreement ever signed by the Peruvian broadcasting corporation with a non-Spanish-language or Latin American counterpart. By comparison, TV Peru has broad cooperation deals with other countries, too, but the partner country does not typically cover all costs. "The deal with the Chinese is extremely generous with the Peruvians, apparently because the Chinese believe that Peru does not have the economic conditions to cover the costs of everything that they would like to see broadcast," said a journalist source familiar with the deals.²⁴

China's tradition of interacting with foreign, state-owned peers at all levels reflects the type of relationship that China's state-backed media has with its own state. So does China's idea that journalism should be tailored to meet the needs of the state. With diplomatic relations between Lima and Beijing at their pinnacle, China's state media is seeking to build bridges with Peru's public media partners, which the Chinese media approach as their counterparts. In fact, as early as 2012, *Diario Oficial El Peruano*, the state-owned official newspaper, started to publish China specials with up to three paid publications inserted into the newspaper on any given day. These supplements commemorated the 63rd and 65th anniversaries of the PRC's foundation, and the 45th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Peru.²⁵

The Chinese-produced content of such paid inserts follows a clear structure and a common narrative. The cover page has an inviting headline that appeals to emotional clichés, such as the “China dream” or the “friendship that connects Machu Picchu with the Great Wall.” This is followed by content about the bilateral institutional relationship, economic opportunities, historical ties, and cultural links—in that order. The narrative emphasizes symbolic wording: civilization, partnership, friendship, and brotherhood are part of a broader, frequently used party-line language. The goal is to highlight a “China that is on the way to being prosperous, democratic, civilized and harmonious.”²⁶ It is the new China that Peruvians do not want to miss out on.

El Peruano and its Chinese partners have also explored the option of having a permanent campaign of paid inserts, similar to the deals that *China Watch* has established with several international newspapers. Despite being a relatively inexpensive campaign,²⁷ the Chinese side apparently dismissed the idea “because of the limitations” of the Peruvian outlet—including a small circulation of 15,000 daily copies, a lack of flexibility due to out-of-date equipment, and the use of low-quality paper. Nevertheless, Editora Perú, the state corporation that owns both *El Peruano* and *Andina*, agreed to print the Spanish edition of Chinese President Xi Jinping’s book *The Governance of China*, which was officially presented in Lima on November 2016.²⁸ During the presentation ceremony, Editora Perú and China’s Foreign Languages Press announced an agreement to increase their relationship further.²⁹

Chinese Media in Peru

In terms of human resources, the presence of Chinese state-media outlets remains low in Peru, but this could change soon. Under the agreement between IRTP and CCTV (now CGTN), IRTP has committed to assist CGTN in eventually setting up a permanent “delegation” in Lima, which would not only encompass a local news bureau, but also provide a base for executives charged with additional duties. Currently, CGTN’s only presence in Peru is an English-speaking freelance correspondent who reports to CGTN’s English-language news service in Washington, D.C.

The Chinese television network’s forum held in Lima in late 2016 had the core purpose of “further promoting the cooperation between Chinese and Latin American media.” The forum’s slogan left no doubts about China’s subtle approach: *The communication that unites us*. Globally, CGTN started Spanish-language broadcasting in 2004 with just four hours of programming a day. However, the Spanish service of the Chinese network now claims to employ 120 people worldwide, have 3.7 million Facebook followers, and is broadcast in Mexico, Cuba, Argentina, and Venezuela.

What is more, the potential Spanish-speaking audience of 400 million is worth its weight in gold to CGTN: “We won’t give up on our efforts to promote CGTN in the whole of Latin America,” says the network’s top executive.³⁰ Presently, its television guide has 15 programs produced in Beijing and Sao Paulo, Brazil, where CGTN has its regional headquarters. All of them touch on common, predictable topics, namely “Chinese culture, China’s economic development and scientific achievements, the process of building a harmonious society, the life of the Chinese people.”

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A revealing example of the kind of joint cooperation that CGTN hopes for in the region is its deal with Telesur, the international television network largely backed by Venezuela. Since 2016, the Chinese channel has produced the program “Prisma Cultural,” which is broadcast by the Venezuelan network. Under the motto “The culture that enlightens us,” its aim is to “show China’s cultural richness” and promote “knowledge of the Chinese culture among the Spanish-speaking countries.”³¹ In Peru, there seems to be little concern about a greater presence of CGTN in the country: “Until now we obtained information from the media of the big powers. We are not against them, but we also wish for other countries’ opinions. And now with just one click, we can be informed of the Chinese version too,” says the former president of the Peruvian Federation of Journalists.

While this trend might be taking root little by little, it is still at an early stage. Not even the Chinese official news agency, Xinhua, with its regional headquarters in Mexico, has a large bureau in Lima. It employs just five reporters, camera operators, and photographers under the supervision of a Chinese manager. Their journalistic work is “quite bureaucratic,” as one source familiar with the outlet described it, and the agency has not been successful in attracting the main Peruvian media outlets to their service. The newspaper *Diario Oficial El Peruano* and the national news agency *Andina*, both state-owned, are the only exceptions.

The only other official Chinese media outlet in the country is *China Hoy (China Today)*,³² whose single representative in Peru also organizes cultural events on behalf of the Chinese embassy. Printed by the state-owned publishing corporation Editora Perú since 2009, this magazine focuses on China–Latin America affairs from a Chinese perspective. Despite a professional appearance that comes from being printed in color on thick, high-quality paper, by journalistic standards its content is nothing more than party-line propaganda that follows the same editorial rationale described above. The materials are produced in Beijing and Mexico, where the regional office is based; the magazine’s only representative in Lima oversees stories related to Peru.

China Hoy has a monthly paid circulation of 3,500 copies, sold at newsstands and supermarkets for PEN10 (US\$3). It is also distributed for free at the publisher’s initiative to the main Peruvian governmental agencies, as well as to foreign embassies in Lima. “Its contents are too erudite for the average Peruvian. So sales are low while costs are high. But they don’t need to be profitable. They are in Peru for political reasons,” says a source.³³ Despite what seems to be a limited reach, *China Hoy* is a good example of the financial resources that China is ready to invest for its soft power purposes. Among these efforts, *China Hoy* has been successful in having op-eds of high-ranking Chinese officials published in the Peruvian press, including *El Comercio*.³⁴

Other than *China Hoy*, there are two China-related magazines that target the Chinese-Peruvian community. *Oriental*, Peru’s oldest magazine, was originally linked to the Kuomintang—China’s ruling nationalist party until 1949, when the Communist takeover drove the nationalists offshore to Taiwan—when it was founded 86 years ago. Over time, the publication’s perspective has shifted to reflect a much more neutral position on Taiwan. It now distributes 8,000 copies of an 84-page, full-color magazine every month.

Integración, founded in 1999 and linked to the Chinese-Peruvian Association, is a 64-page monthly magazine with a circulation of 12,000 copies that are distributed for free, by subscription. Both publications have a clear cultural focus and typically avoid sensitive topics. The Chinese embassy’s role is indirect: “They don’t support us financially, but they send us their

cultural agenda. They forward us the press releases and the graphic arts, and they get upset if it is not published,” says a source in one of these magazines.³⁵

People-to-People Diplomacy

As well as the institutional deals, Beijing is engaging with local journalists at different levels. The Chinese embassy in Lima maintains close personal relationships with several well-known journalists, including editors in chief, television anchors, and opinion leaders. Above all, they are active in inviting journalists on free visits to China. Chinese authorities seem pleased with the results, according to the Chinese embassy’s political advisor in Lima: “Many Peruvian media representatives have visited China recently, which has yielded good results. It can be assured that cooperation among both countries’ media is at its best.”³⁶

Journalists interviewed in Lima agree that the Chinese embassy “invites the Peruvian media all the time,” something that has become “a common practice.” Those trips do not have pre-established agendas. Tours typically last between six days and four weeks and usually include visits to at least two cities. Peruvian reporters sometimes join groups of other Latin American journalists or broader delegations made up of academics, entrepreneurs, students, or executives linked to political parties, think tanks, or foundations. A number of these non-journalist participants—mostly academics—end up publishing China-related articles in Peruvian media, too.

The trips include visits to corporations’ headquarters, free trade or special economic zones, museums, universities, city governments, media corporations like Xinhua, or other institutions such as the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Discussions pivot around China’s politics and economy, as well as the strengths of the Chinese model, but avoid sensitive topics such as Tiananmen, Tibet, Falun Gong, or the prospects for China’s democratization. The impact these journeys have on journalists is illustrated by the remarks of one Peruvian participant: “I was very interested in knowing China. It was my first visit, and during the trip I had the sense of not really understanding what was going on. But I returned home with a better idea of China than what I previously had. My thought was that Chinese society was oppressed, but I saw a lot of happy people walking on the streets.”³⁷

Obviously, showcasing an idyllic China to journalists who are generally unfamiliar with China’s domestic issues can have a powerful effect. The big question that remains is clear: Do journalists without solid prior knowledge of China, and who are honored with free trips to China—where they are typically immersed in the regime’s one-sided perspective—really have the judgment to fully understand the reality of China? The regular omission of key factors in reporting about China, particularly ignoring the undemocratic nature of its ruling regime, suggests that this strategy is working well—in Beijing’s favor.

Culture

Chinese cultural activities in Peru have become progressively more noticeable in the last few years. While there is no coordinated, unified cultural agenda, different institutions organize their own sets of activities. The most visible and relevant activities are those organized and sponsored by the cultural section of the Chinese embassy, or by any of the four Confucius Institutes established in the country. Beneficencia China occasionally benefits from the embassy’s support, too. Other institutions with less financial muscle, including a handful of Chinese-Peruvian associations, have their own, self-financed cultural events typically scheduled around commemorative dates, the Chinese New Year in particular.



China's cultural efforts in Peru gained momentum in 2016 with several activities across the calendar year under the China–Latin America Year of Cultural Exchange program. These activities included Chinese exhibitions of all types, such as book presentations, conferences, film festivals, and a variety of theatrical, opera, and philharmonic performances.³⁸ The common thread uniting them was that they were planned, organized, supported, or financed by the Chinese state. This means that, even beyond 2016, virtually all Chinese cultural activities in Peru are state-driven, which is a crucial factor to keep in mind.

The bulk of what was presented as Chinese culture on these occasions in reality falls under the umbrella of the state. Non-mainstream artists or groups such as Ai Weiwei or Shen Yun Performing Arts, which are well-known abroad but are regarded by Beijing as dissidents, often face considerable financial burdens or diplomatic pressures when trying to export their art.³⁹ Since China holds, in one way or another, an almost total monopoly over determining what is Chinese culture and what is to be exported to Peru, Peruvian audiences inevitably have access only to that official Chinese culture which is in line with the CCP's standpoint. One example of China's dominant role is the last-minute cancellation in May 2016 of a painting exhibition featuring Falun Gong Chinese artists at a Peruvian university that hosts a Confucius Institute.⁴⁰

More importantly, being in command of the country's culture, as well as being its benefactor, allows Beijing to make self-serving use of China's cultural heritage by employing it to project a friendly image abroad. In addition, it serves as a useful tool for persuading Peru that both countries share a common past and a promising future. This explains why China's cultural activities and the marketing around them are so often infused with a subtle, deliberate political message.

The best example of such tactics was the closing event of the Year of Cultural Exchange, an exhibition of 120 Chinese relics at the National Museum of Archaeology, Anthropology, and History of Peru, attended by presidents Xi and Kuczynski. Through a succession of impressive, 50-meter-long charts and exhibits, the "Two Cultures United by the Same Ocean" exhibition looked at the history and culture of China and Latin America, drawing similarities between ancient civilizations on either side of the Pacific.⁴¹

Although it is not always clearly recognizable, this sort of official narrative is repeated time and again. It leverages rhetoric of a true and solid friendship, of historical ties that go as far back as the era before Spanish colonization, of the brotherhood between two countries with civilizations that extend thousands of years. “Despite being separated by an immense ocean, friendship between China and Peru goes back to the old times. The two countries opened a sea route in the Pacific 400 years ago through which they began their friendly exchanges and forged a deep friendship,” wrote Luo Shugang, the Chinese minister of culture.⁴² Such references to a maritime Silk Route across the Pacific Ocean lead scholars to believe that they allude to the transpacific trade route of the so-called Manila galleon, which was in fact opened by the Spaniards more than 450 years ago.⁴³

There are plenty of other examples. Speaking at a conference in Lima’s House of Chinese-Peruvian Friendship in 2016, China’s former ambassador to Peru, Zhao Wuyi, referred to the noticeable “feeling that the Chinese and the indigenous people of America have a common origin,” given their many similarities “including in DNA.” He also suggested that, according to Chinese legends, the Chinese visited America before Columbus. While admitting that there is “insufficient evidence” to prove all such assertions, he jumped to the conclusion that the people of both countries “experience a natural cultural proximity.”⁴⁴ It is subtle, but the message is clear.

Scholars believe that, from a historical perspective, this is an audacious approach at best. “It is such an artificial and false narrative that it is really amazing that there are no more voices being raised to say that this is not accurate,” says one scholar who was interviewed by the author. Yet China repeatedly uses this soft-manipulation of history for its own benefit. Behind the subtlety lies a powerful message: of historical and cultural proximity, of belonging to ancient civilizations that originated long before Western colonization, of being alike and, consequently, distinct from the others. With this, Beijing expects to bring the two countries and their peoples closer together—politically, economically, and culturally.

All of this is important in view of the asymmetric economic relationship between the two countries. If Peruvians become convinced that they share a common history and culture with the Chinese, and if it is accurate that they are both the beneficiaries of equal, ancestral civilizations, then identifying with China is less problematic. Some critics contend that, like Beijing’s anti-colonialist discourse in Africa, this insinuating historical revisionism has the purpose of discrediting other global economic powers—namely the Japanese and Westerners.

In this same fashion, seminars and roundtables about Confucianism that have lately joined the Chinese cultural offerings in Lima follow the same tune.⁴⁵ “One good way of neutralizing the debate of asymmetry in the bilateral relationship is to take it to a cultural and spiritual level,” says scholar Lausent-Herrera. Directly or indirectly, Chinese and Peruvian officials, academics, diplomats, and others repeat this kind of assumption over and over in public appearances. In particular, cliques of Peruvian personalities who have various connections with China have become China’s de facto cultural ambassadors.

They are a prominent elite: ex-diplomats and former high-ranking government officials, including ex-presidents; sinologists, writers, and journalists with long careers related to China; and historians, academics, and China experts, a great many of them proud members of the Tusan community. They all have in common that they avoid sensitive topics and are never publicly

critical of Beijing. They stick to the party-line narrative either by spreading it or by remaining silent. With their support, China's narrative in Peru has become normalized. If no one rebuffs the manipulation, it slowly becomes more widely accepted as fact.

On top of an initial contribution of US\$100,000, Hanban, the Confucius Institute headquarters, provides additional yearly funds to pay for the Chinese faculty's costs, academic materials, and local cultural agenda.

Academia

China's involvement with Peruvian academia has gone from almost irrelevant to significant in less than a decade. Although there were earlier sporadic contacts between Chinese and Peruvian universities, the opening in 2009 of the first Confucius Institute in Lima was a turning point. The institute planted its flag at the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru (PUCP, in Spanish), which has about 25,000 students and is recognized as the number one university in the country. Like all other Confucius Institutes, it offers a mix of Chinese language courses together with a cultural program, both of which are open to the university's students and the general public.

At the time the institute opened, it was uncertain what the demand for learning Chinese really was. But it has grown steadily since then, with the number of enrolled students jumping from just 29 in the first trimester of 2009 to more than 400 per trimester in 2016.⁴⁶ Having more than 1,600 annual registered students has already allowed PUCP's institute to break even, making it one of the few profitable Confucius Institutes worldwide.

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This arrangement has obvious advantages for the institute, particularly in being close to its target audience and being able to use the university's facilities for its cultural activities. However, attendance at the institute's events has generally been poor, despite Hanban's calls for having as much impact as possible. At times, proximity to the university has proven to be a source of friction, too. On the institute's fifth anniversary, a six-foot bronze statue of Confucius—donated by the Chinese partner of the institute, the Shanghai International Studies University—was unveiled in a prime location on the PUCP campus. The issue caused a considerable stir in university circles, not only because of the symbolism around it, but also because it was believed that the Confucius Institute had overstepped its bounds by erecting the statue in a location that made it appear as if it were an initiative of the university.

Two other Confucius Institutes followed in Arequipa and Piura, two medium-sized provincial cities, before a second institute opened in Lima in 2010 in partnership with Ricardo Palma University. All four institutes face a number of similar human resources issues. Only a small percentage of the native Chinese teachers speak fluent Spanish, which is crucial for interacting with beginner students. The quality of teaching becomes a more serious challenge given local teachers' "lack of linguistic, methodological, and Chinese cultural knowledge" and volunteers who "do not have enough academic training, experience, and Chinese teaching competence." This is causing students to drop out "due to lack of motivation, comprehension, and learning difficulties."⁴⁷

The Ricardo Palma University's Confucius Institute, which also actively pushes a cultural agenda, enjoys an on-campus location in a university that offers translation studies, with

Chinese as a specialization. Enrollment at the Ricardo Palma University's institute remains unknown,⁴⁸ but the institute vehemently opposed the opening of a fifth Confucius Institute in Peru, the third in Lima, which was planned for the end of 2016. "There is just not enough demand for three institutes in Lima," argued one Confucius Institute employee in private. The opening, planned in partnership with the National University of San Marcos, was called off at the last minute. But it showed the authority and determination of the Chinese embassy's cultural attaché to push such an initiative forward even if there was no academic rationale to do so.

In addition, the Ricardo Palma University's Confucius Institute, whose Chinese partner is Hebei Normal University, has so far published two books jointly with the university's publishing house.⁴⁹ Such published academic research increases the Confucius Institute's ability to send its message and have an influence through soft power. None of the contributors to the research projects, which include a handful of academics and historians, has a record of being publicly critical of China's government.



With the Confucius Institutes at the top, other institutions across the Peruvian education system are connected—at different levels—to China. In pre-university education, two Lima schools with a historical Chinese tradition offer Mandarin as a regular course.⁵⁰ Five other schools have Mandarin as an optional language, while another five centers also offer Chinese courses. At the same time, a growing number of private and public Peruvian universities are trying hard to establish links with Chinese institutions, but such attempts have not gone beyond the occasional exchange of scholars.

Geographic distance, mutual unfamiliarity, high costs, and, above all, language issues, work against taking cooperation to the next step. For example, a visiting Chinese scholar from a Beijing university taught a few years ago at PUCP for one semester. Following this experience, both universities signed an academic cooperation agreement with the expectation that it would promote joint research projects, as well as the exchange of scholars and students. However, there has been virtually no progress since then.

Not having more interaction with Chinese academia is something that some scholars in Peru deplore. “The world in general, and social sciences in particular, are too Western-focused—and on the United States in particular. In [the] social sciences, it is really like a virus. Now the young professors are all in the U.S. Having a China-trained teacher with us would be just great,” says one academic interviewed by this author.

Scholars in most Peruvian universities are extremely eager to engage further with their Chinese peers. Some are invited to China regularly and publish articles that are uncritical of China in the Peruvian press. It is undeniable that China is an academic topic in high demand, and increased ties between the countries make it important to study. However, it is also evident that cooperating with Chinese universities is potentially good for the scholars’ careers. In this context, the danger of academic ethics being downplayed is real. “Some of the academics do not ask themselves how this engagement might impact the students,” warns a Lima-based university fellow, particularly in an environment in which “the Chinese message is well received because the general cultural knowledge among students is generally low, and they do not usually question anything.”

Lima’s Universidad del Pacífico has probably gone furthest toward establishing permanent cooperation with China. In 2013, it founded the Center for Peru–China Studies with the goal of conducting joint research projects, promoting academic exchanges, spreading knowledge through events, and consolidating contact networks with Chinese institutions. Despite financial and human resource constraints, the center has been relatively successful in establishing connections with Chinese counterparts. Along with attending several trips to China to visit institutions and participate in events, the center is also active in hosting workshops, conferences, and other events in Lima. Given the number and profile of its Chinese peers, the center appears to be on the right track.⁵¹ Over time, the idea is to eventually conduct joint projects in the future.

The SinoLATAM Forum—founded in 2012 by a Chinese-Peruvian businessman to promote development, integration, and exchange between China and Peru—has also put together a few events. Its debut in 2013 was a conference with a revealing theme: “The ‘Chinese Dream’ and the Decade of Xi Jinping.”⁵² In 2016, it organized the “First Dialogue of Chinese and Latin American Think Tanks,” which was hosted by PUCP. A number of recognizable, regional think tanks were present, as well as the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences’ Institute of Latin American Studies, which allegedly paid a portion of the costs of the event.

The event was a good example of how the dynamics in these meetings work: The Chinese co-organizers changed the dates and attendee lists several times, there was no contact or work preparation among scholars ahead of the event, attendees offered nothing more than generic presentations, a few in the Chinese delegation did not speak Spanish or English, and there was no solid agenda. Hence, the meeting was not very substantive.⁵³

Analysis

With both advancement and shortcomings, China’s soft power efforts in Peru seem to be paying off as a variety of factors converge. To start with, Chinese money is a powerful force of attraction in the midst of economic uncertainty. The West’s perceived retreat from the region, as well as its past and recent contradictions, have weakened its moral legitimacy. To a large extent, Peruvian society appears to value only China’s economic success and does not question the downsides of its model or seem to be concerned by the potential negative effects of

a Chinese-driven globalization process. In other words, the so-called Chinese Dream is gaining momentum. Key to understanding why this is happening is the fact that Peruvian society is not fully aware of the oppressive realities of the Chinese regime.

This powerful mix, together with the vulnerabilities of a still-young democracy and unequal society, is fertile ground for Beijing's strategies. One way to measure this is to analyze the local media, where China is generally portrayed in a positive light. This sweet-tempered image rests on the combination of two factors: the persistent emphasis on China's economic prominence, and the regular omission of the more negative aspects of the Chinese system—namely the undemocratic nature of its political regime and its poor human rights record. Consequently, the image of China and its regime among the Peruvian public is clearly distorted.

A close-up look at the Peruvian media landscape helps to explain why this is happening. Not all media outlets are advocates of liberalism, but they all generally support economic stability. From this perspective, anything that obstructs foreign investment is frowned upon. Public opinion's common judgement is that the system should make it easy for companies in order to keep the economy rolling. This trend has consolidated in recent years, at a time when the narrative that China is crucial for Peru's economic future is becoming more widespread, while the West is somehow inevitably declining. This explains why there is hardly any disapproval of China apparent in the media.

As media outlets do not have correspondents permanently based in China, foreign desks must rely on the news wires. This lack of awareness is well suited to China's narrative.

Similarly, there is not much critical discussion connected to the environmental, labor, or social controversies and violence that periodically shake China's operations in the extractive industries in Peru.⁵⁴ The media tend to address these episodes from the perspective that the country badly needs investment. "Censorship is not obvious but it comes in other forms. Even if a Chinese scandal gets published, it is downplayed in less than 100 words buried inside the newspaper and never reaches the front page. This is crucial because any issue properly published by *El Comercio* is likely to set the agenda," says an investigative journalist in Lima.⁵⁵

China's potential role in Peru's economy overshadows every other issue. But the lack of interest in these topics and the notion that foreign investors have to be left alone are not the only factors behind the media's failure to report the full picture on China or to better play its watchdog role by scrutinizing China's investments in the country. Just as in the Western press, the media's economic sustainability crisis is also a critical factor. Not only are financial resources for high-quality journalism lacking, but the shortage of journalists who specialize in China is also acute. As media outlets do not have correspondents permanently based in China, foreign desks must rely on the news wires. This lack of awareness is well suited to China's narrative. The subtle anti-colonialist discourse, the hidden disapproval of Western values, and the alleged virtues and harmony of Confucianism that China promotes generally find a warm welcome in Peruvian society, too.

In addition, Beijing's people-to-people diplomacy strategy turns out to be tremendously effective, especially its free trips to China for journalists, politicians, students, and others. Many participants had no previous contact with China, and therefore lack the capacity for critical reflection about the country. More worrying is the fact that, once they are back, they highlight China's upsides while downplaying the negative aspects. And if they do acknowledge the downsides, the

common reaction is very often to evaluate China's inequalities, unfairness, or despotism as being on the same level as Peru's corruption, social disparity, and democratic drawbacks.

It is thus no surprise that Beijing is commonly portrayed as a success story as well as an imminent world power—all wrapped up with astonishing bilateral economic figures and references to both countries' historical ties and current friendship. This win-win rhetoric, which—consciously or not—resembles the CCP propaganda, has built up in recent years, peaking in 2016 during both presidents' reciprocal official visits. It also surged during the 2016 APEC summit in Lima, in which Xi was awarded the Grand-Cross Medal of Honor of the Peruvian Congress. His speech, and an accompanying full-page op-ed in *El Comercio*, emanated a somewhat patronizing air: from appealing trade and investment statistics to invitations to “fulfill together the dream of development.”⁵⁶

For most opinion leaders in Peru, Xi is now “the most influential leader,” while China is “the champion of [economic] openness and free trade, as opposed to the United States.”⁵⁷ A friendly image of China is emphasized continuously in the media, and it is now common to come across articles that imply “the agony of democracy” and the decline of the United States.⁵⁸

Only a few exceptions to this trend can be noted. One is Peru's national coordinator for human rights, who publicly expressed concern in a communiqué about the Peruvian Congress' award to Xi, “the highest authority of one of the most questioned countries in the world for serious and systematic violations of human rights.”⁵⁹ Another is a relatively small political coalition, Frente Amplio, one of the very few political organizations that have rejected invitations to visit China, condemned Xi's award, and questioned Kuczynski for “negotiating with a dictatorship.”

One of its congressmen warns about “the risk of Chinese neo-colonialism” and the “subjugation of Peru's economy, politics, and culture” to China. He also raised concerns over the nature of China's political regime, which prompted the Chinese ambassador to pay him a visit. The congressman described the meeting as “excessive by protocol,” which goes well beyond the usual rhetoric of friendship: The ambassador “told me not to interfere in China's internal affairs, in the same way that they do not interfere in ours; he added that China is in Peru to invest at a difficult time for the Peruvian economy, and that we are not properly assessing the importance of China's investments.”⁶⁰

However, even if Beijing is indeed achieving some success in its goal of polishing its image and, as a result, is gaining international legitimacy, it has encountered setbacks on other fronts. For example, Xinhua news agency failed in its efforts to market its services to the main Peruvian media outlets, even after offering them for free.⁶¹ Succeeding in doing so would not only give Xinhua a status similar to that of the most reputed international news agencies, but would also allow the Chinese regime to disseminate its own version of events among Peruvian audiences. Behind such failure rests the lack of credibility of an autocracy's official media. “Most Peruvian media outlets feel uneasy working with foreign state-owned news agencies,” says a journalist source.

In fact, all of the Chinese state media based in Peru—Xinhua, CGTN, and *China Hoy*—only cooperate with Peru's state media through formal, institutional agreements. This Chinese tradition of engaging only with peers has downsides, namely less exposure and visibility. This is because

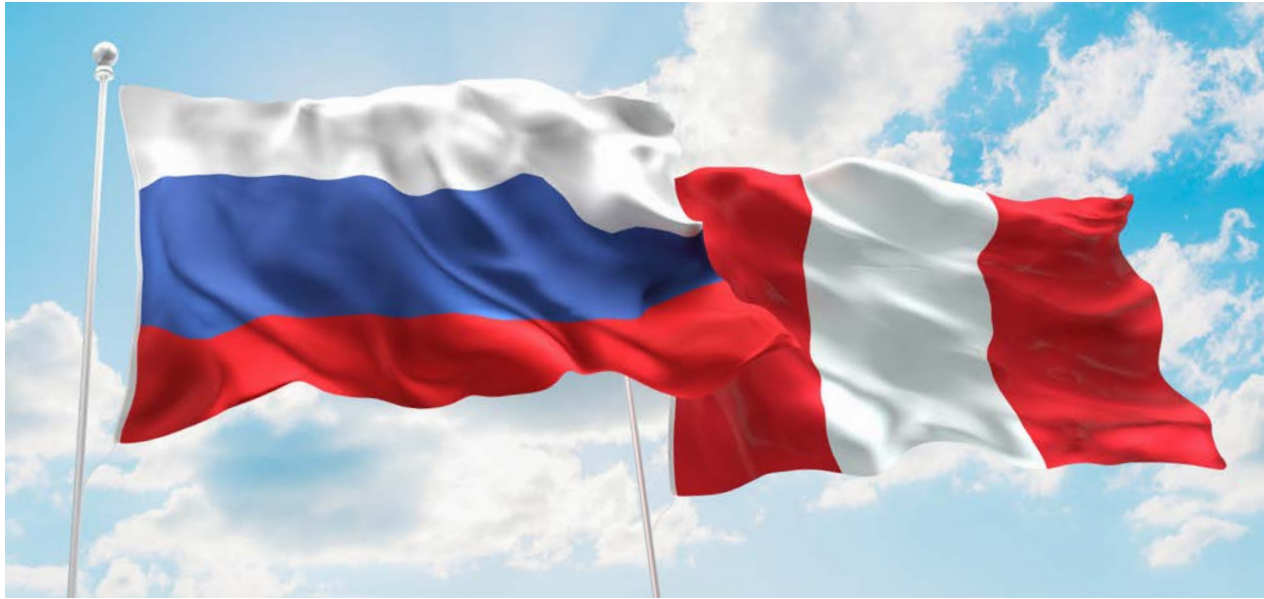
China's media partners in Peru—TV Peru, the national news agency Andina, and *El Peruano* newspaper—have relatively modest influence and small audiences compared to their competitors. This is particularly the case of *El Peruano*, where three issues of a paid China special have been published in recent years with limited impact.⁶²

In the cultural sphere, despite the Chinese government's undeniable efforts to upgrade its cultural agenda and have a greater impact locally, the Chinese are underperforming when it comes to marketing their activities in society. The program for the 130th anniversary of Beneficencia China was a clear example. China brought in the 60-member Zhujiang Symphony Orchestra, more than 200 Chinese artists performed in a street flashmob with dragons and lions all around Lima's Chinatown, and a few other activities were organized, including exhibitions and debates. However, the program was hardly acknowledged outside the Chinese community. Similarly, Xi's book presentation, the donation of 1,000 copies to the National Library, and the three forums held in Lima on media, think tanks, and Confucianism—all meant to target the Peruvian elites—had little significant impact in terms of awareness.

“They need to learn to be more effective in outward communication. Right now, they do not have the expertise in managing this kind of activities, probably [because] they do not handle the local language very well, and they do not have the right people to promote what they do. That is why their impact was much lower than it could have been,” says a source familiar with the association's everyday operations.

If opening up cultural activities to society has been challenging, focusing them inward has exerted a centrifugal force in and around the Chinese community. The main information and communication channel is, in fact, the Chinese social network platform WeChat, through which Chinese residents—including the embassy's cultural attaché, as well as scholars, students, journalists, politicians, and other Peruvian elites interested in China—are in contact. That being said, China's presence, importance, and influence in Peru have grown significantly in the last few years. In particular, 2016 saw a considerable amount of soft power activity, in part because of Beijing's efforts at the regional level, including the Year of Cultural Exchange, as well as different cooperation and exchange programs.

The coming years seem promising, too. China and Peru signed in September 2016 a memorandum of understanding that sets the legal framework for establishing reciprocal cultural centers in each country. Although there has been no further news at the time of writing this report, it might be a focal point to watch. The year 2021 is also marked in red, when several high-profile celebrations will converge: the 50th anniversary of Chinese-Peruvian diplomatic relations, the bicentenary of Peru's independence, and the 100th anniversary of the CCP's founding.



RUSSIA

The strategic partnership signed in November 2015 by former Peruvian president Ollanta Humala and Russian President Vladimir Putin came as a surprise to almost everyone in Peru. Not only had ties between the two countries never been that close, but the Russian government was facing international sanctions related to its involvement in Ukraine at the time, and Lima had supported the Western position on a U.N. vote over Russia's annexation of Crimea one year earlier. Yet despite the international context, the two countries' upgraded alliance did not raise any criticism in Peru's mainstream, typically pro-Western media.

Russian investments in Peru are incidental, while bilateral trade remains at a low level: US\$415 million in 2015, most of it related to Peruvian purchases of Russian military equipment, according to official estimates.⁶³ In 2016, however, Putin and the newly elected Peruvian president, Pedro Pablo Kuczynski, publicly agreed to triple bilateral trade to US\$1 billion in the coming years.

In addition, some observers see in the new partnership a strategic turn by Russia toward Latin America to avoid international marginalization and forge new alliances. This would represent a significant alteration of Moscow's traditional strategy of engaging principally with left-wing governments in the region, such as Nicaragua, Cuba, Venezuela, Bolivia, or Ecuador, that also have a history of antagonism with the United States and the West.

It could be too that Moscow is putting in place some sort of reciprocal policy in Peru and the region to mirror what the Kremlin considers to be meddling by the West in its own backyard. "It probably responds to that same logic. They know that they do not have much influence in Peru, but symbolically they are present here," says a Lima-based academic. From this perspective, Russia's soft power activities, albeit unpretentious and unexceptional, are consistent.⁶⁴ Russia's most important public diplomacy narrative supports what it calls "the Russian world"—millions of people abroad who are in touch with Russia, its language, and its culture. In Peru, a few hundred resident Russian citizens and some 10,000 Peruvians who graduated from the universities in the Soviet Union and Russia comprise this imagined "Russian world."

While there has been no relevant criticism of Russia in the Peruvian media, not even during and after the Crimea crisis, Putin's image is shockingly good in Peru. Observers in Lima assert that there is a tendency among many people in Peru to appreciate leaders who rule with an iron fist, and they see Putin in this fashion. In particular, he has significant backing among the Peruvian students who have studied in Russia. "Many people stand up for him. You can see the support he has when you go over the readers' comments on the Internet news. There are a lot of positive comments about him. You can tell that they are Peruvians, not Russians, because of the language they use, with a lot of slang. People of different social backgrounds tell you: Putin is the best president in the world," says one of these students.

Media

Russia's efforts on the media front are less prominent than those of China. Russia has fewer commercial interests in Peru and fewer soft power financial resources, but it still pays attention to the media on a smaller scale. Having a voice in the Peruvian media appears to be important to Russia, given that its state media have been relatively active in cooperating with the Peruvian written press. During the period 2015-16, a Russian state-sponsored supplement, *Russia Beyond the Headlines (RBTH)*, more recently rebranded online as *Russia Beyond*, was inserted in *El Peruano* newspaper on 11 occasions.⁶⁵ In addition, according to *Russia Beyond* website, the Peruvian edition of the Spanish daily *El País* also distributed the Russian publication at least twice in 2015.⁶⁶

The main features of the eight-page *RBTH* inserts were a blunt topic selection and a direct narrative. The contents were mostly produced in Russia and reflected a mix of familiar issues, such as international and geopolitical affairs relevant for Moscow; key historical episodes and dates, including World War II anniversaries; Russia's military, space, and technological cooperation with Peru; and the merits of Russia's best tourist destinations. Despite *RBTH's* investments and marketing efforts since its foundation a decade ago, the print version was reportedly discontinued in early 2017, a sign that it probably was not delivering the projected utility.⁶⁷

Topics covered in *RBTH* were consistent with those published by *Rusia a Toda Marcha (Russia in Full Swing)* magazine, perhaps with a more international and geopolitical angle. This full-color, 34-page magazine, which is not available for sale, is entirely produced by the Russian embassy in Lima, where the delegation's press officer happens to be the magazine's editor in chief. The magazine does not appear to have any additional staff. It is published once a year, and its distribution is limited: in Lima's Russian Center of Science and Culture, at Russian-organized events, to a number of Peruvian government agencies, and to several foreign embassies in the Peruvian capital.

At the time of writing this report, Peru and Russia were also discussing a memorandum of understanding for television collaboration at all levels. Russia's Ministry of Telecom and Mass Communications is behind this initiative to exchange information, as well as to promote television, radio, and cinema productions. The draft also aims to support the activities of the accredited media representatives of both countries.

In the television sector, RT—a network funded by the Russian government and formerly known as Russia Today—provides free content materials to TV Peru's Channel 7, but it is up to the Peruvian network to decide if it wants to broadcast it, says a Russian diplomatic source in Peru.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, according to its website, RT en Español is broadcast on almost

100 small, local cable TV networks around the country.⁶⁹ The network's Spanish service claims to have more than two million followers on Twitter, and its Spanish-language website reports 24 million page visits every month. If reliable, these figures suggest RT has a larger audience on the Internet than other international TV networks with a Spanish service.⁷⁰

Culture

In contrast to Russia's almost incidental business presence in Peru, Russian culture is clearly more active and relatively more visible. The Lima-based Russian Center of Science and Culture is the official institution behind the promotion of Russian culture, and it receives funding from the Russian government through Rossotrudnichetvo.⁷¹ According to the Russian Embassy's website, the center aims to "contribute to creating in Peru an objective image of the Russian Federation as a new democratic state," as well as supporting "the historical and cultural knowledge" of Russia in the country. To do so, the center regularly hosts a variety of activities throughout the year: from academically oriented activities such as debates, conferences, symposiums, and seminars about current events with a Russian interest, to artistic and cultural activities such as folk concerts, Russian movies, and photo, painting, and sculpture exhibitions.

Patriotism is a recurring magnet in these activities. Throughout 2015, a number of events were organized to commemorate the 70th anniversary of Russia's victory in the World War II. Among the events were a photo exhibition hosted by the Ricardo Palma University; the presentation of the documentary "They Defeated Fascism," which included a debate that highlighted the Soviet Union's "liberation of its people and all of the world from fascism;"⁷² and two Russian and Soviet film festivals that screened ten and six movies, respectively. May 9th, Victory Day, is also an annual opportunity for Russian compatriots to get together around the center's folkloric activities. The event typically touches on the patriotic pride of those who consider themselves the bearers of Russian culture, language, and values.

However, outside the Russian-born and Russian-speaking communities, the center's ability to reach the rest of Peruvian society is limited.⁷³ The main reason is the lack of human resources and funding to manage big cultural events and advertise them widely. But an alternative way for Moscow to spread its first-class culture in Peru without having to assume huge financial burdens is to let the market do its part. Culture is a strong Russian asset, given that prestigious Russian artistic companies have excelled in all genres for decades. Top-quality traditional Russian cultural shows, including ballet, dance, circus, and music, are praised as unique globally and are equally appreciated in Peru. Consequently, people are ready to pay for it. This makes a big difference.

Even if the shows are able to turn a profit through ticket sales, these are very expensive performances. Flying dozens of artists and their materials all the way from Russia is costly, and so is touring around Peru for several weeks. In addition, world-class artists and prestigious companies typically charge pricey fees and royalties. In this regard, Moscow makes a small but decisive contribution by offering soft financial conditions to Peruvian partners who manage the shows. "These are not commercial terms but soft conditions. The Russians make things much easier than others. For instance, sending us the artists without asking for large down payments is key. An American company wouldn't release their artists without paying US\$100,000 in advance," says one source involved in the cultural management business in Peru.⁷⁴

Doing so is a smart way of promoting Russia's renowned already successful culture: "They don't give away their shows but thanks to these terms they make them accessible," adds the aforementioned source. It is therefore no surprise that the Russian cultural agenda in Peru, which includes top companies such as the Russian National Ballet, Great Moscow State Circus, and the Berioska National Ballet of Russia, grows more attractive year after year. In Lima alone, more than 200,000 and 25,000 spectators have attended the Russian circus and ballet shows respectively during the last six years.⁷⁵



Academia

Russia and Peru have a long tradition of academic cooperation that goes back to the Soviet Union era. During the sixties, seventies, and eighties, thousands of Peruvians studied in the Soviet Union thanks to scholarships granted by the Communist government. Ideology was a strong driver. "They became mostly engineers and doctors, and returned back home as heroes," says one of those Peruvian students who graduated in Russia. However, academic cooperation programs almost came to a complete stop following the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, and only resumed a decade and a half ago.

Current figures detailing the number of scholarships offered by Moscow, or the total number of Peruvians studying in Russia, are fragmented and mostly inconsistent. During the 2014-15 academic year, the Russian embassy in Lima officially offered 30 scholarships. Other sources estimate that about 50 Peruvians study every year in Russia, the majority of them on scholarships. There is a common belief among those who studied in Russia that the conditions to study there are financially much better than in Peru, even for those who pay their own way. "The difference is huge. With the monthly tuition fee of a Peruvian private university, you can pay for the whole year in Russia," one student says.

It is estimated that there are currently some 10,000 Peruvians who have graduated from Russian universities, about half of them after the Soviet Union era. Many make a living as university teachers and continue to maintain links to Russian academic circles. They have been invited on short-term trips to Russia in which they join courses in their fields—normally engineering and sciences—and meet with fellow academics.

Moscow is in fact investing more resources in this type of people-to-people engagement. Rossotrudnichestvo, the government agency in charge of promoting Russia's soft power, launched a similar program in 2011 with the purpose of "expanding the number of young foreigners with a positive view of Russia." Under this "New Generation" program, young leaders largely from Asia and Latin America and aged between twenty and forty, are invited to visit Russia. A total of 2,350 people from 80 countries visited the country under this program in the period from 2011–2014, according to Russian media.⁷⁶ Now Moscow wants to increase that figure to 1,000 guests per year.

In late 2016 a group of forty young Latin American professionals participated on a six-day trip to Russia that had a mixed academic, cultural, and economic agenda. They had the opportunity to discuss perspectives on economic and technological collaboration with Russian colleagues. During the trip, one Russian official explained that it is important for Latin Americans to know Russia's reality first-hand, in order to oppose "the false and stereotyped image that has been spread [about Russia] in most Latin American countries."⁷⁷ The account of one of the Latin American attendees explains the kind of impact that these trips can have: "I kept thinking about how misleading the message is that we Latin Americans receive on a daily basis through the media; most likely, Russia's image in Latin America is wrong."⁷⁸

Cooperation between academic institutions in both countries has also resumed. A joint project between Lima's National Engineering University (UNI, in Spanish) and Kursk's South-West University resulted in the development and launching of Chasqui-1, the first Peruvian-made satellite. Since the Peruvians had virtually finished the design and building of the satellite at the time the agreement was signed, Russia's involvement in the project involved only the certification and launching of the device in 2014. In effect, Russia's role was to finance the launching because the Peruvian university "did not have the money for it," says a university researcher.⁷⁹

However, this scientific collaboration had a significant impact in terms of image. The project was one of Peru's most relevant scientific projects in recent history and became a source of national pride. Hence, the Russians highlight it as an example of fruitful bilateral cooperation. Since the launch, six Russian cosmonauts have visited Peru, given lectures in universities, and been interviewed in the local press. During the lectures, the scientist that put Chasqui-1 into orbit appeared in his blue uniform, with the Russian flag on his left arm. "Hopefully in the future there will be a Peruvian astronaut in space who will be able to speak Quechua from there," he said to warm applause from the audience. Even before these visits, Russian cosmonauts communicated several times from the International Space Station with UNI's researchers in Peru, which received substantial media attention.

Analysis

Russia's soft power efforts in Peru are modest, but relatively significant when compared with its small presence in the country in terms of investments and trade, as well as migration. Moscow's investment in soft power resources may be explained through a combination of geopolitical and economic reasons. These efforts are probably not unconnected to Moscow's desire to meddle in the United States' sphere of influence in response to what Russia perceives as Western interference in Eastern Europe. Likewise, Moscow's need to forge international alliances after its confrontation with the West over Ukraine, which resulted in sanctions against Russia, is another probable driver of these efforts. This is evidenced by the Russian ambassador's success in

placing a number of op-eds and interviews in *El Comercio*, thereby spreading Moscow's version of the Crimea crisis through Peru's most influential newspaper.

In addition, increasing the bilateral business relationship, particularly military trade, is a clear economic incentive. Furthermore, projecting soft power in all regions of the world is probably a matter of national pride, and a useful tool for shoring up support for the ruling regime at home. This is not unrelated to the Russian embassy's efforts to maintain close relations with the two associations that unite both the tiny Russian community in Peru and the Peruvians who studied in Russia. Moscow, in fact, urged embassies across Latin America to encourage associations of graduates of Russian schools "to meet periodically, create solid networks, and stay united," says a member of the Peruvian association. This policy was recommended just after events that led to Russia's annexation of Crimea. The idea behind these associations is to keep links with Russia alive. To do so, these associations have a small agenda of activities throughout the year that involve the embassy or the Russian Center of Science and Culture.

In addition to geopolitical and domestic intentions, Moscow's will to maintain and increase its presence in Peru is also linked to the more subtle aim of improving its national image—as opposed to being irrelevant in this country and in the region. In this sense, Russia seems eager to reach Peruvian audiences (particularly those who have links to Russia) with its own message with the purpose of gaining sympathy for its expansionist foreign policy. To do this, Moscow has made establishing a presence in Peru's state-run media a priority to underpin its soft power strategy.

The views expressed in this paper represent the opinions and analysis of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the National Endowment for Democracy or its staff.

NOTES

¹ The author wishes to acknowledge Carmen Grau Vila, a Lima-based journalist specialized in East Asia and Latin America, for providing local research support to conduct fieldwork in Peru.

² China classifies its relations with other countries through a variety of partnerships. The characteristics of each type of alliance reflect how strategic any given country is for China. As a whole, this classification is designed to protect China's core interests and create a better environment for China's rise. Feng Zhongping and Huang Jing, *China's strategic partnership diplomacy: engaging with a changing world* (European Strategic Partnership Observatory, June 2014).

³ Many analysts around the world argue that awarding China with market economy status implies surrendering the most effective tool that might be leveraged in a World Trade Organization investigation to guard against unfair competition by China. These voices contend that a number of countries have granted this status to Beijing more for political rather than objective economic reasons. Critics warn that China's overall dumping in global markets could eventually cause industries to decline, companies to shut down, and mass unemployment in other parts of the world. See for example: Barbara Barone, "One year to go: The debate over China's market economy status

(MES) heats up," European Parliament Think Tank, 17 December 2015, [www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2015/570453/EXPO_IDA\(2015\)570453_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/IDAN/2015/570453/EXPO_IDA(2015)570453_EN.pdf).

⁴ According to the Peruvian Institute of Economy, the mining sector represents 11 percent of Peru's GDP, 50 percent of the country's foreign currencies, and 20 percent of the nation's tax revenue. Juan Vargas Sánchez, "¿Por qué es tan importante la minería para el Perú?" *El Comercio*, 15 June 2015. <http://elcomercio.pe/economia/peru/importante-mineria-peru-192754>.

In addition, China is the biggest foreign investor in Peru's mining industry, with an estimated 36 percent of the total portfolio of mining projects. Minerals including copper, iron ore, and gold represent 60 percent of Peru's exports and 25 percent of foreign direct investment in Peru, Cynthia Sanborn and Victoria Chonn, "La Inversión China en la Industria Minera Peruana: ¿Bendición o Maldición?" ch. 5 of *China en América Latina. Lecciones para la Cooperación Sur-Sur y el desarrollo sostenible* (Lima, Universidad del Pacífico, Boston University, 2016): 217–69.

⁵ "China y Perú celebran 45 años de relaciones diplomáticas," Xinhua, 3 November 2016, <http://spanish.peopledaily.com.cn/n3/2016/1103/c31621-9136743.html>.

- ⁶ Editor's note: Although the overview essay to this report uses the term "sharp power" to characterize the more malign and manipulative aspects of authoritarian influence, the authors of the individual country reports instead generally use the broader term "soft power." In the country studies, the authors were asked to inventory and analyze the methods of authoritarian influence applied by China and Russia in democratic settings. The concept of "sharp power" introduced in the overview essay is an outgrowth of their comparative findings.
- ⁷ In Peru the term *tusan* commonly refers to people of Chinese ancestry born in Peru. *Tusan* refers to the town of Taishan, in Guangdong province, where Chinese migration to Peru and Latin America originated. See Isabelle Lausent-Herrera, "Tusans (tusheng) and the Changing Chinese Community in Peru," *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 5 (2009): 115-52.
- ⁸ While there are no official statistics tracking the percentage of Peru's population that self-identifies as *Tusan*, Peruvian linguist Eugenio Chang-Rodríguez says in his book *Diásporas Chinas a las Américas* that 10 percent of Peru's population of 31 million are Chinese and Chinese descendants. In their study *Dinámicas de las asociaciones chinas en Perú: hacia una caracterización y tipología*, Carla Tamagno and Norma Velásquez refer to Peruvian writer and historian Fernando de Trazegnies' work, which estimated the number of Chinese-Peruvians living in Peru at 3 million in 1986. Scholars interviewed by the author in Lima commonly refer to the 8 percent figure. However, others like Isabelle Lausent-Herrera, believe this figure is not supported by evidence. This scholar also underscores that not all Peruvians of Chinese origin consider themselves *Tusan*, while many of those who do, are attracted by China's economic success.
- ⁹ Isabelle Lausent-Herrera, "New Immigrants: a New Community? The Chinese community in Peru in complete transformation," in *Routledge Handbook of the Chinese Diaspora* (November 2012).
- ¹⁰ James Jiann Hua To, *Qiaowu: Extra-Territorial Policies for the Overseas Chinese*, Chinese overseas series, xiv (Brill, May 2014).
- ¹¹ James To, "Beijing's Policies for Managing Han and Ethnic-Minority Chinese Communities Abroad," *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 41(2012): 183-221.
- ¹² To, "Beijing's Policies."
- ¹³ The official name of the Beneficencia China is Sociedad Central de Beneficencia China Ton Huy Chong Koc. On the other hand, the Association of Chinese Companies in Peru was founded in 2011 and currently has 61 members, according to its website. Most are big, state-owned mining, fishing, construction, oil, telecommunications, or shipping companies that have close ties to the Chinese embassy. Although it is business-oriented, the Association of Chinese Companies participates in some social and cultural activities jointly with the Beneficencia China and other Chinese-Peruvian associations, or when requested by the Chinese embassy.
- ¹⁴ Members of the Chinese associations in Peru often use the Mandarin term *Huayi* to refer to Chinese citizens as well as to the first generation of *Tusan*. While the term *Tusan*, which means "born in this land," has a Peruvian singularity of its own, using the term *Huayi* in the Peruvian context to refer to the *Tusan* is a subtle way of cultivating a closer sense of affiliation to the PRC.
- ¹⁵ Lausent-Herrera, "Tusans (tusheng)."
- ¹⁶ According to the report *Situación y Tendencias de la Cooperación Internacional en el Perú: 2011-2014*, China provided more than US\$3.2 million in aid for the construction of a center to "strengthen friendship" and "spread cultural values of both countries." According to a source in Lima interviewed by the author, the local municipality in Lima donated the land for free, while China contributed money, equipment, and human resources to build the facility.
- ¹⁷ Carla Tamagno and Norma Velásquez, "Dinámicas de las asociaciones chinas en Perú: hacia una caracterización y tipología," *Migración y Desarrollo* 14 (January-June 2016): 145-66.
- ¹⁸ Lima's Rímac district and Beijing's Dongcheng district became sister cities on September 22, 2016, after a signing ceremony during the fifth Beijing Wangfujing International Brand Festival in China's capital. The Peruvian-Chinese Friendship Foundation, linked to former Peruvian president Alan García's Aprista Party, promoted the agreement. The first planned activity under the agreement is to signpost the entire Rímac historical district in Chinese and English.
- ¹⁹ The only exception is *El Comercio*, Peru's most influential newspaper, which in the past had permanent correspondents in Beijing for several years. One of them, Patricia Castro, is among the most authoritative voices on China issues. She regularly writes non-critical analysis and soft news about China in her blog in *El Comercio* from Beijing, where she participates in a post-graduate program on a scholarship granted by China.
- ²⁰ CCTV rebranded its six foreign-language television channels under the name of China Global Television Network (CGTN) on December 31, 2016. The move underlines the Chinese government's determination to have its perspective on the world disseminated more widely in a more credible fashion. Although the contract was signed with CCTV, in this paper all references are to CGTN.
- ²¹ Article 1.2 of the agreement states that two separate deals will be signed to regulate "the reception and utilization of news programs, the authorization of free access to live signal...joint reporting and the exchange of newsworthy materials."

- ²² Channel 7 is TV Peru's general-interest channel. It claims to be "the first TV channel of the country," as well as "the channel of all Peruvians, [which has] the largest news coverage of the country, [and] offers education and entertainment in its programming." Over 22.2 million people have access to its signal, although its real audience is thought to be much smaller. IRTP, *Memoria Institucional del IRTP 2016*, 9 and 11, accessed 9 April 2017, <http://peirtp.blob.core.windows.net/archivos/Memoria-IRTP-2016.pdf>; and IRTP, *Plan Estratégico Institucional 2017-2019*, accessed 9 April 2017, <http://peirtp.blob.core.windows.net/archivos/pei2017-2019.pdf>.
- ²³ The "Chinese Television Week" aired by Channel 7 included one-hour travel and cooking documentaries produced by CCTV, as well as a joint documentary film on both countries' bilateral relationship titled "China-Peru: building bridges." A crew of Chinese journalists produced the film in Peru with the assistance of TV Peru, who provided cameras, translators, and journalists.
- ²⁴ Author's interview with anonymous source, Lima, November 2016.
- ²⁵ The first printing appears to have been financed by Chinese companies with operations in the country, since seven of its sixteen pages were advertisements paid for by these corporations. There is no advertising in the two subsequent editions, which suggests that this may have been the reason for cutting the supplements down to eight pages each.
- ²⁶ The quoted sentence is included on the cover's lead of the supplement inserted in *El Peruano* on September 25, 2014.
- ²⁷ A source in Lima told the author that it was initially thought to have a monthly insertion in *El Peruano*. According to this source, a paid insert in this newspaper costs in the neighborhood of US\$3,500, or around one-tenth of the cost of the same supplement if inserted in *El Comercio*.
- ²⁸ This book is a compilation of Xi Jinping's major works from November 15, 2012, to June 13, 2014; it comprises 79 speeches, talks, interviews, instructions, and correspondence in eighteen chapters. China claims to have sold six million copies of this book internationally. The Peruvian first edition published 6,000 copies.
- ²⁹ According to its website, Foreign Languages Press (FLP) was established in 1952 and has published more than 30,000 book titles, "including the works of Party and State leaders, important records and documents, and books providing social, political, economic and cultural insight on China." More than 400 million printed copies have been distributed throughout more than 160 countries. FLP aims to be "the way for Chinese culture to go international." Homepage, Foreign Language Press, www.flp.com.cn/en/.
- ³⁰ Speech by Wang Yu, director of CGTN in Spanish, during CCTV's China-Latin America TV forum held in Lima on December 7, 2016. The following quote in the paragraph is also hers.
- ³¹ "CGTN en Español," Facebook, www.facebook.com/cgtnelespanol/videos/286428215108314/.
- ³² *China Hoy (China Today)* was founded in 1952, although its Spanish edition was not launched until 1960. The magazine is also published in Chinese, English, Tibetan, French, German, Portuguese, Turkish, and Arabic, according to its website. *China Hoy* opened a branch in Mexico in 2004, from where the publication is distributed to the rest of Latin America. In 2010, it opened its only other regional office in Lima. In November 2016, it published a special edition focusing exclusively on the 45th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Peru. The magazine is distributed in Peru by *Caretas*, a weekly publication that has a well-earned journalistic reputation.
- ³³ Author's interview with anonymous source. Lima, November 2016.
- ³⁴ On November 18, 2016, *El Comercio* published three op-eds in its online version whose source was *China Hoy*. Wang Yi, China's foreign affairs minister, authored the article "China y Perú, de la mano hacia un brillante porvenir"; Gao Hucheng, China's minister of commerce, authored "Perspectivas de la cooperación económica China-Perú"; and Luo Shugang, China's minister of culture, signed "China-Perú: Un capítulo brillante en el intercambio cultural." The articles are available at <http://elcomercio.pe/mundo/actualidad/china-peru-mano-brillante-porvenir-opinion-228913>; <http://elcomercio.pe/mundo/actualidad/perspectivas-cooperacion-economica-china-peru-opinion-228906>; and <http://elcomercio.pe/mundo/actualidad/china-peru-capitulo-brillante-intercambio-cultural-228911>.
- ³⁵ Author's interview with anonymous source. Lima, November 2016.
- ³⁶ Declared during CCTV's China-Latin America TV Forum held in Lima on December 7, 2016.
- ³⁷ Quote from a Peruvian newspaper journalist who attended one trip to China.

- ³⁸ Among the most important Chinese cultural activities in 2016 were the following: the photographic exhibition “Meeting between Chinese and Latin American civilizations,” which toured eight Peruvian cities and had an audience of 20,000 visitors; the Zhejiang Wu Opera, which put on a show performed in four cities combining martial arts, acrobatics, Chinese traditional music, dance and puppets; a contemporary Chinese Aquarelle exhibition; the play “The Crowd,” by China’s most prolific playwright, Nick Rongjun Yu; the “High Mountain and Fluid Water” concert, performed with *guqin*, a traditional Chinese instrument associated with Confucius; the Zhujiang Symphonic Orchestra with pianist Yuan Jie and three tenors; the “Two Cultures United by the Same Ocean: Chinese Cultural Relics in Peru” exhibition, attended by Xi Jinping and Peruvian president Kuczynski; two Chinese film festivals screening movies such as “Xuanzang,” “The Monkey King,” “The Taking of Tiger Mountain,” “Monster Hunt,” and “Go Away, Mr. Tumor”; an exhibition on Chinese calligraphy in Peru’s National Library; the presentation of the Spanish edition of Xi Jinping’s book *Governance of China*, which included a Chinese donation of 1,000 books; and several other Chinese New Year activities. Information compiled by the author.
- ³⁹ Ai Weiwei and Shen Yun are more capable of getting around obstacles than other Chinese artists. Ai, who is well-known worldwide partially because he has become a dissident of the Chinese regime, can more easily avoid official channels by finding international sponsors. In countries with limited resources, like Peru, it is less likely that he could be sponsored. For its part, Shen Yun is said to self-finance its own shows, but allegedly faces setbacks because of Chinese diplomatic pressures.
- ⁴⁰ The “International Exhibition: The Art of Zhen, Shan, Ren (Truth, Compassion, Tolerance)” was programmed for May 9, 2016, at Lima’s Ricardo Palma University, which also hosts one of Peru’s four Confucius Institutes. Despite plans to show the exhibition at the university’s campus and not on the Confucius Institute’s premises, it was cancelled just four days before the opening. According to the event organizers, the head of the university’s Confucius Institute told them “the Chinese embassy ordered us to prohibit the exhibition.” The international exhibition, which has been publicly displayed in many countries, was shown months later at the National University of Callao, in one of Lima’s districts. All the exhibition’s artists are Falun Gong practitioners.
- ⁴¹ Using the same chronological charts as reference, China International Publishing Group published immediately after the exhibition the book *The Long River of Civilizations: Mutual Learning Between the Civilizations of China and Latin America*, a high-quality, unique edition not meant for sale but to be given to a selected Latin American audience. The section on Chinese civilization is based on the previous book of a Chinese scholar, while the Latin American part was compiled by Chinese academics in cooperation with CECLA.
- ⁴² Luo Shugang, “Un capítulo brillante en el intercambio cultural,” *China Hoy*, special edition, November 2016, 14-15. Xi Jinping also wrote in his op-ed in *El Comercio* that “the Chinese opened the Silk Maritime Route through the Pacific” more than 400 years ago.
- ⁴³ Spanish navigator Andrés de Urdaneta in 1565 discovered the west-to-east route across the Pacific Ocean that made trade between Asia and America possible. The Manila galleons, the largest ships at that time, were the Spanish trading ships that made these round-trip voyages once or twice per year for commercial exchanges including spices, silver, and Chinese porcelain, silk and goods. The route took four months and operated for two and a half centuries. Despite anecdotal historical evidence of earlier contacts between Peru and China, academia commonly agrees that the first Chinese migration to Peru was in 1849.
- ⁴⁴ Event attended by the author.
- ⁴⁵ The most significant event on Confucianism was a two-day symposium held in Lima in December 2016. Lima’s University of San Martín de Porres, China’s International Confucian Association, and Junefield, a Chinese company with Peruvian operations, sponsored the “I Lima’s International Symposium on Confucianism.” Former Peruvian president Alan García, who in 2013 authored the book *Confucius and Globalization*, was the keynote speaker.
- ⁴⁶ PUCP’s Confucius Institute has a very flexible Chinese-language academic offering, which includes programs for children, young students, and adults, as well as basic Chinese courses, in-house programs, and free, short courses on Chinese culture. Language courses last three months and cost US\$200. It also offers a cultural agenda with conferences, film series, calligraphy and photography exhibitions, and activities linked to traditional Chinese festivals. These activities are advertised on Facebook and are performed inside the university campus. The PUCP institute’s partner in China is the Shanghai International Studies University.
- ⁴⁷ Confucius Institute Regional Center for Latin America, *Survey About the Situation of Teaching Chinese in Latin American Countries* (2015), accessed 15 May 2017, www.crical.cl/encuesta-crical-2015. Quoted in the text are two of the survey’s conclusions and a specific remark by the Ricardo Palma University Confucius Institute in relation to the volunteer teachers.
- ⁴⁸ The author’s several requests for an interview were unanswered.
- ⁴⁹ *The Chinese Migration to Peru* (2012) was researched by 24 academics; and *Arts and Culture in China and Peru* (2014) involved eight historians and academics. The Ricardo Palma University’s Editorial Universitaria published both books.

- ⁵⁰ The Peruvian School “October Tenth” was founded in 1961 through the merger of two Chinese schools, Chung Wha (1924) and San Min (1934). Therefore, until the establishment of diplomatic relations between the PRC and Peru in 1972, the school was linked to Taiwan. The Chinese-Peruvian School Juan XXIII was founded in 1962 by the Franciscan order, and until not long ago, the teaching language was Cantonese. Both schools technically offer bilingual education in Spanish and Mandarin, although sources told the author that the Chinese level among students is generally low because of the limited number of hours taught per week. Juan XXIII has 1,600 students, with only 15 percent of them Chinese nationals. More recently, the school enjoys close ties with the Chinese embassy: “We have a very direct and close communication with them,” says Jennifer Pajan, the school’s principal. During the 2016 APEC meeting in Lima, the Chinese first lady officially visited the school.
- ⁵¹ Universidad del Pacífico hosted the workshop “International Development Financing System for Inclusive Growth: Partnership and Prosperity Issues in Developing Countries” in April 2016, as part of the official agenda of the Think 20 (T20), a network of research institutes and think tanks from the G20 countries. The Chinese co-organizers—the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies and Renmin University, which led the T20 activities in 2016—invited the Peruvian university to host this event in Lima for the first time. According to the university, this was “undoubtedly a sign of China’s interest in Latin America and Peru.” Source: “Think 20, under Chinese presidency, met at UP with the participation of 24 foreign experts from 15 countries,” Universidad del Pacífico, 26 May 2016, www.up.edu.pe/prensa/noticiasold/Paginas/detalle.aspx?idn=1897.
- Universidad del Pacífico has also had meetings with Tsinghua University and Peking University, and hosted an event with a Chinese delegation of fourteen academics, diplomats, writers, musicians, and journalists in its center in late 2016. The event was promoted by the China’s embassy in Lima, and the China Public Diplomacy Association headed the Chinese delegation. Founded in 2012 with the aim of strengthening China’s soft power, on paper it is a Beijing-based non-profit organization “formed by experts and scholars, celebrities, and relevant institutions and enterprise.” Sources: Universidad del Pacífico’s website, and the author’s interview with one of its executives, Lima, November 2016.
- ⁵² The event was co-organized with the Center for Peru–China Studies of Universidad del Pacífico. A short book with all the participants’ essays was published with the title *El “Sueño Chino” y la Década de Xi Jinping*.
- ⁵³ The author attended the event.
- ⁵⁴ There are more than 300 large-scale mining projects currently active in Peru. China is the top foreign investor in the Peruvian mining industry, holding more than one-third of the investments. Over 200 social conflicts, mostly related to environmental concerns, erupt every year in mining projects run by Chinese and other foreign investors. Peru is among the countries with the most deaths linked to violence erupting from these conflicts. Sources: Author’s interviews in Lima.
- Among all, the Shougang Hierro Perú iron ore project, China’s first large investment in the country that goes back to the early 1990s, has been a source of conflict since then. Strikes, riots and violence break out periodically because of the labor, environmental, and social impacts of the mine’s operations. Source: Juan Pablo Cardenal and Heriberto Araújo, *China’s Silent Army*, (Penguin), 2013.
- ⁵⁵ Author’s interview with anonymous source. Lima, September 2016.
- ⁵⁶ Xi’s op-ed underlines “the growing bilateral trade,” which has reached US\$15 billion, and China’s investment in Peru of “over US\$14 billion that has created more than ten-thousand jobs in Peru.” In a separate press release, the Chinese Ministry of Commerce ensured that Chinese and Peruvian companies signed on the same dates a “procurement agreement worth over US\$2 billion.” Xi Jinping, “Cumplir juntos el sueño secular del desarrollo para escribir un nuevo capítulo de cooperación,” *El Comercio*, 17 November 2016.
- ⁵⁷ Enrique Castillo, “La Influencia de Xi Jinping y de China,” *Perú 21*, 21 November 2016.
- ⁵⁸ Francisco Miró Quesada Rada, “Trump: la agonía de la democracia,” *El Comercio*, 24 November 2016.
- ⁵⁹ “CNDDHH expresa preocupación por vigencia de los DDHH en China y en las actividades económicas chinas en Perú,” Coordinadora Nacional de Derechos Humanos, 21 November 2016, <http://derechoshumanos.pe/2016/11/cnddhh-expresa-preocupacion-por-vigencia-de-los-ddhh-en-china-y-en-las-actividades-economicas-chinas-en-peru/>.
- ⁶⁰ Author’s interview with Marco Arana, a congressman representing Frente Amplio, a coalition of political parties, organizations, and activists.
- ⁶¹ Xinhua has established 21 bureaus in nineteen countries across Latin America and the Caribbean. It claims that 200 regional media outlets subscribe to Xinhua, plus 200 non-media additional subscribers, including the Ministry of Culture of Peru. Xinhua alleges to have 50,000 subscribers worldwide.
- ⁶² *El Peruano* and *Agencia Peruana de Noticias Andina* are both owned by the state corporation Editora Peru. *El Peruano* has a long tradition, and is the official bulletin that publishes new national laws. However, its reputation as a modern newspaper is in question, as it has out-of-date printing machinery, mediocre paper, and a small audience. The newspaper circulates 15,000 copies daily, while *El Comercio* distributes 160,000.

- ⁶³ “Rusia y Perú buscan fortalecer el intercambio comercial,” Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism of Peru, accessed 7 November 2017, www.mincetur.gob.pe/peru-y-rusia-buscan-fortalecer-el-intercambio-comercial/.
- ⁶⁴ Rossotrudnichestvo is a government agency operating under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that is in charge of Russia’s public diplomacy. In representing Russia’s cultural heritage abroad, the agency’s tasks include working with Russian compatriots abroad, supporting Russian language through different educational programs, engaging in international humanitarian cooperation, and promoting culture. The agency says “public diplomacy contributes not only to strengthening kindly feelings for our country, but also the promotion of a specific foreign policy.” Source: Rossotrudnichestvo’s website, accessible at www.rs.gov.ru/en/activities/4.
- ⁶⁵ According to *RBTH*’s website, the publication “offers news, opinion, analysis, and comment on far-ranging issues—including politics, culture, business, science, and public life in Russia.” It claims to have published *RBTH* in 17 languages together with 46 newspapers from 30 countries. Of these, it has been published in seven countries in Latin America: Peru, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, Brazil, Cuba, and Mexico. It has been reported that *RBTH* abandoned its print version in 2017.
- ⁶⁶ *RBTH* was published in Spain’s *El País* 51 times between 2010 and 2016, according to the Russian outlet’s website. In addition, the newspaper’s Mexican and Chilean editions also carried *RBTH* inserts eight times each, while the Peruvian edition published the supplement in May and June of 2015.
- ⁶⁷ Author’s interview with anonymous source. Buenos Aires, March 2017.
- ⁶⁸ Author’s interview with anonymous source. Lima, January 2017.
- ⁶⁹ “Peru: Cable TV,” RT, <https://actualidad.rt.com/acerca/cobertura/Peru>.
- ⁷⁰ Ángel Villarino, “RT en español, la fábrica de noticias de Putin para que odies a Occidente,” *El Confidencial*, 15 January 2017.
- ⁷¹ Since 2008, the Russian Center of Science and Culture has been part of Rossotrudnichestvo, which has established 72 such centers in 62 countries, including Peru.
- ⁷² “Sobre la presentación en el Perú del documental ‘Ellos vencieron al fascismo,’” Embassy of the Russian Federation in the Republic of Peru, 5 October 2015, http://embajada-rusa.org/es/noticias-de-la-embajada/70_anos_victoria/441-sobre-la-presentacin-en-el-per-del-documental-ellos-vencieron-al-fascismo.html.
- ⁷³ The Russian Center of Science and Culture also holds a weekly screening of Russian and Soviet films, small concerts in the center’s 200-seat auditorium, book presentations, painting exhibitions, conferences, and a number of folkloric activities for the Russian community. The center has a poet and writer’s club, and teaches Russian courses.
- ⁷⁴ Author’s interview with anonymous source, Lima.
- ⁷⁵ Among other activities, the Russian National Ballet performed its *Swan Lake* show on 22 occasions in Peru in 2016. In 2017 the Berioska National Ballet of Russia performed in Peru with a crew of 50 dancers for the first time in Latin America in the last 35 years. The Great Moscow State Circus did 55 shows in Lima alone in 2016. Also, the famous Obraztsov State Academic Puppet Theatre performed in Peru.
- ⁷⁶ “Moscú apuesta por nuevas generaciones de China y Latinoamérica,” Sputnik, 15 June 2015, <https://mundo.sputniknews.com/prensa/201506151038322588/>.
- ⁷⁷ Author’s interview with anonymous source. Buenos Aires, November 2016.
- ⁷⁸ The participant’s account was published on the Facebook page of Chile’s Russian Center of Science and Culture, accessed 7 November 2017, www.facebook.com/CCCR.Chile/photos/pcb.1137289626319357/1137286089653044/?type=3.
- ⁷⁹ According to the same source, the cooperation between both institutions includes the development of a new micro-satellite. But given that Chasqui-1 was in the final stages of development at that time, Russia agreed to contribute to the project with the launching. The project’s budget amounted to about US\$384,000, not including US\$170,000 for the launch.