



SPECIAL REPORT

Pre-election political Panorama - Colombia

Bogotá, February 2014

d+i LLORENTE & CUENCA



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1. INTRODUCTION

LLORENTE & CUENCA's team produced the following document which summarizes the present political panorama with a view to the elections of the Senate (9th of March), the House of Representatives (9th of March) and the Presidency of the Republic (25th of May) which will take place during this year.

The main political parties and their stance with regards the popular election day are presented.

2. GENERAL ANALYSIS

After months of uncertainty and speculations, the Colombian political panorama is beginning to clarify itself. The announcement of the ex-President Álvaro Uribe Vélez to head the list of the Centro Democrático (Democratic Centre) for the Senate, the definition of candidates of other collectives for the Presidency, the announcement of President Juan Manuel Santos to stand for re-election and the beginning of campaigns for the candidates for the seats in the Senate and the Camera of Representatives, are facts which begin to outline the electoral future.

In the specific case of the presidential elections, the most prominent facts are focused on the announcement of the Partido Conservador (Conservative Party) to present its own candidate, leaving behind the alliance with the president Juan Manuel Santos for re-election. In addition, the latter has still not defined who will be his formula in the Vice-presidency, but speculations suggest that it could be the former Director of the National Police, Oscar Naranjo.

A third leading actor in the campaign for the presidency is Oscar Iván Zuluaga, representative of the Centro Democrático (Democratic Centre) party, who has the support of the former president Uribe.

It is worth highlighting that for the time being, only three parties support the re-election of Santos: Partido Liberal (Colombian Liberal Party), Cambio Radical (Radical Change) and Partido de La U (Social Party of National Unity or Party of the U). With this panorama, the current President will stand for the presidential elections in a coalition with these movements and it is expected that the logos of the three parties will appear in the space designated for the candidate for president on the electoral leaflet.

Along different lines and based on the most recent survey elaborated by Ipsos-Napoleón Franco for the media alliance of RCN Radio, RCN Televisión, La FM and Revista Semana, “four months before the first round, Santos maintains his lead, but an atypical trend continues. The Colombians don’t know who to vote for”¹.

The most relevant data of this one, the first presidential survey of 2014, allowed the following facts to be established²:

- Although the country has already begun to breathe the atmosphere of the electoral campaign, no candidate stands out or makes an important difference.
- Zuluaga has not been able to shorten the distance that separates him from president Santos and it isn’t even a double digit figure.
- The downward trend impasse of Oscar Ivan contrasts even more dramatically with the tendencies in favor of the former president Álvaro Uribe. Whilst the presidential aspiration of Zuluaga is paralyzed in the opinion polls, Uribe registers a favorability of

- It would be historical for the country that the blank vote won. In a scenario of a second round, the trend continues: a one-to-one between Santos, the blank votes and the indecisive.

1 “¡Nadie despega en las encuestas!” (Nobody stands out in the opinion polls!), Revista Semana, 1st of February 2014. Online version: <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/encuestas-presidenciales-continuan-con-su-tendencia-nadie-despega/375790-3>

2 “¡Nadie despega en las encuestas!” (Nobody stands out in the opinion polls!), Revista Semana, 1st February 2014. Online version: <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/encuestas-presidenciales-continuan-con-su-tendencia-nadie-despega/375790-3>

source: week



PARTIDO LIBERAL COLOMBIANO



61% and has grown 7 points since April last year.

- Peñalosa is the second candidate with the best image after President Santos, with 34%.
- The leadership of Alianza Verde (Green Party) obeys the guidelines of the mayor of Bogotá, Gustavo Petro, staunch opponent of Peñalosa. Although he aspires to participate in the internal consultation process of the Alliance the following 9th of March, it is not certain that they will convene it or that they will allow him to compete.
- Pessimism continues to set the tone in the electorate: six of every ten Colombians think that the country is on the wrong track.
- Although the favorable image of President Santos has won 17 percentage points from the drop in September last year, it is one point below the negative value, which is 47 per cent.

3. ELECTORAL MAP ACCORDING TO THE POLITICAL PARTIES

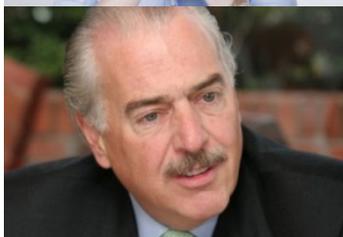
The electoral panorama is presented here below according to the political parties.

Partido Liberal (Liberal Party)

- **Presidential Elections:** The Partido Liberal (Liberal Party) supports the re-election of President Juan Manuel Santos. Simón Gaviria, president of the above-mentioned collective assured in an interview with the newspaper El País that: “we only have a Plan A, that is President Juan Manuel Santos... The President has important majorities consolidated within liberalism, but the party does not have a commitment nor a Plan B for any scenario; here there is only a Plan A”.
- **Elections - Senate and Chamber of Representatives:** After the last National Convention of the Partido Liberal (Liberal Party), this collective named Horacio Serpa as head of the list and what’s more he thinks that he would obtain 25 seats in the Senate and 50 in the Chamber of Representatives.

Regarding this issue, the president of the Congress, Juan Fernando Cristo, sustained that “the election of Serpa as head of the list was a unanimous decision of the Senate representatives”³. This comment was made as a result of the rumors of fights of Serpa with the Senator Juan Manuel Galán and the former representative from Valle,

³ “Partido Liberal eligió a Horacio Serpa como cabeza de lista al Senado” (The Partido Liberal chose Horacio Serpa as head of the list to the Senate). El País, 30th of November 2013. Online version: <http://www.elpais.com.co/elpais/colombia/noticias/inicia-convencion-partido-liberal-para-refrendar-decisiones>



Sigifredo López, to occupy the position that Serpa holds currently.

In this context, Galán affirmed after the afore-mentioned Convention that the party “returned to the era in which the opportunities for participation were closed and the decisions were taken behind peoples back in secret meetings of local chiefs and landowners. We have recycled the system of fake prefabricated conventions where everything is decided without deliberation or debate”⁴.

Partido Conservador (Conservative Party)

- Presidential Elections:** The Partido Conservador (Conservative Party) was the protagonist of one of the most outstanding political events so far in 2014, after having voted in the last National Convention of the Partido Conservador (Conservative Party) the former Defense Minister, Marta Lucía Ramírez as candidate for the next presidential elections, leaving behind in this way the support that had initially

been given to the re-election of president Santos.

The conservative meeting had one of its highest moments of tension when the Senator Roberto Gerlein, head of the list for the Senate and responsible for defending the position that supported re-election, was booed when he was about to participate in a debate in front of his fellow party members and had to leave the premises.

“The Senator assured that never before in an event of the Partido Conservador (Conservative Party) he had to risk his physical integrity. He demanded guarantees to the Convention and even threatened to leave the summit in the company of the other congressmen and some other managing directors such as the one of Antioquía, one of the most powerful ones of the party and rendering invalid what is decided in the summit. With cries of “get out of here wimps” the most extremist group amongst the conventionalists prevented the participation of Gerlein”⁵.

⁴ ibid

⁵ “Marta Lucía Ramírez, candidata del partido Conservador” (Marta Lucía Ramírez, candidate of the Partido Conservador). Revista Semana, 26th of January 2014. Online version: <http://www.semana.com/nacion/elecciones-2014/articulo/marta-lucia-ramirez-candidata-del-partido-conservador/372166-3>



Partido de la U
PARTIDO SOCIAL DE UNIDAD NACIONAL
Unidos como debe ser!



In the face of this situation, the former vice-minister of Justice Guillermo Reyes will refute the Conservative Convention before the National Electoral Convention.

- **Elections – Senate and House of Representatives:** The president of the party, Omar Yepes Alzate ratified Senator Roberto Gerlein as head of the list for the Senate. “He was already chosen to head the lists. Of 22 senators, 18 signed a letter asking the National Directive to give Gerlein the number 1 and of course this petition was accepted, in such a way that the Senator at this moment is already ratified as head of list”, Yepes pointed out⁶.

The objective of the Partido Conservador (Conservative Party) is to maintain the number of Congressmen that exist currently in the Congress (22 Senators).

The list inscribed in the Delegate Registry Office of Cunina is made up of 63 aspirants of whom 22 are currently congressmen.

Partido de Unidad Nacional / Partido de la U (Social Party of National Unity or Party of the U)

- **Presidential Elections:** The re-election of President Juan Manuel Santos is the

responsibility of the national unity, a coalition which has amongst others, two strong parties, Partido Liberal (Liberal Party) and Cambio Radical (Radical Change). Radical.

These two collectives are convinced that they will support Santos in the re-election; however, some time ago the liberals wanted President Santos to identify himself as a member of this party. Although the leader began his political career in liberalism, the announcement of his presidential candidature was done with the support of La U.

- **Elections- Senate and Chamber of Representatives:** The list is headed by the former Senator Jimmy Chamorro, followed by General Freddy Padilla de León, one of the brains of the “Jaque” Operation in which Ingrid Betancourt was released; and in third place Jorge Eduardo Gechen, who was kidnapped by the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) for nearly six years and was Senator during the Government of Andrés Pastrana (1998-2002).

Uribe Centro Democrático (Democratic Centre)

- **Presidential Elections:** Oscar Iván Zuluaga, former Finance Minister during the second

⁶ “Roberto Gerlein, cabeza de lista al Senado por el Partido Conservador” (Roberto Gerlein, head of the list to the Senate for the Partido Conservador). El Espectador, 3rd of December 2013. Online version: <http://www.elespectador.com/noticias/politica/roberto-gerlein-cabeza-de-lista-al-senado-el-partido-co-articulo-461913>



presidential period of Álvaro Uribe Vélez (2006-2010) was elected in the convention of the Centro Democrático (Democratic Centre) party as the only presidential candidate of the Uribista school of thought.

In spite of the bad forecasts that the opinion polls provide, Zuluaga is confident that he will have a good result in the next elections. His campaign has been characterized by a strong criticism of Santos government and by the need to rescue the virtues that the Uribista government had.

Recently, the national press announced that once the elections for the Senate and the Chamber of Representatives take place, Zuluaga would look for an alliance with the candidate of the Partido Conservador, Marta Lucía Ramírez.

- **Elections – Senate and Chamber of Representatives:** Uribe Centro Democrático (Democratic Centre) was one of the first parties to announce the lists of candidates for the elections to the Senate of the Republic. The former President Uribe will launch his campaign with 50 candidates and his bet is to obtain a third part of the Congress.

The former President Álvaro Uribe will head the list to the Senate and four women will follow him: the former minister of Communications

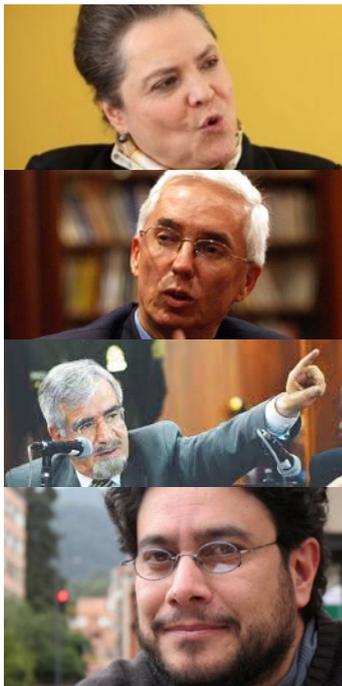
Maria del Rosario Guerra, the journalist Paloma Valencia, political analyst at BluRadio, Ana Mercedes Gómez, former director of El Colombiano and Susana Correa Borrero, a businesswoman from Valle del Cauca.

In the following positions, amongst others, are Alfredo Rangel, Fernando Nicolás Araújo son of the former Minister and former President of the Partido Conservador (Conservative Party) Fernando Araújo and the controversial cousin of Pablo Escobar, José Obdulio Gaviria. The inclusion of Gaviria has caused controversy not only amongst the detractors of Uribe, but it has also caused division inside the political movement. Oscar Iván Zuluaga, candidate of Uribism, asked José Obdulio Gaviria in 2013 to take his name off the list. Gaviria answered saying that he “has the keys of the Centro Democrático (Democratic Centre)”.

Alianza Partido Verde y Progresistas: Alianza Verde (Green Party)

- **Presidential Elections:** In order to be able to face the 2014 elections, the Partido Verde (Green Party) which was part of the Coalición Nacional (National Coalition), decided to make a strategic alliance with the Partido Progresista (Progressive Party), political movement that supports the current Mayor of Bogotá, Gustavo Petro.





The collective will choose its candidate through a popular consultation or an inter-party consultation next 9th of March, in which the former Mayor of Bogotá, Enrique Peñalosa and the senators John Sudarsky and Camilo Romero will run for election.

For his part, Lucho Garzón, one of the strongest members of the Partido Verde (Green Party) will not participate in this alliance, after accepting to continue his job in the Presidency of the Republic in the High Council for Social Dialogue and Citizen Mobilization.

By the 7th of February at the latest, the party will have to confirm the mechanism with which it will choose its candidate.

- **Elections – Senate and Chamber of Representatives:** This party aspires to obtain 25 seats, for which it named as head of list the former governor of Nariño, Antonio Navarro. Other strong cards of this movement are Claudia López, Jorge Ospina, Franklin Legro and Carlos Lozano.

According to Navarro, “The list of Alianza Verde (Green Alliance) is the most diverse and pluralistic one of the electoral market. The parties

included in this list were Unión Patriótica (Patriotic Union) which will be led by the journalist Carlos Lozano; Progresistas (Progressive Party) headed precisely by Navarro; the Podemos (We Can) Colombia movement, led by the former Mayor of Cali Jorge Iván Ospina; the National Victims movement, the animal rights groups and the LGTBI community had a space in the lists to the Congress...It is a plural list that will work together and it will be the big surprise in the next elections”⁷.

Polo Democrático (Alternative Democratic Pole)

- **Presidential Elections:** Clara López is Polo Democrático’s (Alternative Democratic Pole) candidate for 2014 elections. López, who was the Mayor of Bogotá, is a woman close to the principles of liberalism but linked to the economic doctrines of the Colombian left.

According to the media, the proposal of López is one of the few in which the ideal of the political party stands out above country’s situation and personal political ideals.

However, a series of facts and scandals have spoilt the image of the party such as the

7 “Alianza verde le apuesta a obtener 25 curules” (Alianza Verde seeks to obtain 25 seats). Revista Semana, 17th of December 2013. Online version: <http://www.semana.com/nacion/articulo/elecciones-2014-verdes-presentan-candidatos-congreso/368732-3>

Carrusel de la Contratación (Contracting Carrousel) scandal, which could play against the aspiration to be the next inhabitant of the Casa de Nariño

- **Elections - Senate and Chamber of Representatives:** The media have assured that the Polo Democrático Alternativo (Alternative Democratic Pole) bet they will win more than 450 thousand votes, the amount they need to preserve their legal status. According to political analysts, the stronghold would be in the Senator Jorge Enrique Robledo as head of the list, one of the most influential people in national politics and opponent of the Santos Government.

Cambio Radical (Radical Change)

- **Presidential Elections:** Carlos Fernando Galán, president of the community ensured that the

party Cambio Radical (Radical Change) will support the re-election of Juan Manuel Santos. Germán Vargas Lleras, who is envisioned as the possible candidate of this movement, was named by President Juan Manuel Santos as strategic director of his re-election campaign.

- **Elections - Senate and Chamber of Representatives:** Cambio Radical (Radical Change) has as head of list Carlos Fernando Galán, son of Luis Carlos Galán (candidate to the presidency of Colombia in 1986-1990 and assassinated by the old Medellín Cartel) and brother of the senator Juan Manuel Galán. The son of the senator Fuad Char, Arturo Char Chaljub and Dusan Albin Vélez, brother of the mayor of Cartagena, Dionisio Vélez are also on the list.

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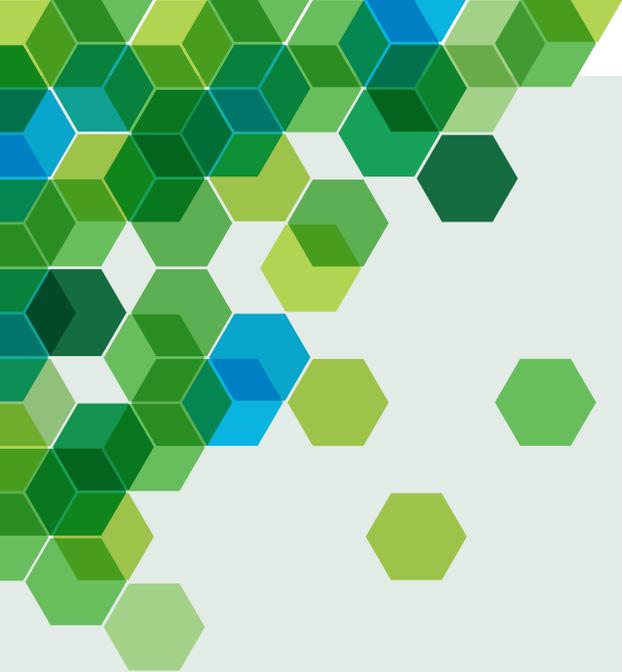
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