

**Refugee Review Tribunal  
AUSTRALIA**

**RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE**

**Research Response Number:** COL31618  
**Country:** Colombia  
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Keywords: Colombia – Presidential elections – Cali Cartel – 1998 Presidential Election – Risaralda elections – Pereira elections – Liberal Youth Organisation – Liberal Party

This response was prepared by the Country Research Section of the Refugee Review Tribunal (RRT) after researching publicly accessible information currently available to the RRT within time constraints. This response is not, and does not purport to be, conclusive as to the merit of any particular claim to refugee status or asylum.

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**RESPONSE**

1. **Can you provide a list of the candidates and the result of the 1994 presidential election involving Ernesto Samper Pizano?**

Ernesto Samper Pizano (50.57% of the vote in the second round) won the 1994 Colombian Presidential election over Andres Pastrana Arango (48.45% of the vote in the second round) ('Colombia:Elecciones Presidenciales 1994 Segunda Vuelta, Resultados Nacionales' 2000,

Political Database of the Americas, 18 April  
[http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/pres94\\_2.html](http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/pres94_2.html) – Accessed 5 April 2007 – Attachment 1).

The candidates for the 1994 Colombian Presidential Election are as follows:

Candidate	Party	% of votes in the first round
Ernesto Samper Pizano	Liberal Party	45.30
Andres Pastrana Arango	Social Conservative Party	44.98
Antonio Navarro Wolff	Democratic Alliance-April 19 Movement	3.79
Regina Betencourt de Lizca	Metapolitical Unitarian Movement	1.11
Miguel Alfredo Maza Marquez	National Civic Gathering Movement	0.95
Alberto Mendoza Morales	National Convergence	0.59
Enrique Parejo Gonzalez	Democratic Alternative	0.50
Guillermo Aleman	Ecological Outlook Movement	0.40
Gloria Gaitan	Jorge Eliecer Gaitan Movement	0.30
Jose Antonio Cortes Huertas	Civic Christian Commitment	0.20
Miguel Antonio Zamora	Let Us Protest	0.16
Jose Galat	Moral Front	0.16
Doris de Castro	Independent Christian Movement	0.10
Luis Eduardo Rodriguez	National Progressive Movement	0.10
Oscar Rojas	We are Free	0.08
Jorge Guillermo Barbosa	Organisation for National Peace	0.07
Mario Diazgranados	Christian CGT	0.06
Efrain Torres Plaza	Believe: No to War	0.05

(‘Colombia: 1994 Elecciones Presidenciales Primera Vuelta, Resultados Nacionales’ 2000, Political Database of the Americas, 18 April  
[http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/pres94\\_1.html](http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/pres94_1.html) – Accessed 5 April 2007 – Attachment 2; and Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2004, *COLA3007.E – Colombia: Names of presidential and vice-presidential candidates who ran in the 1994 election, along with their places and dates of birth and other biographical information*, 6 October [http://www.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/rir/index\\_e.htm](http://www.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/rir/index_e.htm) – Accessed 5 April 2007 – Attachment 3).

## 2. Can you provide information about a scandal involving the Cali Cartel accusing President Samper of receiving money for this campaign?

An essay by John C. Dugas, Assistant Professor of Political Science at Kalamazoo College, reviews twelve books written by journalists, Samper’s Campaign Treasurer, Samper’s Campaign Manager, Congressional accusers, Samper’s defenders, the Citizen’s Oversight Commission, President Samper and academics about the Samper Crisis in Colombia. Dugas’ introduction and conclusion provides a summary of the Samper Crisis. For more information please refer directly to the essay:

Three days after his election as president of Colombia in June 1994, Ernesto Samper was accused by Andres Pastrana, his campaign opponent, of having accepted money from the Cali

drug cartel to finance his presidential campaign. Pastrana's accusation was based on an audiocassette given to him the previous week by a sympathetic member of the police intelligence service. The cassette contained taped telephone conversations between the top leaders of the Cali cartel and a Colombian journalist who served as a virtual public spokesperson for the cartel. Although the conversations were somewhat cryptic, they apparently referred to a decision by the cartel to channel the equivalent of several million dollars into the Samper presidential campaign. Moreover, the conversations seemed to indicate that Samper was aware of this deal, as were his top campaign officials. Pastrana's accusations, together with subsequent testimony and evidence, led eventually to impeachment proceedings against Samper in 1995 and again in 1996. On both occasions, amidst highly criticized procedures, the Camara de Representantes voted against impeachment. Samper served the remainder of this term in a highly polarized political atmosphere and left office in August 1998.

...Critics view Samper and his supporters as crooked politicians who made secret deals with drug traffickers to protect the dealers' interests in return for campaign resources. Supporters view the president's opponents as conspirators who, in collaboration with the United States, sought to overthrow a popularly elected president who wanted to carry out a liberal social program.

...Yet the question remains of what actually happened in the campaign. The evidence contained in the dozen books reviewed here indicates that a huge sum of money from the Cali cartel entered into the Samper campaign in 1994, although the exact amount will probably never been known. With regard to Samper's personal culpability, no unequivocal piece of evidence directly implicates him. But despite the absence of a smoking gun, the preponderance of evidence suggests that Samper knew about drug money entering his campaign and at least acquiesced to it. Enough evidence certainly existed to justify impeaching Samper and bringing his case before the Senado.

If some sense of delayed justice concluded the tragedy of the Samper drug crisis, it was manifest in the June 1998 presidential elections, when Samper's former opponent, Andres Pastrana, eked out a narrow victory over one of Samper's staunchest defenders, Horacio Serpa (Dugas John C. 2001, *Drugs, Lies, and Audiotape: The Samper Crisis in Colombia*, Vol. 36, No. 2, pp.158-157 & 173-174 – Attachment 4).

### **3. Can you provide a list of the candidates and the result of the 1997 election for the Risaralda governorship involving Dr Carlos Arturo Lopez?**

The Governor of Risaralda from 1998 to 2000 was Carlos Arturo Lopez Angel ('Gobernadores periodo 1967 al 2007' (undated), Gobernacion de Risaralda website <http://www.risaralda.gov.co/html/generalidadesdepartamento/generalidadesgobernadores.htm> – Accessed 10 April 2007 – Attachment 5).

No candidate list for the 1998 Governor of Risaralda election was found amongst the English language sources consulted.

### **4. Can you provide a list of the candidates and the result of the 1998 election for the Pereira Mayorship involving Dr Luis Alberto Duque Torres?**

The Mayor of Pereira in 1998 was Luis Alberto Duque Torres ('Alcades de Pereira' (undated), Alcaldía de Pereira website [http://www.pereira.gov.co/portal/page?\\_pageid=33,180262&\\_dad=portal&\\_schema=PORTAL](http://www.pereira.gov.co/portal/page?_pageid=33,180262&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL) – Accessed 10 April 2007 – Attachment 6).

No candidate list for the 1998 Mayor of Pereira election was found amongst the English language sources consulted.

**5. Can you provide a list of the candidates and the result of the 1998 presidential elections involving Dr Horacio Serpa Uribe?**

Andres Pastrana (50.39% of the vote in the second round) won the 1998 Colombian Presidential election over Horacio Serpa (46.53% of the vote in the second round) ‘República de Colombia/Republic of Colombia Elecciones Presidenciales de 1998 (Segunda Vuelta) 1998 Presidential Election (Second Round)’ 2005, Database of the Americas, 4 April [http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/pres98\\_2.html](http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/pres98_2.html) – Accessed 5 April 2007 – Attachment 7).

The candidates for the 1998 Colombian Presidential Election are as follows:

<b>Candidate</b>	<b>% of votes in the first round</b>
Horacio Serpa	34.59
Andres Pastrana	34.34
Noemi Sanin	26.88
Harold Bedoya	1.83
Beatriz Cuellar	0.30
German Rojas	0.16
Jorge Hernan Betancur	0.14
Jesus Antonio Lozano	0.12
Jorge Reinol Pulecio	0.12
Guillermo Aleman	0.10
Efraín Diaz	0.10
Guillermo Nannetti	0.09
Francisco Cordoba	0.07

(‘República de Colombia/Republic of Colombia Elecciones Presidenciales de 1998 (Primera Vuelta) 1998 Presidential Election (First Round)’ 2005, Database of the Americas, 4 April [http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/pres98\\_1.html](http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/pres98_1.html) – Accessed 5 April 2007 – Attachment 8).

**6. Can you provide information on Liberal youth organisation in Pereira in 1990?**

No information on the Liberal Youth Organisation in Pereira in 1990 was found amongst the English language sources consulted.

**7. Can you provide information on the structure of Liberal youth organisation in the early 1990s?**

No information on the Liberal Youth Organisation in the early 1990s was found amongst the English language sources consulted.

Very few references to a youth organisation or youth wing of the Colombian Liberal Party were found amongst the English language sources consulted. The current President of Colombia, Alvaro Uribe was a member of the youth wing of the Liberal Party in Antioquia (Wikipedia 2007, ‘Alvaro Uribe’, 10 April [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%81lvaro\\_Uribe](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%81lvaro_Uribe)

– Accessed 12 April 2007 – Attachment 9: Users should be aware that Wikipedia is a Web-based free-content encyclopaedia which is written collaboratively by volunteers).

### **8. Who were the leaders of the liberal party in the early 1990's in particular in Pereira?**

No information on the leaders of the Liberal Party in the early 1990s in Pereira was found amongst the English language sources consulted.

The *Political Handbook of the World: 2005-2006* provides the following information on the leaders of the Liberal Party in Colombia in the early 1990s:

Galan Sarmiento, who had emerged as the leading Liberal candidate for the presidency in 1990, was assassinated on August 18, 1989. Subsequently, at an unprecedented primary pool conducted in conjunction with legislative and municipal balloting on March 11, 1990, Cesar Gaviria Trujillo was formally selected as the new PL [Partido Liberal/Liberal Party] nominee and went on to defeat his closest competitor, Conservative dissident Gomez Hurtado, by a near two-to-one margin. ...In April 1992 Lopez Michelsen resigned as party leader, ushering in a period of factional infighting that yielded four leadership changes in as many months (Banks, Arthur S. et al 2006, 'Liberal Party', *Political Handbook of the World: 2005-2006*, CQ Press, Washington, p.246 – Attachment 10).

### **9. What were the policies of the liberal party in the early 1990's?**

For information on the policies of the Liberal Party please see Question 1 of *Research Response COL31619* dated 17 April 2007.

### **10. Can you provide a list of candidates and the result of the election for mayor in Pereira in 1992?**

The Mayor of Pereira in 1992 was Ernesto Zuluaga Ramirez ('Alcades de Pereira' (undated), Alcaldía de Pereira website [http://www.pereira.gov.co/portal/page?\\_pageid=33,180262&\\_dad=portal&\\_schema=PORTAL](http://www.pereira.gov.co/portal/page?_pageid=33,180262&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL) – Accessed 10 April 2007 – Attachment 6).

No candidate list for the 1992 Mayor of Pereira election was found amongst the English language sources consulted.

### **11. Can you provide a list of candidates and the result of the election for governor in Risaralda in 1992?**

The Governor of Risaralda from 1992 to 1994 was Roberto Galvez Montealegre ('Gobernadores periodo 1967 al 2007' (undated), Gobernacion de Risaralda website <http://www.risaralda.gov.co/html/generalidadesdepartamento/generalidadesgobernadores.htm> – Accessed 10 April 2007 – Attachment 5).

No candidate list for the 1992 Governor of Risaralda election was found amongst the English language sources consulted.

### **List of Sources Consulted**

#### **Internet Sources:**

## **Government Information & Reports**

Alcaldía de Pereira <http://www.pereira.gov.co/>

Gobernacion de Risaralda <http://www.risaralda.gov.co/>

Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada [http://www.irb-cisr.gc.ca/cgi-bin/foliocgi.exe/refinfo\\_e](http://www.irb-cisr.gc.ca/cgi-bin/foliocgi.exe/refinfo_e)

UK Home Office <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/>

US Department of State <http://www.state.gov/>

## **United Nations (UN)**

UNHCR <http://www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home>

## **Non-Government Organisations**

Amnesty International <http://www.amnesty.org/>

European Country of Origin Information Network <http://www.ecoi.net/>

Freedom House <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=1>

Human Rights Watch <http://www.hrw.org/>

ReliefWeb <http://www.reliefweb.int/>

## **International News & Politics**

Political Database of the Americas <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>

## **Search Engines**

Google <http://www.google.com.au/>

## **Databases:**

FACTIVA (news database)

BACIS (DIMA Country Information database)

REFINFO (IRBDC (Canada) Country Information database)

ISYS (RRT Country Research database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of State Reports)

RRT Library Catalogue

## **List of Attachments**

1. 'Colombia:Elecciones Presidenciales 1994 Segunda Vuelta, Resultados Nacionales' 2000, Political Database of the Americas, 18 April  
[http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/pres94\\_2.html](http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/pres94_2.html) – Accessed 5 April 2007.
2. 'Colombia: 1994 Elecciones Presidenciales Primera Vuelta, Resultados Nacionales' 2000, Political Database of the Americas, 18 April  
[http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/pres94\\_1.html](http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/pres94_1.html) – Accessed 5 April 2007.
3. Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2004, *COL43007.E – Colombia: Names of presidential and vice-presidential candidates who ran in the 1994 election, along with their places and dates of birth and other biographical information*, 6 October  
[http://www.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/rir/index\\_e.htm](http://www.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/rir/index_e.htm) – Accessed 5 April 2007.
4. Dugas John C. 2001, *Drugs, Lies, and Audiotape: The Samper Crisis in Colombia*, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp.157-174. (MRT-RRT Library)
5. 'Gobernadores periodo 1967 al 2007' (undated), Gobernacion de Risaralda website  
<http://www.risaralda.gov.co/html/generalidadesdepartamento/generalidadesgobernadores.htm> – Accessed 10 April 2007.

6. 'Alcades de Pereira' (undated), Alcaldía de Pereira website  
[http://www.pereira.gov.co/portal/page?\\_pageid=33,180262&\\_dad=portal&\\_schema=PORTAL](http://www.pereira.gov.co/portal/page?_pageid=33,180262&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL) – Accessed 10 April 2007.
7. 'República de Colombia/Republic of Colombia Elecciones Presidenciales de 1998 (Segunda Vuelta) 1998 Presidential Election (Second Round)' 2005, Database of the Americas, 4 April [http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/pres98\\_2.html](http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/pres98_2.html) – Accessed 5 April 2007.
8. 'República de Colombia/Republic of Colombia Elecciones Presidenciales de 1998 (Primera Vuelta) 1998 Presidential Election (First Round)' 2005, Database of the Americas, 4 April [http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/pres98\\_1.html](http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Elecdata/Col/pres98_1.html) – Accessed 5 April 2007.
9. Wikipedia 2007, 'Alvaro Uribe', 10 April  
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%81lvaro\\_Uribe](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%81lvaro_Uribe) – Accessed 12 April 2007.
10. Banks, Arthur S. et al 2006, 'Liberal Party', *Political Handbook of the World: 2005-2006*, CQ Press, Washington, pp.246-247. (MRT-RRT Library)