

25X1

Approved For Release 2006/05/25 : CIA-RDP85T00875R001100090022-3

Approved For Release 2006/05/25 : CIA-RDP85T00875R001100090022-3

CRS

Secret



DIRECTORATE OF
INTELLIGENCE

Intelligence Memorandum

COLOMBIA--THE ANAPO: WHAT IS IT?

Secret

5 May 1970
No. 0505/70

WARNING

This document contains information affecting the national defense of the United States, within the meaning of Title 18, sections 793 and 794, of the US Code, as amended. Its transmission or revelation of its contents to or receipt by an unauthorized person is prohibited by law.

GROUP 1
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND
DECLASSIFICATION

~~SECRET~~

25X1

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Directorate of Intelligence
5 May 1970

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

Colombia--The ANAPO: What is it?

Summary

In the presidential election held on 19 April 1970, ex-dictator (1953-1957)¹ retired General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla garnered almost 39 percent of the total vote. He was the only one of the four contenders with any charisma, and his electoral machinery was remarkably efficient and pervasive in the major urban centers. Even so, Rojas lost to National Front candidate Misael Pastrana Borrero by little more than 66,000 votes, the closest election in Colombian history. The close vote did not result solely from Rojas' strength; the three-way split in the Conservative Party and Pastrana's lack of political appeal were also important.

This was the last election under the National Front system. Under the Front, which went into effect in 1958, the country's two major political parties, the Liberals and Conservatives, alternate the presidency. The constitution under the National

25X1

Note: This memorandum was produced solely by CIA. It was prepared by the Office of Current Intelligence and coordinated with the Office of National Estimates and the Clandestine Service.

25X1

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

25X1

Front calls for 50-50 representation of Liberals and Conservatives in the National Congress until 1974. In addition, parity is required between the parties in governmental posts at all levels. Because it was the Conservatives' turn, Rojas was forced to run as a Conservative.

Rojas' phenomenal surge of popularity and the possibility that he would win the election caused consternation in the National Front and, indeed, in the highest levels of government. Because of fear that popular demonstrations on Rojas' behalf would lead to serious violence and possibly to an attempt to seize power, a state of siege was imposed on 21 April and remains in effect. General Rojas and his politically minded daughter, Senator Maria Eugenia Rojas de Moreno, are under virtual house arrest for their attempts to call popular demonstrations after the general declared that the government was perpetrating fraud in an effort to keep him from winning the presidency.

This memorandum will examine the origins of Rojas' political instrument, the National Popular Alliance (ANAPO), its orientation, coherence, and prospects for the future.

25X1

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

25X1

Background

1. Following his ouster and exile in 1957, Rojas returned to Colombia in October 1958 in an effort to vindicate himself before the country. He may also have hoped that his former supporters and elements of the military would rise up in his behalf. Instead, he was tried by the Senate on charges of malfeasance in office and of having brought indignity on the presidency. The charges centered on his alleged use of the presidency to acquire cattle ranches and to smooth the way for illegal imports by his friends. Early in 1959 he was deprived in perpetuity of all political rights, including the right to vote and hold office; of all honors as a retired member of the army; and of pensions due him as a former military officer and president. His political rights were not restored until 1967, and the following year he was elected to the National Congress as a representative from Boyaca, where he was born.

2. Following Rojas' release from custody in 1960, he and some former associates and members of his family (notably his daughter Maria Eugenia) founded ANAPO, whose political aims were vague. ANAPO declared its opposition to the National Front and the "oligarchs" and sought to "revive" the bonds between the people and the armed forces. In the elections of March 1962 it captured two seats in the Senate and six in the House of Representatives, thus establishing itself as a contender, albeit a poor third, among Conservative factions. The general was allowed to enter the presidential race in 1962 despite the loss of his political rights, but the votes he won were declared null. He ran poorly, receiving only 54,562 votes of the 2.6 million cast.

3. By the time of the 1964 elections, the situation had changed in three important respects. First, the Supreme Court dismissed charges against Rojas stemming from his actions while president (his trial before the Senate had only been a civil action). Second, the rise in the cost of living

-3-

SECRET

25X1

~~SECRET~~

25X1

was causing disaffection with the Front. Rojas used this effectively. His campaigns on behalf of ANAPO candidates were built on criticism of the government. One of his favorite tactics during the course of a speech was to exhibit a cake of panela (a kind of brown sugar basic to the popular diet) and remind the audience of the rise in its price since he left office. Finally, events within the Conservative Party greatly improved ANAPO's position. With the temporary union of the two major wings of the party in March 1963, ANAPO remained the only significant Conservative opposition to the government. The results were striking gains for ANAPO candidates, who increased their seats in the House from 6 to 27.

4. Subsequent elections brought further gains. In the congressional elections in 1966, ANAPO won 18 Senate seats and 37 in the House. It also entered a presidential candidate, who won nearly 30 percent of the vote, a good showing considering his late start in the race, his relative personal obscurity, and the failure of other opposition groups to unite behind him. In the congressional contests of 1968, ANAPO suffered the loss of three seats in the House, although it increased its percentage of the vote slightly. Preliminary figures from the recent congressional elections indicate that ANAPO won 37 Senate seats and 71 in the House, almost doubling its previous strength but still far under that of Pastrana. ANAPO will also be in a strong if not a majority position in a number of departmental capitals as well as in other major cities. Because of the proportional electoral system, it is probable that some seats in the House will change when the final vote is determined.

What is ANAPO?

5. ANAPO is primarily a highly personalistic political movement whose unsophisticated adherents display fanatical belief and trust in Rojas. The movement proclaims itself a revolutionary, nationalist and Christian movement, distinct from the traditional Colombian political parties.

25X1

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

25X1

6. ANAPO is also heterogeneous. Crusading in spirit, it has become an umbrella under which disaffected and opportunistic elements can mutually co-exist and advance their own interests by furthering the interests of ANAPO as a whole. The political grouping includes maverick Liberal and Conservative factions, thereby allowing ANAPO to present two separate electoral lists. It also includes some Communists. The Communists, of course, are attempting to use ANAPO for their purposes and will do all they can to push anti-Americanism and increase ultranationalistic sentiment.

7. Apparently the one basic theme that unites these various groupings is their opposition to the National Front. In addition there is a strong anti-establishment zeal that probably heightens ANAPO's sense of nationalism. The movement lacks a vigorous, logical, or even traditionalist philosophy of government. Its stated positions are a mixture of nationalist-populist-corporativist ideas that lack coherence. Moreover, ANAPO's solutions for complex economic and social problems are naive and overly simplistic. During Rojas' recent campaign, for example, he promised to raise the peso to parity with the dollar (it is now around 18 to 1) and to nationalize all imports. Such easy solutions appeal to the lower socioeconomic strata of Colombian society, however.

8. ANAPO derives its strength from Rojas' demagogic appeal to lower and lower middle-class elements who do not like the National Front, from the discontented elements of the population who suffer most from inflation, and from other persons who prefer dictatorship to what they conceive as the ineffective, corrupt, and selfish rule of the "oligarchy." The movement is a challenge to the Colombian "establishment," and therefore it also attracts the floating protest vote. ANAPO does not consider itself and should not be considered as just another political party concerned with winning elections. By its doctrine of revolutionary nationalism and hostility to liberal democracy, the movement is an authoritarian and potentially totalitarian force.

-5-

SECRET

25X1

~~SECRET~~

25X1

9. Rojas' name is known to practically every Colombian, and many give him credit for having expressed the frustrations and aspirations of the poverty-stricken masses by popular gestures such as denouncing wealthy landowners. During his regime, Rojas provided a strong sense of temporary national unity at a time of serious political turmoil. He also gained popularity through the initiation of limited land reform. Moreover, the relative stability of the cities, the stability of prices, and the fairly good economic conditions in general during his regime are more clearly remembered than the authoritarian way he ran his government in later years, which led to his overthrow. Rojas still has strong support among the urban and rural poor, the unemployed, lower class government employees, and some retired and active military personnel, especially in the enlisted and lower officer ranks. He has also attracted a variety of minor politicians as well as members of the population who have been squeezed by inflation.

10. ANAPO's largest and most vocal source of support is among the lower and lower middle-class urban voters, who still identify the movement with the national social welfare agency created during Rojas' regime. To further its image, the movement has drawn on the considerable oratorical and organizational talents of Rojas' daughter.

The ANAPO Organization

11. Although the movement has shown that it is a force to contend with, it has serious weaknesses. Most of its appeal is engendered by General Rojas, without whom the movement would founder. ANAPO has few leaders (see appendix) of national stature capable of taking over the direction of the movement in the absence of the supreme leader. Although Rojas' daughter has a dynamic and magnetic personality that attracts followers, she probably would be unable to take over the leadership of ANAPO. The fact that she is a woman is a difficult obstacle in Colombia. Moreover, she does not enjoy the intense personal

~~SECRET~~

25X1

~~SECRET~~

25X1

following that her father does. Despite her talents, most of her support is a reflection of his. Aside from Maria Eugenia, the movement lacks well-known political personalities at the secondary level, and a leadership vacuum probably will occur when Rojas leaves the scene. It is possible, when this occurs, that diverse persons contending for the movement's leadership will cause fragmentation.

12. Although ANAPO appears to function between elections, it does so at a greatly reduced level. Its grass-roots organization is not believed to be strong. In the last few years, ANAPO has increased its organizational efforts in the countryside, recognizing its weakness in this area.

13. ANAPO finances itself in a variety of ways. The most important is through traditional fund-raising means such as dances, dinners, the sale of the ANAPO newspaper Alerta, and voluntary contributions of all kinds. The enthusiastic, if not fanatical, nature of members tends to make voluntary contributions a very important financial resource. In addition, ANAPO has received financial contributions from the private sector because businesses wanted to protect their interests in the event of a Rojas victory. Moreover, General Rojas probably contributes heavily to the movement from his ample personal funds.

14. ANAPO's National Command is located in Bogota. Orders are transmitted to the next level, the Departmental Commands, for implementation. The lines of command continue down to the Municipal Commands. In addition, the four major cities of Colombia--Bogota, Medellin, Cali, and Barranquilla--are organized into special zonal commands that divide the cities into specific areas for operational purposes. Bogota, for example, is divided into 13 zonal areas. On occasion, offices at the local level dispense gifts and minor favors to voters and intervene on behalf of private citizens with grievances against local government offices. ANAPO's influence at the municipal level is believed to be strong.

-7-

25X1

~~SECRET~~

The Prospects

15. The future of the movement depends to a great extent on how long Rojas lives. He is 70 years old and a diabetic

25X1

[redacted] His age and health mitigate against his participation in the 1974 elections. In the interim, he may be able to groom a successor, but such a person would probably lack the general's charisma and popular following.

16. General Rojas has threatened to undertake guerrilla and urban warfare against the new government, and it is possible that in the coming months such activity will occur. It is much more likely, however, that Rojas will work against the new government through his partisans in Congress. At the very least, President-elect Pastrana will have to devise a means of gaining sufficient cooperation to have a majority in Congress. This may prove difficult, as the legislature will initially be divided into at least four blocs, each representing one of the presidential hopefuls.

APPENDIX

ANAPO Leaders

1. Manuel Bayona Carrascal: A Conservative and currently a Senator from the Department of Norte de Santander. He is a relative newcomer to ANAPO's ranks, and is also a physician and attorney.
2. Benjamin Burgos Puche: A Conservative and an experienced parliamentarian, he is currently a Senator from the Department of Cordoba.
3. Saul Charris de la Hoz: A Liberal from Atlantico. His influence with Rojas has grown, and he will be one of the major decision makers in the movement.
4. Gregorio Duarte: A retired army general.
5. Hernando Forrero Gomez: A Conservative and currently a representative from the Department of Caqueta. A retired army colonel, he was one of the leaders of an unsuccessful coup attempt in 1958 against the military junta that succeeded Rojas.
6. Jose Ignacio Giraldo: A Conservative and currently a Senator from the Department of Valle, he is believed to have considerable influence on General Rojas.
7. Josefina Valencia de Hubach: A Conservative and the sister of former President Valencia. She is currently a representative from Cundinamarca and has some influence with Rojas.
8. Jose Jaramillo Giraldo: A Liberal and presently a representative from Cundinamarca. He was ANAPO's presidential candidate in 1966.
9. Manuel Lemos Garviras: A Conservative, and currently a representative. A retired army major, he is the Anapista chief in Norte de Santander Department.

10. Luis F. Millan: A Conservative, he is a retired army colonel and the ANAPO chief in Bolivar Department.

11. Carlos Monroy Reyes: A Conservative, and currently a Senator from Cundinamarca who has some influence with Rojas.

12. Maria Eugenia Rojas de Moreno: A Conservative, and currently a Senator from Cundinamarca. The daughter of the ex-dictator, she is the driving force behind ANAPO and, next to her father, enjoys the highest prestige and power in the movement.

13. Samuel Moreno Diaz: A Conservative and now Senator from Santander. He is the husband of Rojas' daughter Maria Eugenia. His importance in the movement derives from his influence with his wife and General Rojas. He is not believed to be a national political figure.

14. Jose Maria Nieto: A Conservative, and currently a Senator from Boyaca. He was expelled from ANAPO because of personal differences with Maria Eugenia Rojas de Moreno in 1963, but apparently has returned to the movement.

15. Fernando Pardo Quintana: A Liberal, he is presently a representative from the Department of Bolivar. He was a judge during the Rojas Pinilla regime (1953-57).

16. Jaime Piedrahita Cardona: A Conservative, he is the ANAPO chief in Antioquia, and is currently a Senator. He is described as one of the less violent Rojistas.

17. Milton Fuentes: A Liberal, he has a distinct inclination to the left, and has been characterized as a friend of the Communist Party. During the period 1947-50 he was reported to be involved with the Gaitan faction of the Liberal Party.

18. Alvaro Ramos Murillo: A Conservative, and currently a representative.

19. Ovidio Rincon Palaez: A Conservative, and presently a representative from Quindio. General Rojas respects his ability.

20. Joaquin Rodriguez Gonzalez: A Conservative who is relatively new to the movement.

21. Gerardo Segura Perdomo: A Conservative, inclined toward Marxism. He is co-owner of Radio Latina in Bogota and a director of the ANAPO newspaper Alerta. He is presently a representative.

25X6

23. Moises Tarud: A Liberal, and currently a representative from the Department of Atlantico.

24. Luis Carlos Turriago Olaya: A Conservative, and a Senator from the Department of Meta. He is a retired army general.

25. Luis Guillermo Velasquez: A Conservative, he is a well-known newspaperman.

26. Arturo Villegas Giraldo: A Liberal. He usually accompanies Rojas during campaign trips because of his oratorical abilities.

27. Alberto Zalamea: A pro-Communist Liberal. He is the son of the deceased Communist "poet laureate" of Colombia, and the leader of the Liberal faction of the movement.