

Divided political parties, fragmented leadership. The Liberal and Conservative Colombian political parties 1974-2006

Javier Duque Daza

Universidad de Salamanca, España

Resumen: El presente texto analiza los partidos Liberal y Conservador colombianos durante el periodo 1974-2006, sus divisiones internas, la naturaleza de estas divisiones y la fragmentación de la dirigencia partidista. El argumento central es que los factores que permiten explicar la creciente división partidista son, por una parte, la incapacidad de la dirigencia nacional de manejar a la dirigencia subnacional, mediante controles que regulen a los actores internos de los partidos; y, por otra parte, la dinámica interna del clientelismo. Los cambios institucionales que se presentan en el país desde finales de la década de los ochenta acentúan el faccionalismo. Con la reforma política de 2003 se genera una nueva dinámica de surgimiento de nuevos partidos por escisiones y reagrupamientos, y el debilitamiento de los partidos tradicionales.

Palabras clave: partidos, facciones, liderazgos, cambio institucional.

Abstract: In the present study the Liberal and Conservative Colombian parties during 1974-2006, are analyzed, its internal divisions, the nature of these divisions and the fragmentation of the partisan leadership. The central point here is the factors that allow to explain the increasing partisan division as, on the one hand, the national leadership's incapability to handle the regional leaderships by efficient means to take control over the internal actors of the parties and, on the other hand, the internal dynamics about clientelism. The institutional changes that appeared in the country at the end of the eighties accentuated this characteristic into the parties. With the political reform of 2003, the new dynamics in the emergence of new parties are generated by splits and regroupings, and the weakening of the traditional parties.

Key words: parties, factions, leaderships, institutional change.



Introduction

Political parties' studies in the last decades have emphasized in the non-unitary character of these as organizations. Parties, rather than to constitute united and monolithic units, involve a plurality of actors in tension, interaction, and frequently, in conflict (Eldersveld, 1964; Sartori, 1976; Panebianco, 1982; Von Beyme, 1986; Kitschelt, 1989; Katz and Mair, 1992). The presence of diverse internal actors makes the political parties configure themselves, to use the known Sartori's expression, as "a flexible confederation of sub-parties". In this direction, a central point when approaching specific parties involves the distinction in respect to the subunits' character, if tendencies are considered, as a stable group of activities that are expressed in ideological and/or programmatic orientations with diverse cohesion degrees and stability through time, (Rose, 1964; Sartori, 1982); of fractions, as sub-partisan units, united and organized, with certain stability degree through time that realize their own events, search for resources for themselves and not for the party and have a relation with the party in the way of almost sovereign groups (Sartori, 1982; Harmel and Janda, 1994); or if the sub-units are structured as factions, assumed as groups of power which lack of organization or this is unstable, are more temporary and completely depend on personal leaderships (Sartori, 1976).

According to the presence of internal actors and their dynamics, partisan leadership presents diverse fragmentation degrees. In this respect we can also distinguish among poli-archic, where there are two or more groups, none of them is in conditions to impose a hegemonic control on the organization; and oligarchic leaderships, where a small coalition tends to exert a great influence on the party's decisions (Panebianco, 1991). In the first case it can be possible the presence of national leaders which give it a national character as the tendencies or fractions, or a national leader who achieves to articulate different fractions giving it a better cohesion. There can also be situations where a total fragmentation prevails, with no nationwide articulation and with the presence of multiple personal factions.

In some parties the division is not only at a national level. In the parties' cases whose historical dynamics have consolidated important regional

groups in the way of personal factions and these are immerse strong clientelist traditions, the division at a sub-national level reproduces in an amplified way the national division. The combination of a weak control by the national leadership' part on the sub-national and the factional disintegration dynamics due to inter-clientelar competence generate larger factionalization tendencies.

The division can be encouraged for some electoral rules as the proportional representation, the candidature through multiple rolls, the state's financial decentralized system, directed to the campaigns and not to the permanent parties' activities. In that way, the institutions' effect on the partisan organization is contingent, and the different limitations the institutional frame imposes can or cannot exert diverse influences on the parties' organizations, according to their combinations with the characteristics develop by these and the specific contexts. It assumed that the meaning of the institutional factor depends on the political contingency, on the social structures and on the parties' specific conditions (Panebianco, 1990; Nohlen, 1988).

As for the three mentioned rules, the proportional representation systems influence the organization inducing a larger disintegration processes. A fraction's or a tendency's dissatisfaction with the prevailing action model of its political party can be oriented to the creation of a new political formation. Whereas a controlling system where the winner gets everything, will restraint and/or reduce the fraction's numbers, will foment the fusion (Sartori, 1990; Von Beyme, 1986). On its own, the scrutiny list system facilitates the party's center control on the periphery and in the candidate's selection; this as long as there are single parties' list and not individual lists approved by them and self-proclamation expression of the very candidates, with which the organizational development tends to weaken due to the relative autonomy of the leaders and candidates who present under the party's tag. In Duverger's formulation (1964), if the list scrutiny coincides with the proportional representation, the absence of "panachage" and the establishment of the candidates' rigorous order is stronger the obligation of a powerful articulation. Similarly, the electoral formulas by quotas encourage the parties' fragmentation and even the party's independent

candidates' representation, because they can give a coalition less benches than to the parties or candidates which make them if the present separately; if the situation is dominated by few parties some of their candidates can find incentives to present themselves on their own (Colomer, 2001). In respect to financing, when this falls upon the parties the political prominence of the organizations is reinforced against that of the candidates, the former are tightly bond to the parties as in an electoral way as in the performance of parliamentary duties. When financing falls upon the candidates, their independence is powered in relation to the parties' organization (Del Castillo, 1985: 6). Similarly, it depends on which activities are financed, if the ordinary or the inter-electoral, extraordinary or electoral, or both. The permanent financing allows a larger structuring and consolidation than the campaign financing alone.

In this considerations' frame, the present text analyses the Liberal and Conservative Colombian parties during the period 1974-2006, their internal divisions, the nature of them and the partisan leadership fragmentation. During these three decades two sub-periods are differenced: the first takes in the 1974-1986 period, during which both parties show a dynamics based on large national fractions that articulate the sub-national fractions¹. This can be described by means of a pyramidal figure and that displays certain continuity in the Frente Nacional period (1958-1974²). At the sub-national level it is presented a dynamics of growing disintegration in the clientelism

¹ Based on the stressed Sartori distinction we use the fraction concept to refer to the existent national divisions in the two parties, they have a certain organizational level, stability and identity around a national leader; and the one of factions when we talk about sub-national level, which present a weak structure, they can be more temporary and their importance for the party is of a departmental level. This distinction has been planned all the same for the Colombian case by Eduardo Pizarro (2001).

² The coalition regime is established by the elites of both parties as an exit to a double situation that threatened their political leadership condition: partisan violence that lashed the country since the 1940's decade and the dictator Gustavo Rojas Pinilla's attempts to continue on the power by means of his reelection. With this in perspective, the successive agreements that ended up in the coalition regime established from 1958 express the conviction that both parties' leadership had that radicalization had been the most important cause of the violence with the consequent power displacement. The only way to displace general Rojas from the power, to neuter the potential even weak revolutionary threaten and put an end to the inter-

logic, of minor leaders with mobility aspirations who become autonomous from the political patterns. In the second sub-period (1986-2002), the national leaders are displaced and the factionalization dynamics continue, in an institutional changes context that stress yet more this dynamics. In the last years, after the political reform established in 2003, a reconfiguration dynamics of the political panorama is generated; this starts to show its new shape, characterized by the emergency of new political parties and the re-dimensioning of the existing ones.

The central argument of the text is that in both periods the factors that permit to explain the growing partisan division are, on the one side, the incapability of the national leadership to handle sub-national leadership, through controls that constraint the individualist micro-organizations (as discipline partisan precedents, the elaboration of rolls in the elections, a sanction system to those who do not observe party's decisions); which is associated to a low level of institutionalization and internal game rules and, on the other hand, the internal dynamics of the clientelism which produces disintegrating competence of new factions because of the under leader's ambitions and new leaderships in dispute with the traditional chieftains. The institutional changes which are registered in the country since the end of the 1980's decade stress the sub-national factionalism and encourage, as an expression's new division, the appearance of political movements with their own legal capacity on the shoulders of regional leaders who, nevertheless, keep their nexus with the parties' tags.

With the 2003 political reform it is originated a new dynamics of new parties' appearances caused by fractures and regroupings, which generates a reconfiguration of the Colombian partisan panorama.

partisan violence, was forging a consociationalist political alternative, which gave broad guarantees to the parties and generated a strong social support (Hartlyn, 1993). By means of the 1957 plebiscite, product of the agreements of both political parties and summoned by the provisional military council, it was established that in the elections between 1958 – 1968 for public corporations (Senate, Representatives, departmental conferences and municipal councils), the benches in each electoral circumscription would be adjudged on halves to the traditional parties: the Conservative and the Liberal. In a complementary way to the plebiscite, in 1958 it was approved that during the next three next periods there would be alternation in the presidency corresponding in 1962 the turn to the Conservative party.

I. The partisan division's double level: national leadership and articulation with sub-national micro-organizations, 1974-1986.

During the 1970's and 1980's decades under the Liberal party's tag together live three large factions led by the national political leaders: the Lopismo (Alfonso López Michelsen), the Turbayismo (Julio César Turbay Ayala) and the Llerismo (Carlos Lleras Restrepo), this last dissolved by the end of the 1970's and partially regrouped in the new Galanismo fraction (or New Liberalismo), headed by Luis Carlos Galán. In the Conservative Party the fractions are the Alvarismo, directed by Álvaro Gómez Hurtado, which presents continuity bonds with the Laureanismo, de fraction that during the 1940's, 1950's and part of the 1960's decades directed his father Laureano Gómez; the Pastranismo, directed by Misael Pastrana Borrero, who shows a certain continuity with the Ospinismo, the fraction led by the ex-president Mariano Ospina Pérez until the middle of the 1970's decade when he dies; and the Progresismo, directed by the congressman from Antioquia department Javier Emilio Valderrama.

The fractions display four central characteristics: 1) they are individualistic or of leadership, in the sense to be structured around a national leader, ex-president and/or potential presidential candidate; in any case the expectation to access presidency constitutes their main leadership motivation; 2) they articulate to a congressmen group and other local political leaders who mobilize in terms of gaining votes, identifying themselves with the national leader, they act as his supporters in the partisan events (conventions and partisan meetings) and they generate a loyalty dynamics in a pyramidal structure; 3) they are stable and subsist during the 1970's decade and part of the 1980's; 4) the fraction leader and the congressmen get benefited from the access and handling of the State's resources, in this sense they have a motivation which gives them the characteristic of interest fractions³.

³In Giovanni Sartori terms (1980: 104), these maneuver because of the power or bounty, to obtain positions or emoluments. By opposition, the *groups of ideas*, or groups of opinion, have as main motivation to promote ideas or ideals which a correspondent politics takes. The interest fractions tend to be group of clientele, to have a clientele operation mode; and, on the contrary, the principle fractions, at least apparently, do not have a base clientele, so their self

In the sub-national levels (in the departments) on the congressmen's shoulders and, in some cases of ex-congressmen, ex-governors and departmental deputies, factional micro-organizations are structured which constitute small political machineries at a departmental level⁴. These present, at the time, four main characteristics: 1) they are structured around an individualistic leadership, the political boss, who acts as articulator of electoral supports in the selective incentives of the management logic, with base on state's and private's resources; 2) they articulate a functional network which includes political minor chiefs, intermediaries (brokers) and clients, with a substratum of loyalties feed upon the favors' maintenance and interchange; 3) leaders keep a high autonomy in respect to the party in the public positions postulation, in the elaboration of their election rolls, in the conduction and management of the resources in the political campaigns, and in the electoral alliances and governmental coalitions at the municipalities' and departments' levels; 4) their organization is informal, even though they usually have their own political locations, and constitute formal supportive foundations of housing-helping plans, of non formal education and other activities that allow them to keep the links with the political clientele.

This double dimension of the division of the parties expresses, on the one side, the cohesion at national level by the leaders' side, and on the other side, a clientelar departmental dynamical competition. At the time of the sub-national leadership recognizes the leadership of the ex-presidents

maintenance and recruiting force is derived from their intellectual attraction or their belief proselytism.

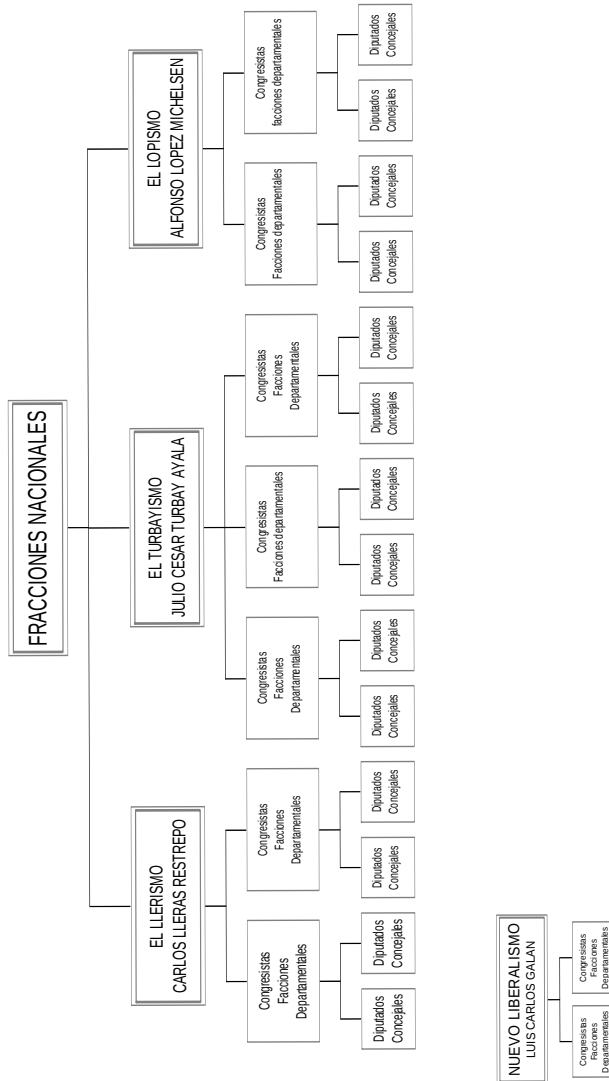
⁴They correspond to the characteristics pointed by Beller and Belloni (1989) for the clientele groups based on an individualistic leadership, with sub-leaders hierarchy, whose existence and continuance depend on the clientele which they can keep. They perform as small political machineries and their functioning depends on the leader's will, the communication and links of the former with the under chiefs and followers, are fundamentally sustained in interchanging relationships. Most of the times the name of the group is determined by the leader of the group and they usually are of intermediate duration, i.e., they tend to keep on stage for more than a political campaign and in occasions they remain even when the leader has resigned of the active politics. In some cases they have continuity with other members of the family, who substitute the original *leaders*.

and/or ex-presidential candidates and gives them its support, congressmen's conditions has been growing stronger in the previous decades. From 1947 when senators began to be elected through popular vote, one more space of departmental electoral competence was created, and at the scale prizes the Senate is constituted as the major prize at this level. Similarly, the number of representatives in the City Council rises with the creation of new departments and new circumscriptions with the 1968 reform and the demographical growth, given that the criterion to establish its number in each circumscription is demographic. With the demographical growth and the appearance of new departments the congressmen's number rises progressively from 164 in 1947 to 228 in 1958, when elections are reestablished after Gustavo Rojas Pinilla's dictatorship and to 311 in 1974, when competitive elections were reestablished. By 1986 the number reaches 313, i.e., it has almost doubled in four decades. Separately, since 1968 reform congressmen start to receive salary remuneration instead of the annual pay system per sessions which was valid. Also the City Council representatives' period was extended from two to four years from 1970, and in both chambers the limitless period reelection was maintained.

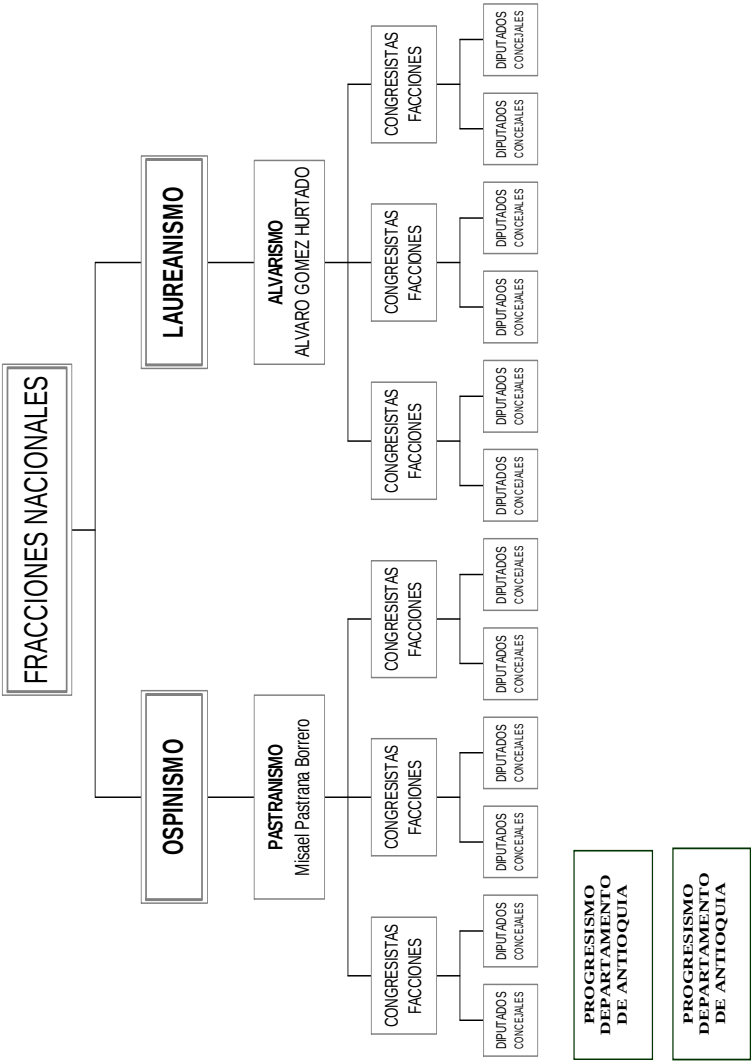
With longer periods, with more seats in dispute, larger status and material incentives, with limitless reelection and the open access to State's resources which feeds the selective incentives' distribution to the electorate and permits building and keeping clientelar networks, the congressmen's condition is strengthened, which generates, at the same time, a harder competence to achieve the seats. The congressmen's strengthening is also linked to their higher autonomy from the national leadership and this is fundamentally expressed in the candidature processes which become undone from the national level and end in self-proclamation.

The double division of both parties presents a pyramidal hierarchical figure and denotes a certain structuring of the national and sub-national. More than the party are the fractions the ones that structure the factions and those which produce a loyalty and reciprocities dynamics [see figures 1 and 2].

Graphic 1
Liberal Party
Articulation of the national and sub-national levels



Graphic 2
Fractionalism in the Conservative Party



At the sub-national level the factionalization can be described by means of two indicators: the number of rolls which are represented in the elections (partisan rolls average above the total of districts or electoral circumscriptions) and the relation of the number of the rolls in respect to the competence seats. Up to the 2002 elections in Colombia there were not partisan rolls, the approved candidates or the ones self-recognized as Liberals or Conservatives presented their own rolls in an intra-partisan and inter-partisan competition, which was concentered in a growing tendency of the rolls' number from the Frente Nacional as an expression of the aforementioned micro-organizations [see graphics 3, 4, 5 and 6].

Besides the incapability to control the appearance of new factions on the shoulders of local leaderships⁵, there is an internal clientelism dynamics which makes that, due to minor leaderships' disintegration, makes the sub-national factions gradually increment. This strengthening and larger autonomy process operates in a clientelar reproduction context, where networks also involve their own factional dynamics. As it has been described by Eduardo Díaz (1986), in their regional functioning the clientelism in Colombia exhibits four levels: 1) The political regional leader, who manages two relations levels: in front of the central power is a client, in the regional is a leader. Keeping that position depends on the capacity to negotiate at a central level and on the electorate that the leader gives to the party. The

⁵Referring to this fact, the Liberal leader Carlos Lleras Restrepo pointed out in 1978: "since 1958 the only rolls (ball point pen handle) have only been able to be re-elaborated by a national chief in one occasion, in 1958, by then all the Liberal party was willing to obey, for during the long years of the dictatorship the political acts had vanished. Alberto Lleras and their assessors (we) improvised the parliamentary rolls fearing no contradiction and procuring to make the best possible choice. In the later years the ball point pen exercise became harder" (Lleras, 1978). The same year, the Conservative party's leader, Álvaro Gómez Hurtado, expressed: "our parties face a serious crisis in this moment because of their incapacity to control and institutionalize the movements, the tendencies which inside them are naturally formed. In the same way, the legitimacy of the directives, at any level, can be discussed rather validly, rather in an unpunished way and, what is worse, in many cases in a very fruitful way. In any moment and under any circumstance, a group of people can try the forming of its legitimacy. That because the one who tries it implies few risks, even though, the attitude can be the cause of serious damage for the collectivity" (Gómez, 1978).

roll's heads for the Senate come from this level. 2) The minor chief's immediate subordinated who control sub-regions through people they trust. From their negotiations and electoral contributions define the positions in the Senate's and Representatives Chamber's rolls. Not always are negotiations and confrontations produced, occasionally the clientele movement from one leader to another or the beginning of a new separate group. 3) The public functionaries, whose positions depend on their electoral efficiency, who also aspire to make a career and escalate in political election seats. 4) The political leaders or captains or lieutenants do the operative job. In many cases at this level appear candidates for the municipalities' councils. In this general logic, a regional leader is the theoretical addition of clienteles, which involves an individual strategy to develop and maintain a captive and reliable electorate, and illustrates the electoral power strengthening of the regional partisan leaders (Hartlyn, 1990). At a national level, the addition of the sub-national electorates produces national stability in the results of both of the parties which concentrate on average more than 90% per cent of the electorate.

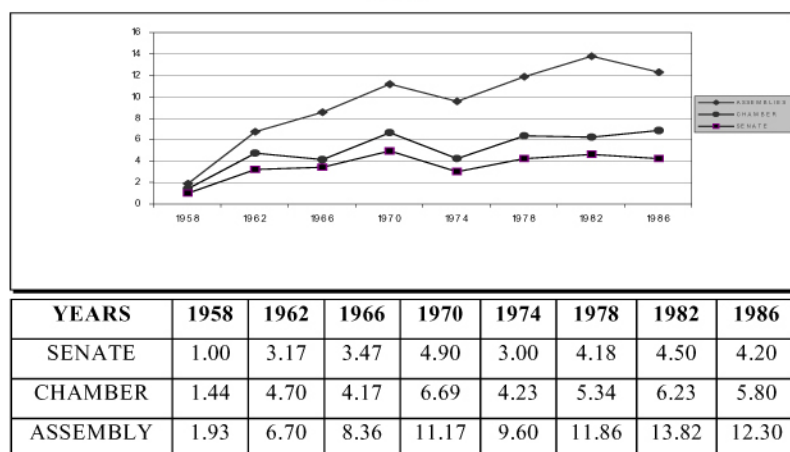
In this dynamics each one of the subordinates and regional under chiefs, at the extent in which strength their own clienteles, are converted in the leader's potential enemies and are competitors for their equals, as for the importance of each one is concentrated on the amount of votes. These internal disputes regularly lead to more factionalism by means of the rolls' proliferation. Even though there are consolidated chieftains during this period, in some departments there are already subdivisions that generate new factions with aspirations of electoral consolidation.

The departmental factionalism, increased by these factors, forges a process of self-identification of the factions in three directions. On the one place, the identification with the party's tag, that alludes to partisan division at a national level between the two parties, who divide the majority of the population's preferences. On the other place, the identification with the national fractions, such as Turbayistas, Lopistas, Lleristas or Galanistas inside the Liberal Party and Alvarista, Pastranistas o Progresistas in the Conservative Party, according to the national leader who they are aligned and on which depends an interchanges series an mutual supports. In the

third place, the identification at a departmental level, either under movement sub-tags in a multiplicity of denominations or the faction's direct association under the respective regional leader's name.

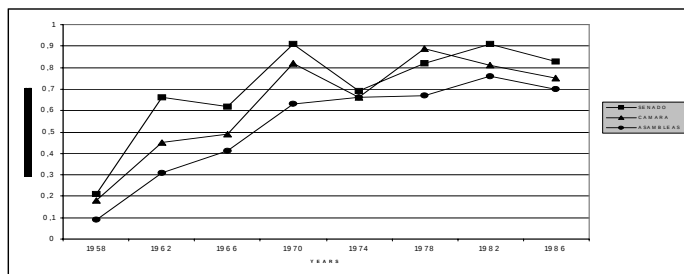
All in all: during the period of the Frente Nacional Prolongado, the Liberal and Conservative parties constitute two divided parties; this is expressed in a double level: at a national level by means of fractions on the shoulders of natural party's leaders, who achieve to articulate the sub-national leadership (departmental and municipal) which, at the time, registers a large fragmentation, manifested with the presence of a growing number of factions on the shoulders of congressmen, ex-congressmen and other regional and local leaderships. The division is generated by the organizational incapability of both parties to unite their leaders as well as the clientelism competitive logic.

Graphic 3
Liberal Party
Rolls' average evolution in the public corporations elections 1958-1986



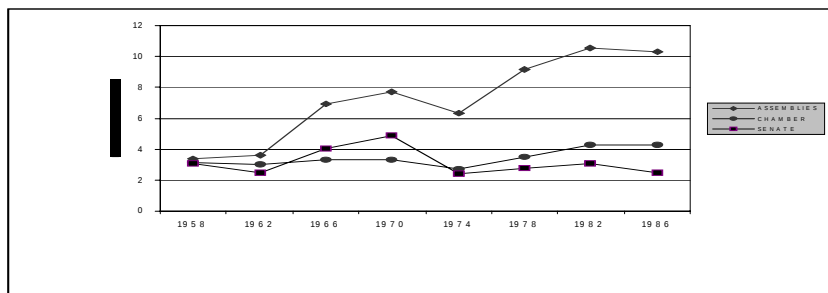
Source: Author's calculations based on electoral statistics. Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil 1958-1986.

Graphic 4
Liberal PartyRolls' number evolution / seats in the public corporations elections 1958-1986



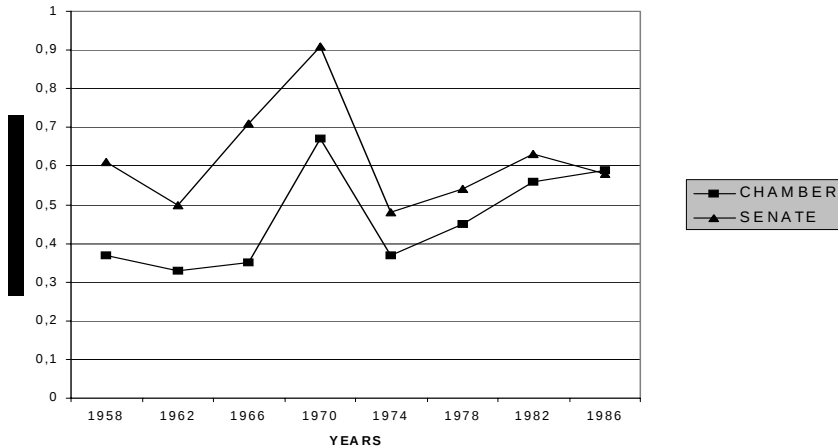
Source: Author's calculations based on electoral statistics. Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil 1958-1986, Colombia.

Graphic 5
**Conservative Party
 Rolls' average evolution in the public corporations elections 1958-1986**



Source: own elaboration based on electoral statistics. Registraduría Nacional.

Graphic 6
Conservative PartyRolls' number evolution / seats in the public corporations elections 1958-1986



YEARS	1958	1960	1962	1964	1966	1968	1970	1974	1978	1982	1986
CHAMBER	0.37	0.26	0.33	0.42	0.35	0.51	0.67	0.37	0.45	0.55	0.59
SENATE	0.61	—	0.50	—	0.71	—	0.91	0.48	0.54	0.63	0.58

Source: own elaboration based on electoral statistics. Registraduría Nacional.

II. New partisan sub-tags and factional atomization. 1986-2002

From the second half of the 1980's decade, the division in both parties shows two important changes. On the one side, the fractions' national structuring logic with the departmental fractions is modified. At a national level the ex-presidents' leadership is displaced as a regional leadership agglutination factor and new leaderships appear, directed by congressmen, but keep the links with the partisan tag. It is expressed the ascension of new regional leaders, who come from the dynamics of the intra-partisan competition and new factions emergency, which join new temporary leaderships at a national level in the presidential elections. The predominant pyramidal figure, at whose apex was a fractional leader around who the regional leadership was articulated, is modified. Here an important roll is played by the banning of the presidential reelection, which establishes the

new 1991 constitution, likewise, the re-dimensioning of the municipal and departmental with the popular mayors' election since 1985 and governors since 1991, which unties the access to these national political charges in whose negotiations ex-presidents and national leaders played a preponderant part. In this dynamics the national leaders were consulted in the designation process of governors, who, at the time, set local consultations among the different partisan factions for the distribution of the mayoralties, according to the electoral volumes. This dynamics created strong links between regional and national leaderships, the latter starts to modify itself with the larger autonomy of the regional and local politicians.

Separately, at the department level the factionalism is yet even incremented. This dynamics of disintegrations and/or new factions' creation was stimulated in some departments by drug dealing resources, which contribute to decrease the politics' barriers access (Gutiérrez, 2000), propitiating new leaderships, with fast ascendant mobility and short term results. The resources rise, electors rise, there is incursion and fast promotion in the political arena.

The factionalism also finds an institutional frame which stimulates it. In the first place, new popular election charges are created with the municipal mayoralties from 1988 (more than 1050 municipalities) and state's governments from 1991 (32 departments), which act as new opportunities for the existent factions and the new that appear in the charges' dispute. In the second place, the constitution prohibits the directions' accumulation, according to which a congressman could be at the same time, departmental deputy and municipal councilor. With this, new spaces are freed for electoral competition. In the third place, the national elections (Senate and Representatives) and the regional elections (departmental conferences and municipal councils) were separated, with that the congressmen achieved to tie up their electoral volumes getting seats in the diverse levels for the subordinate members of their supportive networks the electoral trail is lost with the separation of elections and with this the possessors' of the clientele networks get independent from these. In the fourth place, with the introduction of the national electoral circumscription for the Senate other minority faction or new factions appeared in the intra-partisan dynamics

can aspire to seats with votes inside their department, but also with a disperse strategy of adding votes in different departments from alliances with other regional factions. In the fifth place, the electoral campaign financing system established by the Constitution in its candidates financing mode, by means of retribution according to the obtained votes, encourages the independent candidates' presentation; which under a personal rolls with no candidatures' limits encourages even more the fragmentation.

During the period of the Frente Nacional Prolongado who acceded the presidency by the Liberal party, Carlos Lleras Restrepo (1966-1970), Alfonso López Michelsen (1974-1978) and Julio César Turbay Ayala (1978-1992), and the ones who aspired to be elected presidents or did so in the Conservative party (Álvaro Gómez Hurtado twice candidate, 1974 and 1986, and Belisario Betancur, candidate in 1978 and president in 1982), were linked with the power circle of the party at a national level and acted as natural leaders inside this. Their aspirations to election and/or reelection had real possibilities due to their national leaders' condition and their relations with the regional political leadership, which kept loyalties towards them constructed historically and/or from reciprocity relations. Presidency access possibilities for those who were not inserted in the power circles at a national level were very few.

Since the end of the 1980's decade, conditions are different. Regional leadership sectors on the rise, strengthened with their congressmen condition and vote providers in national elections, achieve their insertion in directive instances of the party and/or in the ministries and /or in other government high positions, and transcend the regional politics projecting themselves as national figures of the party. The progressive ambition, the capacity to project themselves and the ability to incite supports and/or get inserted in supportive networks also count for the mortal, not only for the notable members. Similarly, the presidential reelection prohibition in the 1991 Constitution closes definitely any aspiration from the former national leaders (let us remember that in two occasions Carlos Lleras Restrepo aspired to reelection, in 1974 and in 1978, and Alfonso López Michelsen in one, in 1982; i.e., in three of the four presidential elections which include the Frente Nacional Prolongado). Likewise, the introduction of the second presidential round

since 1994 elections gives a competence and negotiation scene in the first round for some leaders who get into the candidatures spectrum with new action spaces and negotiating capability, according to the supports they achieve to articulate.

As an expression of the rise of new leaders and their larger projection during this period appear a growing number of movements with legal capacity created by congressmen, which constitute as political ascension vehicles. In the Liberal party initially three departmental factions obtain their legal capacity at the beginnings of the 1990's decade (Movimiento Nacional Progresista, *National Progressive Movement*, Movimiento Liberal Independiente de Restauración, *Liberal Independent Movement of Restoration*, y Movimiento Nueva Colombia, *New Colombia Movement*), in the 1998 elections there are already eight legally recognized movements and in the year 2002 the figure increases to eighteen. After 8000 process the generated division since 1996, and which was expressed in the presidential elections in 1998, gets deeper. With the announcement of the Horacio Serpa Uribe's presidential aspirations and the Álvaro Uribe Vélez's campaign launching as party dissidence, some congressmen decide not to ask for their party's guarantee for their candidatures; which could compromise their support to the official candidate, and they prefer to create their own movements or to apply for their legal capacity for the ones already existing. This situation makes eleven new denominations for liberal factions appear; this allows them at the time to self-approve and approve other candidates, it keeps them inside the party. Given the punishment absence for this sort of behavior the double militancy increases and those who create the movements still recognize their pertinence to the Liberalism. In the election ten out of eleven new movements obtained seats in the Republic Congress and, out of these, nine supported the dissident candidate Álvaro Uribe Vélez⁶.

⁶The nine movements which supported the Álvaro Uribe Vélez's candidature were: Cambio Radical, *Radical Change*, Colombia Siempre, *Always Colombia*, Movimiento Somos Colombia, *We are Colombia Movement*, Movimiento de Renovación y Acción Laboral, *Renovation and Laboring Action Movement*, Movimiento de Integración Popular, *Popular Integration Movement*, Movimiento Voluntad Popular, *Popular Will Movement*, Movimiento Popular por la Seguridad Social, *Popular Movement for Social Security*, y Movimiento Nacional Progresista, *Progressive National Movement* (El Tiempo, 8th May 2002; 25th July 2002. Available at: www.terra.com.co/elecciones-2002).

In the Conservative party the process is similar. Up to the middle of the 1980's decade its leadership presents a tripartite division among the Pastranismo, the Alvarismo and the Progresismo. In 1986 the *Movimiento Nacional Conservador* appears, *Conservative National movement*, created by the progressive Gustavo Rodríguez, and in the following years the internal movements are multiplied, in which influence three relevant facts between 1990 and 1992 that generate a larger division and disintegration in the party.

In the first place, in the situation of the 1990 presidential elections and after the party presented a single candidate in the previous four elections (in 1974 and 1986 with Álvaro Gómez, and in 1978 and 1982 with Belisario Betancourt) it is manifested, for the first time since the presidential alternation ended in 1974, the division of the party into two presidential candidatures: the official of Rodrigo Lloreda Caicedo, elected in the party's National Convention, and the one of Álvaro Gómez Hurtado who, disowning the institutional procedure, presented his own dissident candidature, for which he created the *Movimiento de Salvación Nacional*, *National Salvation Movement*⁷. With the results of the presidential elections in which the party was defeated and the dissident candidate obtained a higher number of votes than the official one (23.7% of the first in front of 12.1% of the second) it was blurred Misael Pastrana's influence, who had acted as the party's leader in the last three lustrums.

⁷The National Salvation Movement was created in 1990 and remains in the electoral scene and in the Republic Congress for four consecutive periods (1991-2000/2006). After the presidential elections, the movement presented a roll to the Constituent National Assembly, integrated by Conservatives and Liberals, and in 1991 took part for the first time in the parliamentary elections, when it obtained the second largest national voting and 5 out of the 23 seats of the party in the Senate (from a 100 total), and 11 out of the 51 obtained by the party in the Representatives' Chamber (from a 161 total). In the 1994 elections it obtained 2 seats in the Senate and 2 in the Chamber. After the assassination of Álvaro Gómez Hurtado in 1995, the movement continues, directed by his brother, Enrique Gómez Hurtado. The electoral force of the movement was kept while Álvaro Gómez directed it, later it only got one seat in the Senate for Enrique Gómez in the three following elections. In 2006 Enrique Gómez Hurtado presented his candidature for the Senate in the official roll of the Conservative Party and was not elected. With this movement it is expressed the Gómez family presence in the party along more than six decades, first with Laureano Gómez since the 1930's decade, then with Álvaro Gómez Hurtado since the 1950's decade and with Enrique Gómez since the 1990's decade.

In the second place, the elections and the Asamblea Nacional Constituyente process (*National Constituent Conference*) between 1990-1991 configured another party-division scenario. In the elections the party was divided in four rolls with different sub-tags and compositions. One of the rolls Movimiento de Salvación Nacional, *National Salvation movement*, led by Álvaro Gómez Hurtado and which included Conservatives and Liberals; another roll presented by Rodrigo Lloreda Caicedo, ex-congressman, ex-minister and last official candidate to the republic presidency, who presented on behalf of the Movimiento Unidad por Colombia, *Unity for Colombia Movement*; a third roll led by the ex-president Misael Pastrana in the name of the Partido Social Conservador, *Conservative Social Party* and the fourth led by Juan Gómez Martínez of the Movimiento Progresista, *Progressive Movement*, with a regional electorate in Antioquia⁸. Besides another member of the Conservative party made part of the roll of the Alianza Democrática M-19, *M-19 Democratic Alliance* (Álvaro Leyva Durán). The results of the elections implied that the party's officialism obtained 5 out of the 70 seats in front of the four independent (two of Unidos por Colombia and two from the Juan Gómez Martínez roll) and of 11 of the Movimiento de Salvación Nacional. The officialism remained as a minority in the Constituent Conference and was excluded from the tripartite presidency of the organ that included a member from the Liberal Party, on from the Alianza Democrática M-19 and Álvaro Gómez on behalf of the Movimiento de

⁸ Progressive Force "Coraje", *Courage*, presents continuity bonds with the *Progressiveness*, the conservative fraction led by Javier Emilio Valderrama since the beginning of the 1970's decade in Antioquia department. The *Progressiveness* kept its electoral presence continuously since the 1960's decade; when Javier Emilio Valderrama died in 1988 the faction went on led by Fabio Valencia Cossio, who was elected in 1986 to the Representatives Chamber and later to the Senate in 1990 1991, 1994 and 1998, this last year the roll's movement obtained the highest vitiation in the country. His party's *great elector* condition took him to the Senate's presidency in 1998 in the name of Alianza Electoral, *Electoral Alliance*, between the Conservative party and a sector from the Liberalism which supported the presidential candidate Andrés Pastrana. In the 2002 elections, Fabio Valencia Cossio did not head the roll to Senate, which is now in the hands of Juan Gómez Martínez, ex-constituent in 1991, twice Medellín's mayor (1988-1990 and 1998-2000) and the Antioquia ex-governor (1992-1994). After the political reform in 2003 the party dissolved.

Salvación Nacional. With the elections results the Conservative party for the first time stopped being the country's second electoral force, and the historical leader and ex-president of the republic Misael Pastrana Borrero was relegated to a secondary role; in the course of the constituent labors he renounced to his seat.

After the National Constituent Conference, Senate and Representatives Chamber elections were summoned. For these elections there were already six the Conservative sub-tags: the officialism, under the name of Movimiento Nacional, *National Movement*; the Movimiento de Salvación Nacional; the Movimiento Nacional Conservador; the Movimiento Unidos por Colombia; Fuerza Progresista and appeared, led by the ex-president Pastrana's son, Andrés Pastrana, La Nueva Fuerza Democrática, *New Democratic Force*⁹.

In the third place, after the defeats in the 1990 presidential and in the 1991 Congress elections the constituent process dispersion with the displacement and resigning of the historical leader, and the appearance of new factions, in 1992 there was a new crisis in the party.

When the parliamentary elections passed a reunion of congressmen was made in December 1991 that nominated a provisional directive formed by the senators Fabio Valencia Cossio and Rodolfo Segovia Salas, arguing that the party's new hierarchy represented the parliamentarians reunion and not the direction which had been elected in 1988, and whose period was already expired.

9 New Democratic Force appeared in 1991. The same year when Misael Pastrana quit the National Constituent Conference, his son (former counselor and Bogota's ex-mayor) created this new movement initially oriented towards the Congress elections. He participated in the first post-constituent elections in 1991 with the same scheme of the *Movimiento de Salvación Nacional*, including Liberal and Conservative candidates in hid roll. In the elections obtained the highest election in the country and eight seats in the Senate. In 1994 he got five seats in the Senate and Andrés Pastrana presented himself as a presidential candidate by the Conservative party elected in the convention; the elections were won by the Liberal candidate Ernesto Samper Pizano. Once again in the 1998 elections he was proclaimed presidential candidate by the Decentralized Convention, and in alliance with a sector form the Liberal party and other minority movements was elected president of the republic. In the 1998 and 2002 elections the movement got a seat in the senate and in 2006 it dissolved.

Chart 1
Liberal congressmen with legal capacity movements 1991-2002.

1991	1994	1998	2002
1. National Progressive Movement	1. National Progressive Movement	1. National Progressive Movement	1. National Progressive Movement
2. Liberal Independent Movement	2. Liberal Restoration Independent Movement	2. Liberal Restoration Independent Movement	2. Liberal Restoration Independent Movement
3. New Colombia Movement	3. New Colombia Movement	3. New Colombia Movement	3. New Colombia Movement
		4. Liberal Oxygen Movement	3. Popular Integrations Movement (M I P O L)
		5. Colombia My Country Movement	4. Liberal Popular Organization Group (G O L P E)
		6. Seriousness for Colombia	5. Colombia National Movement Without Corruption
		7. Social Action Renovator Movement	6. Popular Will Movement
		8. Radical Change	7. Civic Popular Convergence
			8. Laboring Action Political Reformer Movement
			9. New Liberalism Movement
			10. Colombia My Country Movement
			11. Political Movement for the Social Security
			12. Radical Change
			13. Always Colombia

Source: Régimen Electoral Colombiano (1997), Legis, Bogotá; Informe de Labores del Consejo Nacional Electoral al Congreso de la República (1994-1995), Bogotá; Cepeda, Fernando (1997), Financiación de campañas políticas, Bogotá: Ariel Ciencia Política; Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil, 2002 electoral results and www.electorales.com/pases/co/partidos.

With this situation a duality of powers was set in the party, the direction chosen in the Convention and the de facto direction established by the congressmen. This duality continued and by the end of the 1992 the congressmen reunited and revoked the command to the National Direction, officially assumed the direction and summoned to a party's convention.

In this way, at the beginning of the 1990's decade the party shows a leadership with greater divisions, the presence of multiple internal movements with their own legal capacity, the loss of influence of the national leader and the new movements' strengthening.

There are still appearing new internal movements. In the 1991 and 1994 elections there are two new: the Conservatismo Independiente, *Independent*

Conservationism, by Álvaro Pava Camelo, son of the ex-congressmen Jaime Pava Navarro and the Jorge Serrano's Movimiento Único de Renovación Conservadora, *Single Movement of Conservative Renovation*, a congressman in Santander department. In the following electoral cycles appear other seven movements: the Movimiento Humbertista, *Humbertista Movement*, a conservative faction from Valle de Cauca department led by Humberto González Narvaéz, former governor and congressmen since the 1960's; the Movimiento Unionista, *Unionist Movement*, created in 1999 by the Cauca department congressman José Darío Salazar, member of the National Conservative Direction; the Progresismo Democrático, *Democratic Progressiveness*, led by the Medellín's ex-counselor Carlos Alberto Zuluaga; Equipo Colombia, *Colombia Team*, created by Luis Alfredo Ramos, linked to the conservative party for more than 25 years; the Movimiento de Participación Popular, *Popular Participation Movement*, by Alonso Acosta Ossio, Atlántico department representative; the Movimiento de Integración Regional, *Regional Integration Movement*, created in San Andrés department by the congressman Julio Eugenio Gallardo; and the Movimiento Republicano, *Republican Movement*, located in Caldas department, led by Juan Martín Hoyos [see chart num. 2].

Three factors influenced in the emergency and proliferation of political movements in both parties. In the first place, the legal frame which rules the parties does not establishes any prohibition to the existence of movement inside a party, which can be constituted as an umbrella for many sub-tags, with their own legal existence and their leaders, structures and organization. In the second place, the norms that regulate the parties and movements are very loose in the requisites to concede legal capacities. According to the Law 59 from 1985 (Parties' Basic Statute), it is required the affiliation of at least 10,000 citizens or that in the previous elections it had obtained at least an equal number of votes. With the new Parties' Basis Statute (Law 130 from 1994) it is needed to prove its existence with at least fifty thousand signatures or when in the previous election it had obtained the same number of votes or having reached representation in the congress (Parties' and Movements' Basic Statute, 1994, article 108).

In the third place, in the parties there are not restrictions for their members respecting to the creation of own political movements (there are no legal restrictions either), i.e., the political leaders can handle with no problems a kind of double militancy, identify themselves as liberals and, in the electoral competence and in the relations with the State, act with their “own” party.

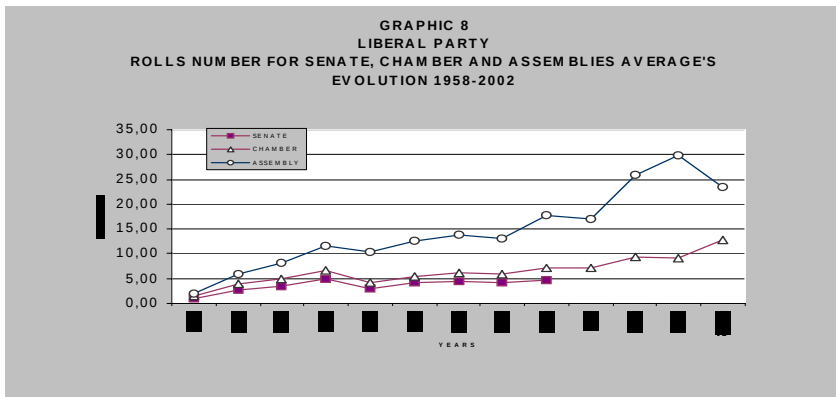
Chart 2
Conservative party
Internal movements, creation years and electoral strengths.

MOVEMENTS	CREATOR	CREATION YEAR	ELECTORAL STRENGTH (Departments)
1. Progressive Force	• Javier Emilio Valderrama (1973) continuity since 1989 con Fabio Valencia Cossio and Juan Gómez Martínez	1973	• Antioquia
2. Conservative Natinal Movement	• Gustavo Rodríguez Vargas: congressman 1982-1998	1986	• Cundinamarca and Bogotá
3. National Salvation Movement	• Alvaro Gómez Hurtado: ex congressman, ex-designated and three times presidential candidate	1990	• Departamento of Cundinamarca
4. Independent Conservationism	• Alvaro Pava Camelo	1991	• Cundinamarca and Bogotá
5. New Democratic Force	• Andrés Pastrana: Bogotá councilor, Bogotá's ex-mayor, congressman and president of the republic	1991	• Cundinamarca and Bogotá
6. Conservative Renovation single Movement	• Jorge Sedano: congressman	1991	• Santander
7. United by Colombia Movement	• Rodrigo Lloreda Caicedo: ex-congressman, ex-minister, ex-constituent, Presidential Candidate	1991	• Valle del Cauca
8. Humbertista Movement	• Humberto González Narváez: congressman 1968-1994	1994	• Valle del Cauca
9. Regional Integration Movement	• Julio Eugenio Gallardo	1998	• San Andrés
10. Unionism	• José Dario Salazar: congressman (1990-2002)	1999	• Cauca

Source: Roll, David (2002), Rojo difuso, azul pálido. Los partidos tradicionales en Colombia, entre el debilitamiento y la persistencia, Bogotá: Universidad Nacional; Duque Daza, Javier (2003), “Partidos divididos y organización precaria, los partidos Liberal y Conservador colombianos a través de tres décadas de débil institucionalización organizativa”, tesis doctoral, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Mexico.

At the time of this movement proliferation in both parties, at the sub-national level the factionalism continues. In the Liberal party, in absolute terms, the public corporations rolls' average that was growing since the beginning of the Frente Nacional, presents a sustained increase, which is much larger in the 1990's decade, changing from a 5.40 average for the Representative Chamber between 1974-1986 to 9.10 between 1990 and 2002 and from 12.12 to 20.78 in departmental Conferences for the periods 1974-1986 and 1988-2000. The same happens to the Senate's rolls which register a sustained growth's tendency in the last decades, and in absolute terms goes from 67 rolls in 1974 to 202 in the year 2002 [see graphic number 8].

Graphic 8
Liberal party
Senate, Chamber and Conferences' roll average number evolution
1958-2002.



Source: Author's calculation based on electoral statistics. Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil. Various years 1958-2002. Since 1991 the republic's Senate is elected in single national circumscription, 100 seats distributed under the quotients formula or major quotas and major residuum or rests.

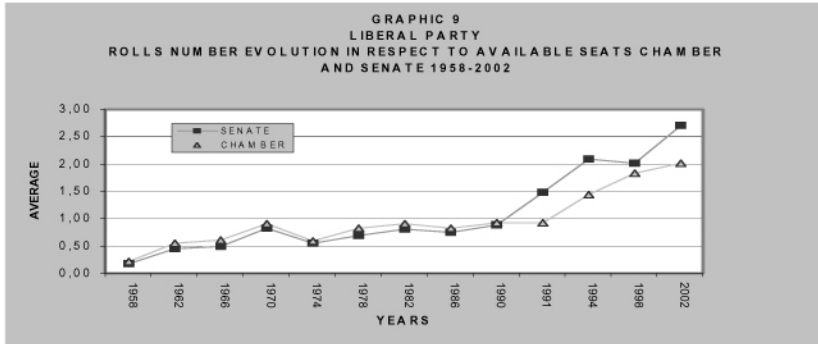
If it is pondered the evolution of the rolls number in relation with the seats in dispute, it is observed that there is also a growing tendency since 1958. During the Frente National it was on average 0.48 rolls per seat in dispute for the Representatives Chamber, 0.56 for the Senate and 0.35 for departmental Conferences. Between 1974-1990, it was incremented to 0.70, 0.78, and 0.65, respectively. Between 1990 and 2002 in the three corporations a superior index was presented to a roll per seat in dispute, with an average of 1.74 for the Representatives Chamber, 1.43 for the Senate and 1.28 for the departmental Conferences.

In the 1990's decade, product of a new Constitution, the number of seats in the Representatives Chamber and in the Senate decreases, nonetheless, the rolls' number in competition increases, the incontrollable factional disintegration situation and the appearance of new factions lead to a strong intra-partisan competence stage [see graphics 9 and 10]

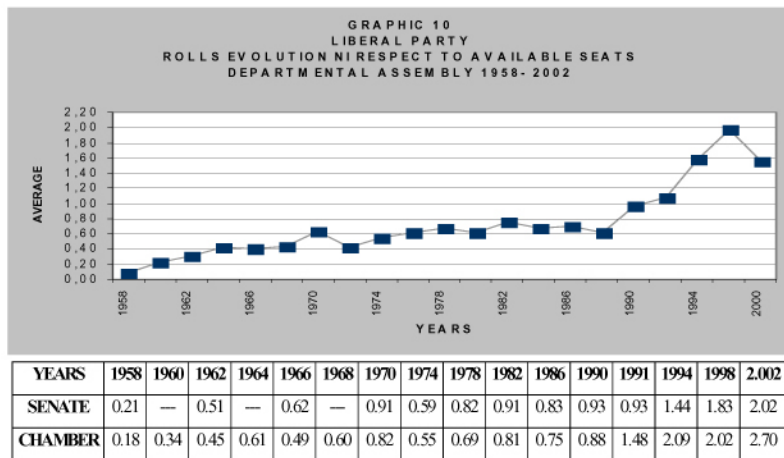
The same phenomenon occurs in the Conservative party. In absolute terms in departmental Conferences the roll's averages for the periods 1974-1986 and 1988-2000 rise from 9.13 to 9.75; likewise for the Representatives Chamber going from 3.79 on average between 1974-1986 to 4.11 between 1990-2002. In the republic's Senate there is a clear diminution and the averages roll's number goes from 63.5 between 1974-1986 to an average of 50 rolls' number between 1990-2002¹⁰.

¹⁰The diminution in the rolls' number for the Senate is produced especially by the creation of the unique circumscription since 1991. As a Minority party in front of the Liberal party and with electorates with a strong departmental implantation, various situations appear that propitiate the diminution in the rolls' number. In the departments with low population and low electoral census, those who were chosen senators under departmental circumscriptions are now without options and candidatures are not presented, facing this double disadvantage of being a minority and having low relative electoral power compared to the larger departments. In other small departments there are electoral alliances with an only candidate. In other departments, some senators present themselves as candidates to the Representatives Chamber, where they have more competitive capacity. In other cases, there are registrations of alliances with liberal candidates (Duque, 2003).

Graphic 9
Liberal party
 Rolls' number evolution in respect to the available seats.
 Representatives Chamber and Senate. 1958-2002.

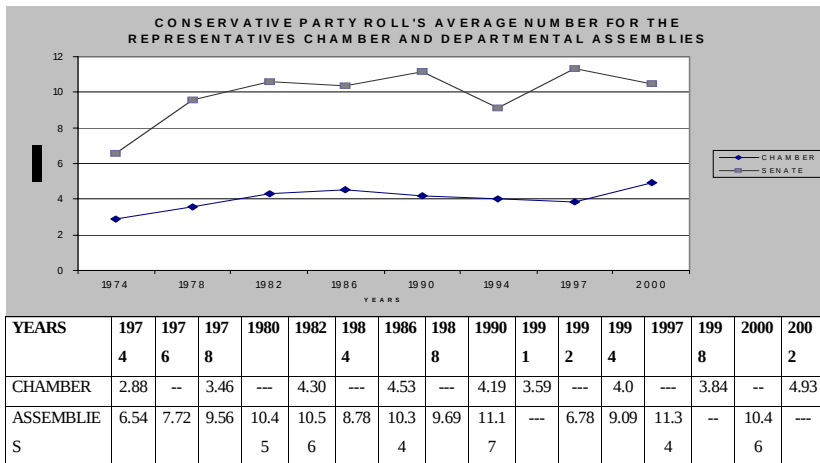


Graphic 10
Liberal party
 Rolls' number evolution in respect to the available seats.
 Departmental Conference. 1958-2002.

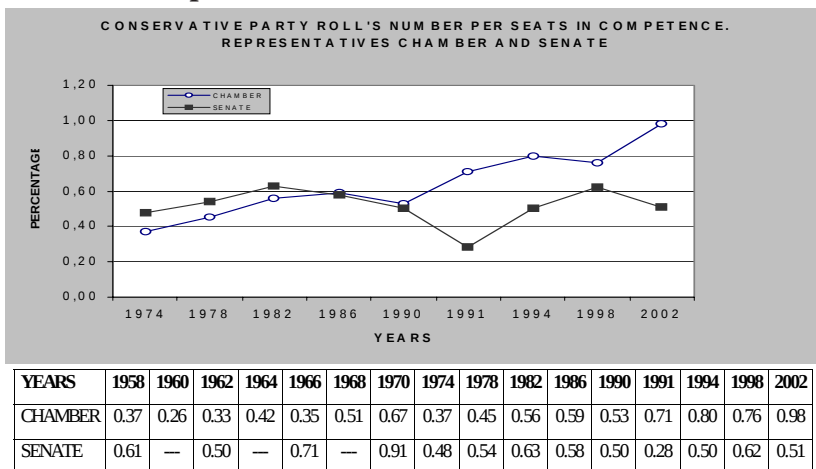


Source: Author's calculation base don electoral statistics. Registraduría Nacional del Estado Civil. Various years 1958-2002. Since 1991 the republic's Senate in elected in single national circumscription, 100 seats distributed under the quotients formula or major quotas and major residuum or rests.

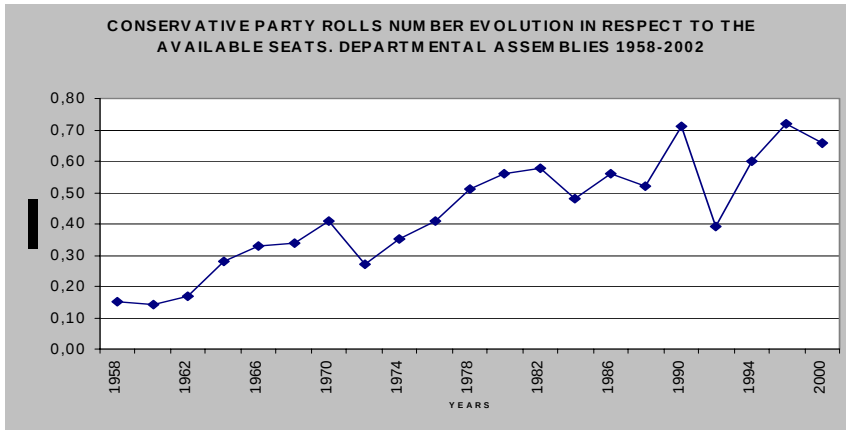
Graphic 11
Conservative party
Average rolls' number for the Representatives Chamber and
Departmental Conferences.



Graphic 12
Conservative party
Rolls' number per seats in dispute
Representatives Chamber and Senate



Graphic 13
Conservative Party
Rolls' number evolution in respect to the available seats.
Departmental Conferences 1958-2002



In relative terms in the Representatives Chamber and in the departmental Conferences there is an increment in the rolls in respect to the seats in competence and the average of the 1990-2002 period is higher than that of the Frente Nacional Prolongado [see graphics 11, 12 and 13]. In the Senate elections the rolls' number tendency is decreasing, the second period average is inferior to the first. (0.48 in front to 0.55).

Up to the year 2002, due to their divided-in-multiple-movements parties' condition, which keep their links to the partisan tag, the Colombian Liberal and Conservative parties look like a fractured mirror, but whose parts do not completely separate from each other. If, as we have pointed out, the reproduction in the electoral stage and the access and/or Congress and in the departmental Conferences and municipal Councils permanence depends on the initiative, ability and capacity of the leaders who self-candidate them and self-regulate their factions and their electorate, what do these obtain inside the parties that do not obtain as candidates with totally independent movements?, which factors influence this to continue under the umbrella of the partisan tags or keep their links to these?

There can be pointed at least four aspects which influence on the persistence of the links to the parties:

On the one side, as stated by Eduardo Pizarro (2002), there is a symbolic resource which is available with the pertinence in the political parties and that is expressed in the fact that one of the part of the population still identifies with them.

Even though there is a decrease in the partisan identification in the last decades, an important part of the population still self-identifies with the Liberal and Conservative parties, which can get to influence in the way how they behave in the elections (according to a national survey realized in the year2002: 35% of the Colombian people identified themselves as liberals and 12% as conservatives¹¹).

On the other side, when it comes to make decisions in the chamber it is of advantage and decisive to make part of a large parliamentary group, with negotiating capacities. The access to some positions such as Senate's and Representatives Chamber's presidency depends on the congressmen votes, who act as candidates' supporters of their same party. Likewise, the high positions of the State are chosen by the Congress and depending on who has them it is had a wider or narrower access to the State's bureaucracy, such is the case of the General Comptroller of the Nation (chosen by the full Congress), of the General Attorney of the Nation (chosen by the Senate) and of the Defendant of the People (chosen by the Representatives Chamber) and there are not impediments to the parties' interior nor in the parties' legal regulation to act in both fields. Any congressman can have their own party, and at the same time, belong in a historical party. From both the congressman can obtain revenues.

The partisan leader ship is kept within the parties in a situation of double militancy, it quits neither its links with the partisan tags nor to sustain its own political movement. Both parties keep their predominance in the electoral, legislative, and governmental stages and their condition of divided parties with a leadership highly fragmented. This situation is starting to be modified in the recent years in a new context of partisan reconfiguration in the country.

11 See Javeriana magazine. Number 681, 2002.

III. Epilogue: scissions, aggregations and new partisan configuration.

Liberal and Conservative parties' internal division presents an important modification since 2003. The diverse movements which preserve the former condition in-out of the parties are compelled to disappear, to get integrated to the old partisan tags or to be origin to new parties.

With the 2003 political reform some relevant modifications to the game rules are born, which start to influence the parties' organizations.

In the first place, double militancy is banned. 1st article establishes that in any case it is allowed for the citizens simultaneously belong into more than one party or political movement. As a direct effect of this disposition, movements which kept their double condition of autonomous but with links to the Liberal or Conservative parties, must decide if they are constituted as independent parties or are diluted.

In the second place, it is established that only the parties that obtain a minimum of votes equivalent to a 2% of the votes' total in each election (Senate at a national level and Representatives Chamber at a departmental level) can aspire to obtain seats (electoral threshold) and to maintain their legal recognition. This represents an obstacle for many small parties that, all the same, must decide to disappear or to aggregate themselves to other parties. New organizations whose intention is to present in the elections are able to do it by means of the 50,000 citizens' support signatures consecution.

In the third place, it is established that in the elections the parties have to present single rolls, replacing the limitless guarantees system that existed until 2002. Nominally, this makes the parties have to create their roll-making internal procedure and permits generating commitment processes from the candidates and stronger cohesion. This disposition was complemented with the preference vote, as one of the options for the single rolls; with this it was created a new aggregation's and negotiations' dynamics of the regional leaders with each party.

In a transitory way it was established that the congressmen could be grouped and conform new parties, as long as their respective votes added at least 2% of the valid total votes for the Senate in the 2002 elections

The changes in the game's rules of the electoral system and in the partisan organizations are given in a special time surged from the 2002 presidential

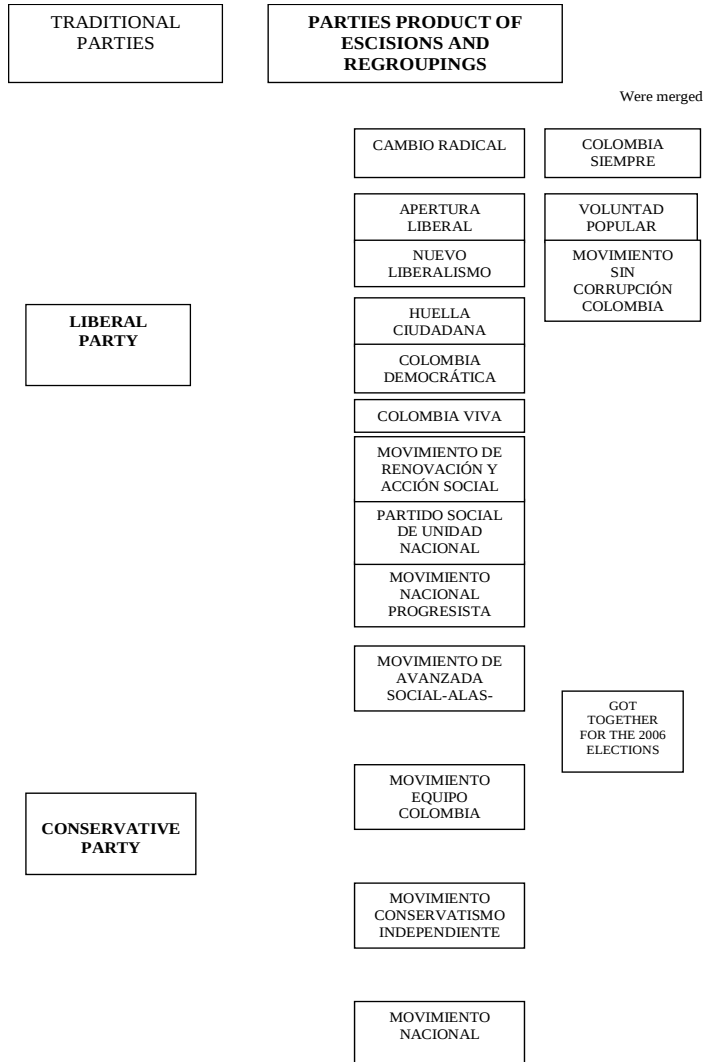
elections' process. As we have pointed out, diverse Liberal party internal movements supported the dissident Álvaro Uribe Vélez' candidature, as well as the majority of the Conservative party. With this candidate's triumph these and those consolidated their presence in the legislative and governmental ambits, constructing majorities in the republic Congress and acceding and/or widening their access to State's resources, many of them, as in the high bureaucracy and diplomatic positions, directly from the president. Their location in government positions and in the perspective of the 2006 presidential elections, for which the congress approved the constitutional change that establishes the presidential elections, constituted a central aspect for the definitive becoming-autonomous-process of many movements. Especially from the Liberal party which after having been the majority party in the whole country's history was displaced from the power with the loss of the 1998 and 2002 presidential elections. The majorities in the republic Congress are now constructed aside from the Liberal party.

Facing the new rules some congressmen, who had their own movements decided to create new parties. From the Liberal party came *Cambio Radical*, *Radical Change*, *Colombia Siempre*, *Always Colombia*, *Voluntad Popular*, *Popular Will*, and *Movimiento Sin Corrupción Colombia*, *Colombia Movement Without Corruption*, which ended up together under the first tag; also did the same *Alternativa de Avanzada Social*, *Social Outpost Alternative*, (that in 2006 was united with the conservative origin movement *Equipo Colombia*, *Colombia Team*), *Huella Ciudadana*, *Civic Tread*, *Movimiento Nacional Progresista*, *National Progressive Movement*, *Nuevo Liberalismo*, *New Liberalism*, *Movimiento de Renovación y Acción Social-Moral*, *Social-Moral Action and Renovation Movement*, *Colombia Viva*, *Alive Colombia* and *Apertura Liberal*, *Liberal Aperture*. By initiative of the republic president and other ex-members of the Liberal party the *Partido Social de la Unidad Nacional*, *Social Party of the National Unity*, was created. From the Conservative party *Equipo Colombia*, *Movimiento Nacional*, *National Movement*, and *Conservatismo Independiente*, *Independent Conservationism*, were completely separated.

Very few movements were reincorporated to the Conservative party: the *Salvación Nacional*, *National Salvation*, and *Unionismo*, *Unionism*, movements.

Colombia

Scission and aggregations' panorama of the Liberal and Conservative political parties.



The divided character of both political parties ends up in the new institutional context in a reconfiguration dynamics of the partisan panorama. The weak internal cohesion, a high individualism in the political activity and the aspirations of many of the new leaders to reach a better positioning generate the appearance of new political parties which come from the old and traditional nineteenth-century origin organizations. The new the electoral rules have an important role in the partisan dynamics, and internal sectors from the Liberal and Conservative react before the new institutional frame creating new parties as maintenance vehicles and congressmen's possible promotion and their political supportive networks.

As emergent organization, the new parties are creation of a congressman or associative initiatives of several senators and/or Chamber's representatives, and these express the new conditions of a political class, for which the old partisan tags can be now dispensable. The aggregation of congressmen who have collected their own electorates enables the displacement from the historical electoral predominance to the Liberal and Conservative parties or, at least, compete them the votes and seats that traditionally have concentrated.

By means of the political careers individually constructed and the national projection of new political leaderships, the possibility to consolidate new parties through adding up electorates that were before disperse in multiple sub-national factions or independent movements, opens new perspective for their leaders, for some of them the road to the presidency of the republic in future elections. The new parties constitute the permanence and/or promotion vehicles of old and new political leaderships in the country.

The separations in both parties do not conduct to the appearance of a new organization which contains the sectors which decide to become autonomous. On the contrary, a multi-partisan panorama is opened where it is re-dimensioned the competence that converts from bipolar (Liberal – Conservative), by means of the aggregation of the diverse sub-tags, to multi-polar, with the displacement of the historical predominance of the Liberal party and the shortening of the Conservative party dimension.

The new partisan panorama expresses new phenomena in respect to the

previous decades. From the bi-color predominance of the Liberal and Conservative parties, through their multiple divisions, there was a transition to a multicolor stage, with the presence of diverse and numerous new parties. However the transformation, the partisan organizations in Colombia still have a central, current and former, characteristic, a high personalization of the politics. This look on a bit more than three decades of the dynamics of the parties makes that evident.

Bibliography

Beller, Dennis and Frank Belloni (1978), *Faction Politics: Political Parties and Factionalism in Comparative Perspective*, Oxford: ABC-Clio.

Cepeda, Fernando (1997), *Financiación de campañas políticas*, Bogotá: Ariel.

Colomer, Joseph (2000), *Instituciones políticas*, Barcelona: Ariel.

Del Castillo, Pilar (1985), *La financiación de partidos y candidatos en las democracias occidentales*, Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.

Díaz, Eduardo (1986), *El clientelismo en Colombia*, Bogotá: El Ancora Editores.

Dix, Robert (1980), "Consociational Democracy: The case of Colombia", in *Comparative Politics*, vol. 12.

Dugas, John (1993), "La Constitución política de 1991: ¿Un pacto político viable?", en *La Constitución de 1991: ¿Un pacto político viable?*, Bogotá: Departamento de Ciencias Políticas, Universidad de los Andes.

Duque, Javier (2003), *Partidos divididos y organización precaria, los partidos Liberal y Conservador colombianos a través de tres décadas de débil institucionalización organizativa*, tesis doctoral, México: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales.

Duverger, Maurice (1961), *Los partidos políticos*, México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Eldersveld, Samuel (1964), *Political parties: a behavioral analysis*, Chicago: Rand McNally.

Guerrero, Javier (1999), "La sobrepolitización del narcotráfico en Colombia en los años ochentas y sus interferencias en los procesos de paz",

en *De las armas a la política*, Bogotá: Tercer Mundo Editores, IEPRI Universidad Nacional de Colombia.

Gutiérrez, Francisco (2001), “¿Se ha abierto el sistema político colombiano? Una evaluación de los procesos de cambio (1970-1998)”, in *América Latina Hoy*, num. 27, Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca.

Gutiérrez, Francisco and Andrés Dávila (2000), “Paleontólogos o politólogos: ¿qué podemos decir hoy sobre los dinosaurios?”, in *Revista de Estudios Sociales*, num. 6, Bogotá: Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Uniandes/Fundación social.

Gutiérrez, Francisco (2000), “Democracia dubitativa”, in *Colombia cambio de siglo; balances y perspectivas*, Bogotá: Planeta.

Gómez, Álvaro (1978), “Un procedimiento de unión”, in *Revista Centro de Estudios Constitucionales*, num. 14, Bogotá: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales.

Harmel, Robert and Kenneth Janda (1994), “An integrated theory of party goals and party change”, in *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, num. 6.

Hartlyn, Jonathan (1993), *La política del régimen de coaliciones, la experiencia del Frente Nacional en Colombia*, Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes.

Janda, Kenneth (1993), “Comparative political parties: research and theory”, in *Political Science: the state of the discipline II*, Washington, D. C.: American Political Science Association.

Katz, Richard (1996), “Party organizations and finance”, in *Comparing democracies; elections and voting in global perspective*, London: SAGE Publications.

Kitschelt, Herbert (1989), *The logics of party formation*, New York: Cornell University Press.

Leal, Francisco and Andrés Dávila (1990), *Clientelismo, el sistema político y su expresión regional*, Bogotá: Tercer Mundo, Universidad Nacional de Colombia.

Leal, Francisco (1984), *Estado y política en Colombia*, Bogotá: Siglo XXI.

López, Lourdes et al. (1995), *Política faccional y democratización*, Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales.

Losada, Rodrigo and Eduardo Vélez (1982), *Identificación y participación política en Colombia*, Bogotá: Fedesarrollo.

Lleras, Carlos (1978), "Editorial", in *Revista Nueva Frontera*, num. 169, Bogotá.

Nohlen, Dieter and Mario Fernández [eds.] (1998), *El presidencialismo renovado; instituciones y cambio político en América Latina*, Caracas: Nueva Sociedad.

Panebianco, Angelo (1991), *Modelos de partido*, Madrid: Alianza.

Pizarro, Eduardo (1997), "¿Hacia un sistema multipartidista? Las terceras fuerzas en Colombia hoy", in *Análisis político*, num. 31, Bogotá: Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales.

Pizarro, Eduardo (2000), *La atomización partidista en Colombia: el fenómeno de las microempresas electorales*, Bogotá: Fedesarrollo

Registraduría Nacional Del Estado Civil, *Cincuenta años: 1948-1998*, Bogotá.

Roll, David (2002), *Rojo difuso, azul pálido. Los partidos tradicionales en Colombia, entre el debilitamiento y la persistencia*, Bogotá: Universidad Nacional.

Rose, Richard (1964), "Factions and tendencies in Britain", in *Political Studies*, vol. XII.

Sartori, Giovanni (1980), *Partidos y sistemas de partidos*, Madrid: Alianza.

Schlesinger, Joseph (1994), *Political parties and the winning of office*, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press.

Von Beyme, Klaus (1986), *Los partidos políticos en las democracias occidentales*, Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas.

Wilde, Alexander (1982), *Conversaciones entre caballeros. La quiebra de la democracia en Colombia*, Bogotá: Tercer Mundo.

Javier Duque Daza; Politologist, holder of a Ph D in Political Science, FLACSO, Mexico. He is also a Professor-researcher of the Universidad del Valle. Researcher on grant of the Instituto Interuniversitario de Iberoamérica y Portugal, Universidad de Salamanca 2006-2007. His lines of research are: parties and party systems, elites and political class, electoral processes,

institutions and institutional change, and leadership in the contemporary political processes. His most recent publications are: *La teoría de la elección racional y el análisis del comportamiento electoral, génesis, desarrollos, alcances y limitaciones*, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, México (2003); “La circulación de la clase política en Colombia. El Congreso de la república durante el Frente Nacional”, in *Revista Sociedad y Economía*, num. 8, Universidad del Valle, Colombia (2005); “La institucionalización partidista. Una propuesta de abordaje de las estructuras organizativas partidistas”, in *Revista Estudios Políticos*, núm. 27, Universidad de Antioquia, Colombia (2006). Electronic mail address: jduqued86@hotmail.com

Sent to dictum: May 09th 2006.

Approval: June, 19th 2006.