

DEMOCRATIZATION AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN COLOMBIA

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- ELECCION POPULAR DE ALCALDES.* By Jaime Castro. (Bogotá: Oveja Negra, 1986. Pp. 139.)
- EL ESQUEMA GOBIERNO-OPOSICION.* By Fernando Cepeda Ulloa. (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional de Colombia, 1987. Pp. 204.)
- LA REGLAMENTACION DE LA ELECCION POPULAR DE ALCALDES.* By Fernando Cepeda Ulloa. (Bogotá: Ministerio de Gobierno, 1987. Pp. 189.)
- ENERGY POLITICS IN COLOMBIA.* By René de la Pedraja. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1989. Pp. 244. \$26.50 paper.)
- MERCADEO ELECTORAL: ELECCION DE ALCALDES.* By the Facultad de Estudios Interdisciplinarios, Programa de Estudios Políticos. (Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 1988. Pp. 194.)
- THE COAL OF EL CERREJON: DEPENDENT BARGAINING AND COLOMBIAN POLICY-MAKING.* By Harvey F. Kline. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988. Pp. 216. \$23.50.)
- DESARROLLO HISTORICO-POLITICO DE LA FRONTERA COLOMBO VENEZOLANA: TEORIA DE LA MITRA GUAJIRA Y PARTICIPACION DE LOS MONJES.* By Francisco Latorre Vargas. (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1988. Pp. 77.)
- DEMOCRACY IN COLOMBIA: CLIENTELIST POLITICS AND GUERRILLA WARFARE.* By Jorge Pablo Osterling. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1989. Pp. 353. \$39.95.)
- POLITICA EXTERIOR COLOMBIANA: ¿DE LA SUBORDINACION A LA AUTONOMIA?* By Rodrigo Pardo and Juan G. Tokatlian. (Bogotá: Tercer Mundo, 1988. Pp. 237.)
- LA OPOSICION EN COLOMBIA: ALGUNAS BASES PARA SU DISCUSION.* Compiled by Patricia Pinzón de Lewin. (Bogotá: Fundación Friedrich Ebert de Colombia, 1986. Pp. 159.)
- LOS NO ALINEADOS: UNA ESTRATEGIA POLITICA PARA LA PAZ EN LA ERA ATOMICA.* By Alfredo Vázquez Carrizosa. (Bogotá: Carlos Valencia Editores, 1986. Pp. 186.)

Latin America has become one of the major regional battlefields in the contemporary struggle for democracy. Following the prevalence of

authoritarian regimes in the 1970s, which included even such former democratic stalwarts as Chile and Uruguay, a pendular swing occurred in more recent years toward a retreat from authoritarianism and more open and responsive government.¹ Colombia, however, has been something of an anomaly in that its most recent military regime (one of its few in the twentieth century) held power barely four years before disappearing from the scene in 1957. What emerged was a formalistic version of democracy in which the constitutional rules of the game restricted popular participation and the interplay of competing forces and interests. This outcome was consistent with patterns of Colombian elitist control over the political process that go back to the founding of the republic.

In the 1970s, pressures favoring *apertura* slowly but inexorably mounted, reflecting a growing recognition that the two-party hegemony of the Conservatives and Liberals was insufficient for the needs and demands of a modernizing nation. Reformist momentum manifested itself in the administration of Belisario Betancur (1982–1986). Something of a maverick Conservative who had won office when the factionalized Liberals ran two rival candidates, Betancur was temperamentally attuned to opening up Colombian politics, both domestically and internationally.² Sensitive to the public desire for new initiatives favoring internal pacification and diminishing violence, he made conciliation and *apertura* the hallmarks of his policies.³ Although Betancur's attention was concentrated largely on establishing dialogue with guerrilla organizations while adopting increasingly stern measures against the drug industry, he also clung to the vision of systemic democratization. This view was manifested in his drafting and presenting plans for political and administrative decentralization, along with electoral reforms that would permit the direct election of mayors for the first time.⁴

Jaime Castro, who had been named government minister by Betancur in July 1984, became the point man for the administration in directing the drive for these and related reforms. As former justice minister for the previous Conservative government under Misael Pastrana Borrero (1970–1974) and subsequently an advisor and unofficial minister to the Liberal

1. For an important source, see *Democracy in the Americas: Stopping the Pendulum*, edited by Robert A. Pastor (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1989).

2. See the interview with Belisario Betancur in Paul H. Boeker, *Lost Illusions: Latin America's Struggle for Democracy as Recounted by Its Leaders* (New York: Markus Wiener, 1990), 219–27.

3. The literature includes the usual official publications presenting Betancur's views during his term in office. Among other sources, see José Manuel Arias Carrizosa, *Amnistía e indulto para la democracia* (Bogotá: n.p., 1986); see also Comisión de Estudios sobre la Violencia, *Colombia: violencia y democracia* (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1987).

4. The legislative proposals debated in 1980 and 1981 are found in Alvaro Tirado Mejía, *Descentralización y centralismo en Colombia* (Bogotá: Oveja Negra and Fundación Friedrich Naumann, 1983).

administration of Alfredo López Michelsen, Castro was a formidable proponent of democratization. In his *Elección popular de alcaldes*, Castro reproduces long and detailed responses to questioning by journalist Alfonso Castellanos. Castro stresses decentralization in many arenas—fiscal, administrative, and political. Concerning local elections, he argues that these contests require meaningful budgetary and fiscal reforms that would redirect tax funds from the central government to local and municipal authorities. Castro briefly cited important historical antecedents, beginning with the early nineteenth-century constitutions of Tunja and Antioquia and continuing through the 1886 charter and subsequent demands for revision. Contemporary Liberal and Conservative leaders are also cited as witnesses documenting Castro's belief that the time for action had arrived. *Elección popular de alcaldes* also provides useful documentation: the legislative act ordering mayoral elections, public opinion polls concerning such contests (with nearly 80 percent in favor), results of the congressional vote, and the actual text of Law 11 of 1986, the Estatuto de la Administración Municipal.⁵

Organized support for reforms progressed at a measured pace, carrying over to the Liberal government of Virgilio Barco Vargas.⁶ Among its most influential proponents was Fernando Cepeda Ulloa, a prominent political scientist who was named government minister for the new administration. He spoke in that capacity at the Universidad de Rosario on 20 March 1987 on the political impact of the popular election of mayors, which was presented as centerpiece of his *Reglamentación de la elección popular de alcaldes*. In praising local elections, Cepeda sounded every inch the academic in identifying four key concepts of democracy: stability, legitimacy, participation, and responsibility (which he termed "accountability" according to U.S. usage). In concise language, he linked these concepts to the putative merits of mayoral elections, which he viewed as "inescapable" for Barco's broad strategy of decentralizing or deconcentrating power.

Cepeda anticipated several possible consequences: a strengthening of party ties with the local citizenry; a weakening of traditional biparty hegemony; a redefinition of regional leaders' roles; a shifting and redistribution of electoral support; and a dramatic increase in the cost of political campaigns. Unlike Jaime Castro's public declarations, Cepeda's speech candidly pointed out the potential dangers of reforms. Speaking more

5. Additional sources include *Reformas políticas: apertura democrática*, edited by Jaime Castro, edition prepared for Cristina de la Torre (Bogotá: Oveja Negra, 1985). An extended treatment of *apertura* can be found in Ricardo Santamaría S. and Gabriel Silva Luna, *Proceso político en Colombia: del Frente Nacional a la apertura democrática* (Bogotá: Editorial CERAC, 1984).

6. For a compilation of his views published shortly before the 1986 elections, see Virgilio Barco Vargas, *Hacia una Colombia nueva* (Bogotá: Oveja Negra, 1986).

directly of vested interests and prevailing party controls of the system, he also observed that there would be unexpected twists and turns in the road ahead. Yet such a course was cause for hope and expectation rather than dismay. *Reglamentación* also reproduces the relevant legislative drafts of the respective proposals of the government, Conservatives, and Nuevo Liberalismo before presenting the text of Law 78 of 1986, which set forth the provisions and dispositions for local elections. City councillors as well as mayors were included, with eligibility, qualifications, and functions all spelled out. Terms were set at two years, to start in June following the elections.

The historic occasion took place in March 1988, following a violence-ridden campaign marked by relentless intimidation of the recently legalized leftist party, the Unión Patriótica (UP). No fewer than twenty of its eighty-seven mayoral candidates and more than a hundred other party aspirants to municipal offices were killed during the six months preceding elections. Some 55 percent of the eleven million eligible voters selected a total of a thousand mayors and some ten thousand municipal representatives on election day. The UP won 14 mayoral races. Following the usual pattern, the Liberals won with almost three million votes and 427 mayoralties, while the recently rechristened Social Conservatives polled more than two million votes to capture 416 offices. All these results merely emphasized the fact that despite the unprecedented nature of local elections, systemic democratization and a rise in popular participation would not develop overnight. President Barco's commitment to *apertura* remained strong nonetheless. Its articulation and political expression also fell to the government minister and are incorporated in Cepeda's 1986 speeches to the congress. Given the Liberal-Conservative maneuvering at the time of Barco's inauguration and the formation of his government, special attention was devoted to the topic, as suggested by the title of the volume, *El esquema gobierno-oposición*.

Under the existing provisions of Article 120 of the 1968 constitutional reforms, newly elected presidents were required to offer "adequate and equitable" representation to the largest party other than their own. This requirement was honored until the Liberals' Barco was forming his government in 1986. At that juncture, a combination of political miscalculations and flawed communications between Barco and former Conservative president Misael Pastrana Borrero led to a temporary breakdown of the arrangement, with government and Conservative leaders blaming one another. The result was the introduction of a new situation and political context for both the winning and losing parties in elections. *El esquema gobierno-oposición* set forth the justification and interpretation of the winning party in a series of speeches and presentations to Congress by Minister Cepeda. Taking texts from the *Anales del Congreso* and official recordings, these addresses reflected on the nature of government-opposition

relations but also touched on other concerns of the moment, such as the earlier attack on the Palacio de Justicia by guerrilla group M-19 and, once again, the popular election of mayors.

The very issue of biparty hegemony, the sharing of political power, as well as government-opposition collaboration as envisioned in Article 120 became a source of partisan and independent debate. The Centro de Estudios Internacionales at the Universidad de los Andes and the Fundación Friedrich Ebert de Colombia cosponsored a conference to examine the role of political opposition in an evolving democracy. Their concern was further manifested by publication of *La oposición en Colombia*, compiled by Patricia Pinzón de Lewin. This collection brought together a half-dozen newspaper and magazine articles on the subject by Mario Latorre Rueda and Fernando Cepeda Ulloa, accompanied by the text of appropriate documents. The articles contain sharp commentaries by two of the leading political analysts of the day, while the documents provide a convenient source of illustrative materials, running from the August 1934 letter of incoming President Alfonso López Pumarejo offering collaboration to the Conservative party directorate through Conservative responses in May 1986 to statements by President-elect Virgilio Barco. Other texts relating to collaboration between the government and the opposition include Mariano Ospina Pérez's 1946 call for a "National Union," debate over the possible abrogation of Article 120 in 1981 during the presidency of Julio César Turbay Ayala, and discussions of various forms of Liberal collaboration with Betancur when his term was beginning.

With the government-opposition relationship redefining itself in the wake of the rift between President Barco and the Conservative party leadership, the Barco administration found its reformist efforts frustrated at every turn. Without meaningful collaboration by the opposition, its proposals were often derailed with the explicit approval of undisciplined and fractious Liberal congressional representatives. Although the mayoral elections took place on schedule, Barco's more far-reaching plans for structural reforms were diluted and then ultimately rebuffed. Greater popular participation had been envisioned, stimulated by such measures as the right to convene national referenda without prior congressional consent, along with popular elections for state governments. Article 120 was to be removed, and Barco claimed that national institutions would be fundamentally strengthened "through increased competition, participation, and acceptance of the political system."⁷

The president sent his program for apertura to Congress in August 1988. But within three months, the notion of popular gubernatorial elections was discarded, as was that of national referenda. Other proposals

7. Barco is quoted in Boeker, *Lost Illusions*, 198.

were distorted or rejected when old-line party chiefs blocked measures generally perceived as imperiling traditional hegemonic controls. Barco eventually withdrew his program and endorsed the notion of a constitutional assembly as the mechanism for producing reforms. Meanwhile, party leaders pursued traditional electoral goals in their accustomed fashion, merely seeking new and modern methods of capturing the vote. A thorough, perhaps definitive scholarly examination of campaign tactics and techniques in Colombia appeared in *Mercadeo electoral: elección de alcaldes*, the collective work of leading authorities on essential aspects of the subject.

The prospect of Colombia's first mayoral contests had moved the political studies program at the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana to organize a meeting of experts on campaigns and elections. Publication of the resulting papers under the title *Mercadeo electoral* revealed an impressive array of talent and expertise, which included faculty members of the political studies program as well as practitioners. Some of the material in this volume is relatively technical, dealing with the organization and operation of modern electoral campaigns. New electoral techniques are proposed, along with a discussion of mechanisms designed to enhance the quality of electoral democracy. A theoretical discussion of electoral behavior by Rodrigo Losada Lora is complemented by essays on the electoral market by Humberto Uribe Toro, image-building by Carlos Lemoine, voter contact and persuasion by Carlos Holguín Sardi, campaign organization by Carlos Julio Gaitán, programs and proposals by Sergio Martínez Londoño, and election-day strategies by Carlos Augusto Noriega.

Specific attention to the mayoral competition is notable in Noriega's essay, although he and the other contributors also range widely. Of particular interest is the thoughtful piece by Pierre Gilhodes, which links the election of mayors to decentralization and clientelism. Beginning with a theoretical overview of clientelism as derived from the study of rural communities by political anthropologists, he extends his analysis to the urban citizenry and structure as well as to more traditional municipalities. In light of the fact that the theme of clientelism has run through journalistic and academic analyses of Colombian politics for years,⁸ Gilhodes offers useful insights in linking clientelism to local elections at a time of major demographic shifts and socioeconomic modernization. His assessment of clientelism as a phenomenon of contemporary political life is also less negative than those of many other commentators.

The introduction to *Mercadeo electoral* by the director of the political studies department and organizer of the collection, Padre Javier Sanín, contends that the negative connotations often projected by the concept

8. Among the most recent is the superb study by Francisco Leal and Andrés Dávila, *Clientelismo: el sistema político y su expresión regional* (Bogotá: Tercer Mundo, 1990).

should not conceal the importance of such activities for democratic processes. Sanín's more positive outlook is shared at least implicitly by the contributors, who accept the reality of modern campaign techniques and the relevance of elections for democracy. Without engaging here in a definitional or conceptual discussion of democracy,⁹ it is sufficient to recognize the outstanding discussions of campaigns contained in *Mercadeo electoral*. There is little in the literature to rival it. Subsequent electoral contests in Colombia have shown that practitioners—whether or not they are enthusiastic about mass political participation—are increasingly sophisticated in their quest for votes and popular support. This trend can be expected to hold even after the 1991 Constituent Assembly adopted measures that could open the path to significant alterations of the institutional system. Apertura and ultimate democratization seem the order of the day as Colombia moves through the final decade of the twentieth century. And while this movement has been preeminently domestic in character, a change in attitudes toward the world at large has also taken place.

In this regard as well, crucial initiatives were set in motion by the Betancur administration. They were couched in the context of a quest for greater independence on the international scene. Colombia was an influential member of the original Contadora group, which pledged itself to promoting peace and security in Central America while loosening dependency ties to the United States and evolving its own foreign-policy agenda and priorities. This orientation is exemplified in *Los no-alineados: una estrategia política para la paz in la era atómica*. Written by Alfredo Vázquez Carrizosa, a prominent Conservative who served as foreign minister in the early 1970s for the Pastrana government, this work presents opinions shaped by the two world wars, the East-West conflict, armaments, and the atomic age. Vázquez Carrizosa discusses the nonaligned movement at some length, moving from its origins under such figures as Jawaharlal Nehru and Marshal Tito through its organizational development. Attracted by the tenets of the New International Economic Order, Vázquez Carrizosa writes of the transcendental importance for Colombia of entering into the nonaligned grouping. He devotes only limited attention to specific foreign-policy problems, which receive much greater attention and analysis in the next book under review.

Rodrigo Pardo's and Juan Tokatlian's *Política exterior colombiana* is a pioneering work that pulls together dispersed bibliography on Colombian foreign policy while placing its interpretations within a global con-

9. For statements of my own views, see Martz, "Diplomacy and the Imposition of Values: Definitions and Diplomacy," in *Latin America, the United States, and the Inter-American System*, edited by John D. Martz and Lars Schoultz (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1980), 145-73; and Martz, "Images, Intervention, and the Cause of Democracy," in *United States Policy in Latin America: A Quarter Century of Crisis and Challenge, 1961-1986*, edited by John D. Martz (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 307-31.

text. A lengthy introductory chapter draws on the realist school in examining the rich theoretical complexity of interdependence and international relationships. The writings of Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye are especially critical to the analysis, although they are not accepted unquestioningly by the authors. All this introductory material sets the stage for a chapter on the theory and practice of international relations as mirrored by the Colombian experience. A superb critical bibliographic review of the literature is followed by a capsule historical survey of twentieth-century international relations. The next two chapters focus on the interrelationships of foreign relations and internal politics and then on Colombia and the Central American crisis. In each case, a chronological approach produces summaries of the work of individual administrations dating back to that of Alfonso López Michelsen (1974–1978). The final chapter provides an overview of the Barco government's foreign policy that focuses on Latin America, the United States, the Pacific Basin, and Colombian relations with Venezuela.

Pardo and Tokatlian's analytic synthesis of Colombian foreign policy, informed by important disciplinary writings, is assuredly required reading. Notwithstanding the work's broad scope, considerable attention is devoted to a number of crucial policy issues, perhaps none more contentious than the ongoing border dispute with Venezuela. Literature on that topic is already unwieldy but continues to grow. Among the more recent works is Francisco Latorre Vargas's *Desarrollo histórico-político de la frontera colombo venezolana: teoría de al mitra guajira y participación de los monjes*. He presented this study to win membership in the Sociedad Bolivariana de Colombia. The work of a young diplomat and internationalist, it provides historical background on old treaties and understandings while championing a system of joint commissions as a mechanism to achieve fruitful conciliation. Detailed maps are also bound into the volume, allowing the reader to trace with greater precision some of the unfamiliar geographic details that come into play. At the same time, one can consult more ambitious and far-reaching works on the subject, such as Alfredo Vázquez Carrizosa's earlier *La historia atormentada de dos naciones*.¹⁰

Notwithstanding the intensity of occasional incidents with the Venezuelans, Colombian foreign policy in recent years has more often been linked to regional or U.S.-related questions. In a sense, this tendency has suggested the ongoing preoccupation with Colombia's relative degree of independence and dependence. From an economic perspective,

10. Alfredo Vázquez Carrizosa, *Las relaciones de Colombia y Venezuela: la historia atormentada de dos naciones* (Bogotá: Tercer Mundo, 1983). For further discussion of the Colombian-Venezuelan boundary dispute (accompanied by pertinent citations), see two articles in the Winter 1988–89 issue of *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs*: John D. Martz, "National Security and Politics: The Colombian-Venezuelan Border," 117–39; and Larry N. George, "Realism and Internationalism in the Gulf of Venezuela," 139–71.

this concern has centered mainly on those natural resources that are crucial to development but also attract the attention and participation of international interests. Prime examples are coal and other energy-related industries.

Harvey Kline's *The Coal of El Cerrejón: Dependent Bargaining and Colombian Policy-Making* engages in a subtle and sophisticated analysis of the coal industry that stands out as a model of social science research and scholarship. Two events proved to be critical to Colombia's El Cerrejón coal industry: first, the government's agreement in September 1980 with INTERCOM (an Exxon subsidiary) to develop the Cerrejón deposits; and second, the 1981 awarding of development rights in the region to a Spanish-Colombian consortium. Kline probes the forces and actors involved in structuring and signing the two contracts, along with the process of bargaining between CARBOCOL, Colombia's national coal corporation, and the transnational enterprises. Kline outlines a continuum running from the nationalist stance at one extreme to the reactionary at the other. The first ideal type would favor the development of coal without foreign involvement, while the second would accept virtually any form proposed by the transnationals. The policymakers lining up between the two extremes are those who actually engage in bargaining, the so-called dependent bargainers. It is their task to accept a state of dependency and consequent participation of transnational enterprises in energy contracts as givens while seeking the best deal available for their country.

Kline takes commendable pains to set forth his efforts at maintaining professional neutrality while studying controversial and complex policy decisions. His exhaustive interviewing and related search for documentary evidence is properly spelled out in a brief but highly useful appendix on his research methods. Would that all scholars were so candid and precise. This detailed explanation augments the persuasiveness of Kline's narrative, which largely follows a chronological course in stressing the processes developed under the López and Turbay administrations. It also validates his conclusions, which correctly insist on the multifaceted character of dependency. The inferiority complex of Colombian officials in dealing with transnational enterprises ("no somos capaces") is shown to be an influential factor, as is the relative lack of financial resources for such large-scale projects. In the final analysis, Kline repeats as an overriding theme his contention that within the real constraints of the international political economy, coal development rested in the hands of Colombian decision makers.

A useful complement to *The Coal of El Cerrejón* is René de la Pedraja's *Energy Politics in Colombia*, which seeks to explain Colombia's developmental shortcomings despite the availability of natural resources. This objective led the author to survey some sixty years of policy regarding petroleum and electricity and to include a brief chapter on coal. Con-

vinced that the supply of energy provides the key to growth and progress, Pedraja proceeds on the assumption that actual government policy in this field is decisive. Moreover, a long succession of administrations, honoring the interests of the Colombian elite, have deliberately adopted energy policies designed to retard economic growth. This approach has effectively squelched the emergence of a vigorous middle class that might have challenged the control of a traditionalistic oligarchy.

In contrast with Kline's study, Pedraja's case study scarcely fits his theoretical framework, which is unduly broad and imprecise. For much of the analysis, the framework is scarcely in evidence at all. The discussion of electricity suggests that rival elites and factions contended with one another in shaping and implementing policy. Regarding oil, it would also seem that varied forces were at work. Pedraja consequently suggests for petroleum a mixture of attitudes and preferences on the part of rival politicians and decision makers that resembles Kline's discussion of coal, in which a variety of positions range across the spectrum between the polar extremes of nationalists and reactionaries. This observation is not meant to suggest that *Energy Politics in Colombia* does not provide useful narratives of Colombian energy policy for electricity and petroleum since the 1920s. Certainly, these accounts offer details that are informative, and the accompanying analyses deserve attention. But where Pedraja's study seeks broad generalization and overarching theory, it is much less satisfying.

Kline and Pedraja are analyzing aspects of national development policy that are critical to political reforms and democratization. Both are concerned also about linkages to Colombian elitist leadership, although on this topic, Kline has more to say. In the nation's contemporary drive toward democratizing the system, these relationships can scarcely be ignored. They can be expected to undergo change of undetermined proportions as mayoral elections, constitutional reform, and the broadening of popular participation unfold on the political scene. Only certain aspects of the panorama are touched upon in the works reviewed here. It remains the task of Colombians and Colombianists to chart the rapidity with which events are now unfolding in the nation.

For now, this review essay will end by analyzing the one general work of summary and synthesis. Jorge Pablo Osterling's *Democracy in Colombia: Clientelist Politics and Guerrilla Warfare* is the product of a U.S.-trained Peruvian with extensive experience in Colombia. It sets forth Colombia's historico-political evolution at considerable length, dealing in rather legalistic fashion with government institutions, social structures, political parties, and interest groups. Osterling is little concerned with theory and engages primarily in description. His approach is atheoretical and offers few generalizations, consistent with his prefatory remark that his task was "to present a current, comprehensive study of contemporary Colombian politics and society" (p. xi). More analysis would have been

welcome. Except for novices to Colombian affairs, *Democracy in Colombia* offers few surprises or novel insights. A much more satisfactory work of this type is Jonathan Hartlyn's splendid *The Politics of Coalition Rule in Colombia*.¹¹

Present-day events in Colombia are heady indeed—from institutional reforms of unpredicted magnitude, to the legal participation of former guerrilla organizations and leaders, to the surrender of notorious *narcotraficantes*. All of this and more is taking place and accelerating in bedazzling fashion. For national and foreign observers alike, it is difficult to keep up with daily affairs, let alone provide meaningful analytic frameworks. Although the pace of Colombian *apertura* hints that democratization is truly at hand, a host of less positive elements remain, among them guerrilla activism, continuing drug trafficking, political corruption, and seemingly endemic violence. All these facets are occurring within the traditionalistic framework of clientelism and, in the final instance, within the legacy of elitist rule and limited democracy that has been recorded over the generations. The works reviewed here are far more successful at highlighting questions and issues than at offering answers, but they nonetheless bring a variety of insights to the complexity of problems and policies interwoven in the tapestry of Colombian reality.

11. Jonathan Hartlyn, *The Politics of Coalition Rule in Colombia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Having reviewed the book in another journal, I have excluded it from this essay.