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 AMEMBASSY CARACAS
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 NSC FOR RICHARD FEINBERG
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 DEA WASHDC FOR OF, OFL, DO, AO, AX, OK, NK

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
 TAGS: SNAR, PGOV, PHUM, PINS, CO
 SUBJECT: WHO'S BEHIND ERNESTO SAMPER?

REFS: A) BOGOTA 2870, B) BOGOTA 8644

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Marvin
Russell, Senior Reviewer

2. SUMMARY: ERNESTO SAMPER, THE CURRENT FRONT-RUNNER IN THE 1994 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN, HAS BEGUN TO ASSEMBLE HIS CAMPAIGN STAFF. THE GROUP, FOR THE MOST PART, REPRESENTS SERIOUS, CAPABLE, AND HONEST LIBERAL PARTY STALWARTS. OUR LIST OF SAMPER SUPPORTERS HAS SEVERAL UNSAVORY CHARACTERS AND ONE NARCO, BUT SAMPER HAS NOT INVITED THESE TO ACTUALLY JOIN HIS STAFF. END SUMMARY.

3. SO FAR ERNESTO SAMPER, THE LIBERAL PARTY MAGNATE MAKING A SECOND BID FOR THE PRESIDENCY, IS THE MOST LIKELY OF ALL THE CANDIDATES TO BE COLOMBIA'S NEXT PRESIDENT. A CAREFUL ASSESSMENT OF WHAT WE MIGHT EXPECT FROM A SAMPER ADMINISTRATION SHOULD INCLUDE A REVIEW OF THE MOST PROMINENT CAMPAIGN ADVISORS, PEOPLE WHO ARE MOST LIKELY TO OCCUPY KEY POSITIONS IN A SAMPER ADMINISTRATION.

4. THOUGH SAMPER DOES NOT PLAN TO OFFICIALLY UNVEIL HIS CAMPAIGN TEAM UNTIL AUGUST, THE MOST IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF HIS TEAM HAVE BEEN WORKING ON THE CAMPAIGN FOR SEVERAL

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MONTHS. OTHERS ARE MENTIONED BELOW BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN ASSIGNED SPECIFIC DUTIES IN SAMPER'S CAMPAIGN; OTHERS APPEAR BECAUSE THEIR POLITICAL CLOUT AND PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR SAMPER BEAR MENTIONING.

CAMPAIGN MANAGER: HORACIO SERPA URIBE

5. SERPA MANAGED SAMPER'S FIRST RUN AT THE PRESIDENCY IN 1989-90. A PROFESSIONAL POLITICIAN SINCE 1974, SERPA REPLACED ASSASSINATED (BY NARCOS) PROCURADOR CARLOS MAURO HOYOS IN 1988, THEN BECAME PRESIDENT BARCO'S GOVERNMENT MINISTER IN MARCH 1990. SERPA IS A LEFT-OF-CENTER JURIST WHO AVOIDED COMMENT ABOUT EXTRADITION AND NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING UNTIL JOINING BARCO'S ADMINISTRATION, AT WHICH POINT HE TOOK A TOUGH STAND AGAINST THE DRUG CARTELS. WHILE EXPRESSING CONCEPTUAL OPPOSITION TO THE EXTRADITION OF COLOMBIANS, AT THE TIME HE STRONGLY SUPPORTED EXTRADITION OF DRUG TRAFFICKERS AS A NECESSARY EVIL, AND REJECTED ANY KIND OF DIALOGUE OR ACCOMMODATION WITH DRUG TRAFFICKERS. AS A MEMBER OF THE 1991 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY SERPA REVERTED TO SUPPORTING THE CONSTITUTIONAL BAN ON EXTRADITION, BUT OPPOSED A PROPOSED PARDON FOR NARCO TRAFFICKERS.

6. SERPA IS A HIGHLY RESPECTED POLITICIAN AND WIDELY EXPECTED TO BE A CONTENDER FOR THE 1996 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. HE IS EARNEST BUT CAUTIOUS, AND WILL PROBABLY NOT ACT AS SAMPER'S MORAL CONSCIENCE, BUT INSTEAD PROVIDE THE POLITICAL MANEUVERING SKILLS TO ENSURE A SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN.

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FINANCIAL ADVISOR: MONICA DE GREIFF

7. THE DAUGHTER OF CURRENT PROSECUTOR GENERAL GUSTAVO DE GREIFF, MONICA DE GREIFF ACHIEVED BRIEF FAME IN LATE 1989 AS PRESIDENT BARCO'S HIGHLY VISIBLE AND HIGHLY THREATENED JUSTICE MINISTER. FOLLOWING BARCO'S DIRECT CONFRONTATION

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FM AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9917

DEA WASHDC//OIO LINEAR//
DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LIMA
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SUBJECT: WHO'S BEHIND ERNESTO SAMPER?

WITH THE NARCOS BEGINNING AUGUST 1989, DE GREIFF MADE A
HIGHLY PUBLICIZED VISIT TO THE US, MAKING A PERSONAL
APPEAL TO THE US CONGRESS FOR MORE ANTI-NARCOTICS AID.

8. BARCO APPOINTED HER AS VICE MINISTER OF JUSTICE IN
MARCH OF THAT YEAR IN HOPES THE ADMINISTRATIVE SKILL SHE
DEMONSTRATED AS SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE MINES AND ENERGY
MINISTRY WOULD BE PUT TO EQUALLY GOOD USE AT THE HIGHLY
DISORGANIZED JUSTICE MINISTRY. AS VICE MINISTER SHE
CONFIDED TO EMBASSY CONTACTS HER ADMIRATION FOR THE US AND
CONTEMPT FOR THE NARCOS, AND IN MAY OF LAST YEAR TRAVELED
UNDER A NAS-SPONSORED SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT IN PAKISTAN ON
THE NEED FOR TOUGH ACTION AGAINST NARCO TRAFFICKERS.

9. DE GREIFF'S STINT AS BARCO'S JUSTICE MINISTER WAS
BRIEF--SHE RESIGNED IN SEPTEMBER 1989 BECAUSE OF
DISAGREEMENTS WITH BARCO OVER JUSTICE MINISTRY POLICY AND

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WE HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE SHE HAS REVERSED HER
OFT-EXPRESSED CONTEMPT FOR NARCO TRAFFICKERS. DE GREIFF
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WILL PROVIDE SAMPER WITH EXCELLENT ADMINISTRATIVE SKILLS,
AS WELL AS "COMBAT EXPERIENCE" IN DEALING WITH THE NARCO
PROBLEM.

CESAR VILLEGAS

10. THOUGH NOT A PROFESSIONAL POLITICIAN, VILLEGAS IS THE
QUINTESSENTIAL WHEELER-DEALER, AND A VERY CLOSE FRIEND OF
SAMPER'S. A BUSINESSMAN, VILLEGAS'S PAST INCLUDES A STINT
AS DIRECTOR OF COLOMBIA'S CIVIL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION,
AN ORGANIZATION RIDDLED WITH NARCO-INFLUENCED CORRUPTION.
VILLEGAS IS NOT HIGHLY REGARDED, HOWEVER THERE IS NO
SERIOUS EVIDENCE LINKING HIM TO NARCOTICS TRAFFICKERS.
VILLEGAS'S ROLE IN SAMPER'S CAMPAIGN HAS NOT BEEN FULLY
CONFIRMED. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT SAMPER MAY DECIDE TO
DISTANCE HIMSELF FROM VILLEGAS BECAUSE OF HIS POOR
REPUTATION.

FORMER PRESIDENT JULIO CESAR TURBAY

11. AS SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PARTY, TURBAY WILL
PUBLICLY MAINTAIN STRICT NEUTRALITY. HOWEVER, SAMPER IS
KNOWN TO HAVE BEEN TURBAY'S PROTEGE, AND WILL NO DOUBT
BENEFIT, IF NOTHING ELSE, FROM TURBAY'S DISCREETLY-GIVEN
ADVICE. FOLLOWING THE ELECTIONS, TURBAY WILL MOST LIKELY
RETIRE (AGAIN) FROM ACTIVE POLITICS, PERHAPS ACCEPTING
(PREFERABLY FROM A SAMPER ADMINISTRATION) ANOTHER POSH
AMBASSADORSHIP, SUCH AS THE ONE TO ROME FROM WHICH HE
RETURNED TO LEAD THE LIBERALS IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

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12. SO FAR THE ONLY MEDELLIN POLITICIAN TO DECLARE
WHOLE-HEARTEDLY FOR SAMPER, SENATOR URIBE HAS PROVED AN

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FM AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
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INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM
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ENIGMA TO THE EMBASSY--HIS FAMILY TIES TO NARCOS (HE IS
COUSIN TO THE OCHOAS) PLUS RUMORS FROM CREDIBLE CONTACTS
TAINT HIM, BUT PAST DECLARATIONS AGAINST THE TRAFFICKERS
AND VEHEMENT PROTESTATIONS TO THE EMBASSY (REF A) SAY
OTHERWISE. URIBE WILL BE SAMPER'S POINT MAN IN MEDELLIN,
A KEY DISTRICT FOR ANYONE WHO WANTS TO BE PRESIDENT OF
COLOMBIA.

SENATOR ALBERTO MONTOYA PUYANA

13. THE RELATIVELY-UNKNOWN MONTOYA IS BEST KNOWN FOR
SHOCKING THE LIBERAL PARTY ESTABLISHMENT BY OBTAINING MORE
VOTES THAN ANY OTHER LIBERAL CANDIDATE IN THE 1992
CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS. HIGHLY REGARDED FOR HIS
EXCELLENT WORK AS MAYOR OF BUCARAMANGA, MONTOYA HAS JUST
RETURNED FROM A USIS-SPONSORED TOUR OF THE UNITED STATES.
NOT A SAMPER INSIDER, MONTOYA COULD NEVERTHELESS ENHANCE
HIS STANDING BY DELIVERING A SIGNIFICANT CHUNK OF VOTES.

SENATOR FERNANDO BOTERO ZEA

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14. HARVARD EDUCATED, FLUENT IN ENGLISH, BOTERO IS VERY
CLOSE TO SAMPER. THE QUINTESSENCIAL POLITICIAN OF THE
NINETIES, BOTERO IS YOUNG, ENERGETIC, FORWARD-THINKING,
AND ANXIOUS TO DO AWAY WITH PATRONAGE POLITICS. HE WILL

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. M-2013-01203 Doc No. C17423204 Date: 10/05/2017
SHARE RESPONSIBILITY WITH RODRIGO PARDO (SEE BELOW) FOR
MANAGING CAMPAIGN MEDIA AND PUBLIC RELATIONS, AND WILL
HOLD A KEY POSITION, POSSIBLY A MINISTRY, IN A SAMPER
ADMINISTRATION. BOTERO IS A LONG TIME FRIEND OF THE
EMBASSY, A REFORMIST WHO PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN THE OUSTER
OF NARCO SENATOR SAMUEL ALBERTO ESCRUCERIA IN 1992.
ACUTELY AWARE OF HOW NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING HAMPERS
COLOMBIA'S DEVELOPMENT AND RUINS ITS IMAGE OVERSEAS, IT IS
DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE BOTERO KNOWINGLY PARTICIPATING IN A
CAMPAIGN FINANCED BY DIRTY MONEY.

RODRIGO PARDO

15. RECENTLY RETURNED FROM HIS CARACAS AMBASSADORSHIP,
PARDO IS RUMORED TO HAVE BEEN DESIGNATED TO LEAD SAMPER'S
PUBLIC/MEDIA RELATIONS. A GRADUATE OF JOHN'S HOPKINS
SCHOOL FOR ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, PARDO WILL ALSO
BE SAMPER'S ADVISOR ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND THE MOST
LIKELY FOREIGN MINISTER IN A SAMPER ADMINISTRATION. A
CONCEPTUAL THINKER, PARDO, THOUGH PERHAPS MORE THIRD-WORLD
ORIENTED THAN THE CURRENT FOREIGN MINISTER, IS
NEVERTHELESS A FRIEND OF THE US WHO DETESTS THE
EMBARRASSMENT NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING AND TERRORISM BRINGS
UPON COLOMBIANS OVERSEAS.

SENATOR FUAD CHAR

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16. CHAR IS NOT A PARTICULARLY CLOSE CONFIDANT OF
SAMPER'S BUT IS A PUBLIC SUPPORTER OF HIS CAMPAIGN AND A
VERY PROMINENT NORTH COAST POLITICIAN. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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 INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM
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[REDACTED] HIS INFLUENCE IN A SAMPER ADMINISTRATION WILL DEPEND GREATLY ON THE BATTLE FOR THE LIBERAL PRIMARY VOTE IN THE NORTH COAST, NOW MORE-OR-LESS EVENLY DISTRIBUTED AMONG SAMPER AND THE TWO MOST PROMINENT NORTH COAST CANDIDATES, DAVID TURBAY AND ENRIQUE PAREJO. FORMER DAS CHIEF MIGUEL MAZA'S ENTRY INTO THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN (MAZA IS FROM SANTA MARTA) COULD SPLIT THE NORTH COAST VOTE EVEN FURTHER. SHOULD CHAR DELIVER THE NORTH COAST TO SAMPER, HE MAY BE IN A POSITION TO DEMAND A GREATER VOICE IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION THAN HIS INFLUENCE OTHERWISE DICTATES.

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SENATOR JOSE BLACKBURN

17. BLACKBURN, AN EX-PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE, HAS SERVED IN THAT BODY FOR TWELVE YEARS. HE INTENDS TO JOIN THE SAMPER CAMPAIGN AS ASSISTANT CAMPAIGN MANAGER. A CAPABLE POLITICIAN, BLACKBURN HAS MADE HIS FORTUNE IN THE CONSTRUCTION BUSINESS. HE HAS BEEN AN OUTSPOKEN CRITIC OF CORRUPTION IN THE SENATE, BUT HAS HIMSELF BEEN ACCUSED OF SOME SHADY DEALS. HE HAS HIGH POLITICAL AMBITIONS AND WILL EXPECT A TOP GOVERNMENTAL POST IF SAMPER WINS.

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BLACKBURN, HOWEVER, "HAS TOLD US THAT HE INTENDS TO LAUNCH A BUSINESS DEAL WITH SENATOR CHAR, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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CARLOS "HOLMES" TRUJULLO

18. HOLMES WILL ALSO WORK ON SAMPER'S CAMPAIGN. HE HAS SERVED AS MINISTER OF EDUCATION (1992), CONSUL IN TOKYO, AND MAYOR OF CALI. HE IS A STRONG LIBERAL AND SERVED AT ONE TIME AS SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PARTY.

GUILLERMO EDUARDO PERRY

19. A FORMER MINISTER OF MINES AND ENERGY, PERRY, WITH A PH.D. FROM MIT AND GRADUATE WORK AT HARVARD, WILL UNDOUBTEDLY PLAY A STRONG ROLE IN THE FORMULATION OF SAMPER'S ECONOMIC STRATEGY. HIS EXPERTISE WILL BE PARTICULARLY USEFUL IN DEALING WITH POLICY REGARDING

UNCLASSIFIED U.S. Department of State Case No. M-2013-01203 Doc No. C17423204 Date: 10/05/2017
EXPLOITATION OF THE LUCRATIVE CUISANA OIL FIELD WHICH
PROMISES TO BE AN IMPORTANT CAMPAIGN ISSUE. PERRY IS
KNOWN FOR HIS HONESTY. HE RECEIVED A USIS INTERNATIONAL
VISITORS GRANT IN 1986.

20. COMMENT: THOUGH NOT ALL-INCLUSIVE, THE ABOVE
COMPRISES THE MOST PROMINENT BACKERS OF ERNESTO SAMPER'S
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN. THE VARIETY OF ALLEGATIONS AND
INNUENDO AGAINST SOME, THOUGH DISCOMFORTING, ARE PROBABLY
NO MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PREVIOUS SUCCESSFUL
COLOMBIAN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN STAFFS AND SUPPORTERS, AND
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CERTAINLY DO NOT PRESAGE A DRASTIC REVERSAL OF COUNTER
NARCOTICS POLICY IN A SAMPER ADMINISTRATION. END COMMENT.
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