

Historical and literary manifestations of the government of Virgilio Barco (1986-1990) in *Noticia de un secuestro*.

Plasmaciones histórica y literaria del Gobierno de Virgilio Barco (1986-1990) en *Noticia de un secuestro*.



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Abstract.

This paper seeks to analyze the historical reconstruction of the period of Virgilio Barco's government, based on the configuration made by Gabriel García Márquez in his literary report *Noticia de un secuestro* (1996). For this purpose, Mieke Bal's theoretical conception will be taken into account, which consists in applying the notion of internal and external retrospections. This resource makes it possible to differentiate which ideas are proper to the fictional material found in the story itself, as well as which are those that are alien to it, but which allow a global understanding of the alluded context.

Key words: Virgilio Barco. History of Colombia. Textual analysis. *News of a kidnapping*.

Resumen.

En este trabajo, se busca analizar la reconstrucción histórica sobre el periodo de Gobierno de Virgilio Barco, a partir de la configuración realizada por Gabriel García Márquez en su reportaje literario *Noticia de un secuestro* (1996). Para ello, se tomará en cuenta la concepción teórica de Mieke Bal, que consiste en aplicar la noción de retrospecciones interna y externa. Este recurso hace posible que se diferencie qué ideas son propias del material ficcional que se encuentran en la misma historia, así

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como cuáles son aquellas que son ajenas a este, pero que permite una comprensión global de ese contexto aludido.

Palabras clave: Virgilio Barco. Historia de Colombia. Análisis textual. *Noticia de un secuestro*.

Introduction

In this article, some historical theories will be specified that will allow a pertinent analysis of the period of Virgilio Barco's government (1986-1990), which is shown in Gabriel García Márquez's literary work *Noticia de un secuestro* (1996). For this purpose, the contributions of Erich Auerbach (1996), Paul Ricoeur (1995), Gérard Genette (1998), Alain Badiou (2003), among others, are being considered. In particular, we have taken into account the conception of internal and external retrospections that Mieke Bal (1990) works on in order to differentiate which elements are identifiable in the text and which serve to complement the idea being worked on in the text.

Development

To begin with, it is necessary to explain the purpose of this section. This will consist of taking into account the historical configuration that includes the period of Virgilio Barco's presidential mandate between 1986 and 1990. The procedure for gathering this information will be based on the organization of plural facts characterized by the veracity of his discourse (Badiou, 2003). On the other hand, it is necessary to clarify that the orientation given to this historical rescue is to seek the permanence of culture in society (Jameson, 2007). Once the required documentation has been obtained under these patterns, it will be possible to recognize that there were some circumstances that hindered the normal and progressive development of Colombia.

These inconveniences would impede the construction of the nation state in the country. And this can be ascertained in the areas in which interrelations and social practices have fluctuated, in which many of the armistices that were established between

narcoterrorists and government authorities turned out to be unsuccessful. All this historical account will be demonstrated through the articulation of Mieke Bal's theories (1990), which are called internal retrospections. These categories will be necessary to refer to the historical data contained in the work. In this case, I have seen fit to resort only to the events that comprise the period of Virgilio Barco's government and that are confronted in *Noticia de un secuestro*.

These would consist of the events that record the assassinations of Alberto Villamizar and Guillermo Cano, the deportation of Carlos Lehder, the attack against Luis Carlos Galán, the president's support for the enforcement of the extradition law, the detonation of the Historic Precinct of Cartagena de Indias, the attempt to kill César Gaviria, the explosion generated in the DAS building, the constitution of the Notables and the creation of the Elite Corps for the eradication of Pablo Escobar's attacks.

As can be corroborated, these facts are very limited in terms of the period between 1986 and 1990, so it will be appropriate to introduce other data to deepen the contextualization that is being addressed. For that reason, I will resort to other categories of Mieke Bal (1990), which are referred to as external retrospections. These paradigms will consist of the incorporation of events that do not underlie the novel being studied. But their insertion in the research will serve to complement the historical context that is being forged in this opportunity.

Before beginning with the development of the internal and external retrospections of García Márquez's book, I will make a brief and explanatory overview concerning the period from 1986 to 1990.

At the beginning of 1986, the Liberal candidate Virgilio Barco obtained the position of president of the country with 4 214 510 votes (Sixirei, 2011). During his government, the modernization of the Colombian economy spread. This was achieved through a liberalizing and globalizing policy, which entailed contact with the outside world through the privatization of productive activity and foreign investment (Maya, 2002). However, this development was not sustained over time. Two years later, inflation would reach 30% (La

Rosa and Mejía, 2013). At the same time, criminality continued to adopt new directions. This was seen through the war between drug traffickers and extreme right-wing paramilitaries.

State officials were also affected in various ways. Judges, magistrates, reporters and policemen will be killed incessantly (Atehortúa and Rojas, 2008). All these terrorist attacks against the government would originate from the demand for non-extradition. Those who would make this request would be the members of the Medellín Cartel, who on November 15, 1986 called themselves the Extraditables (Sixirei, 2011).

This information is flattering because it will allow us to understand the permeability of internal retrospections. Previously, it should be noted that this concept seeks to find the immediate link that the main text has with the story (Bal, 1990); that is, it is concerned with detecting the existence of a correspondence between reality and the documentation that is captured.

For this opportunity, I have resumed as a reference the historical events that occurred during the term of office of President Virgilio Barco from 1986 to 1990, which can be seen in *Noticia de un secuestro* (*News of a kidnapping*). For this purpose, I have made a scheme in which all the internal retrospections derived from the information used by Gabriel García Márquez are incorporated (See **Table 1**).

Table 1. Historical facts recorded during the government of Virgilio Barco (1986-1990) in *Noticia de un secuestro*.

Historical context of <i>News of a kidnapping</i> (1996)		
Government of Virgilio Barco (1986-1990)		
Year	Historical facts	List of pages
1986	On October 22 two hired assassins attempt to assassinate Alberto Villamizar.	pp. 31 and 216

	On December 17 the director of the newspaper <i>El Espectador</i> , Guillermo Cano, was liquidated.	p. 153
1987	On February 4, Colombian drug trafficker Carlos Lehder is deported to the United States.	pp. 29-30
1989	On August 18, Luis Carlos Galán is killed. César Gaviria becomes his successor.	pp. 29-30
	President Virgilio Barco supports extradition to strengthen justice.	p. 30
	On September 28 the Extraditables explode the Historic Precinct of Cartagena de Indias.	p. 235
	On November 27 they try to exterminate César Gaviria with the detonation of the Avianca airline plane.	p. 152
	On December 6 the DAS building is blown up.	p. 152
	In December, the Notables are formed.	p. 33
	The Elite Corps is created to counter attacks by Pablo Escobar.	p. 209

Source: Own elaboration

The first case of internal retrospection that can be seen in the box is recorded on October 22, 1986. On that day, two hitmen attempted to assassinate Alberto Villamizar (García, 1996). This criminal reality was not alien to this context. This criminal activity was well known. Homicides continue to occur. It is estimated that ten of them occur every twenty-four hours (Wetzel, 2001). Overall, cocaine trafficking continues, and with exponential proportions, especially in Medellín.

The second case refers to December 17 of the same year. On that date, the Dotterweich (2016) was killed. This citizen was characterized for being independent and liberal director of the newspaper *El Espectador*, Guillermo Cano (García, 1996), in his way of

thinking. He adopted a position opposite to that of the mafiosi (Morris, 2012f). During this period, he was responsible for publishing photos of Pablo Escobar when he was in prison, as well as revealing his criminal record. He did this editorial work for a period of five years. Obviously, the Medellín Cartel boss did not approve of this, and he stated the following:

Not to take those flags, not those media like the newspaper *El Espectador*, which represents the mouthpiece of the Colombian oligarchy, which takes as a flag and as a philosophy the dishonest and cynical attack against people; and the most regrettable: that journalistic company that distorts the news that injects that morbid and harmful poison, and that attacks people (Granier and Sierralta, 2007).

With this proclamation, there was no doubt that Pablo Escobar knew where these attacks against him were coming from. Moreover, he tried to vindicate his image through a speech to the people, in which he denied the accusations. He will take the opportunity to describe the press as if it were a dismissed entity. However, the authorities will still blame the narco-terrorist leader for the liquidation of Guillermo Cano, as well as for having been responsible for dynamiting his workplace (De Beaufort, 2004). These were only a few targeted attacks. Most of these attacks that were carried out did not consider whether those affected were innocent victims. In spite of this, subversive manifestations continued. In this regard, the former mayor of Bogotá, Jaime Castro, affirms that for Escobar and his allies, terrorism in Medellín did not have a national impact.

That is to say, what they were doing was something so simple and that there were no limitations to eradicate it. Moreover, using the capital of Colombia did not mean that they did not act with the criminal know-how that characterized them. For that reason, it was infallible for them to place their bombs in that territory (Morris, 2012a). The inhabitants of Bogotá¹ and Medellín ended up living a commensurate commotion and an acute distrust for these facts, which were coarse and continuous. The Extraditables exploded 250 bombs in

¹ As a result of narcoterrorism, 217 citizens were killed and 1076 were injured in Bogotá (Morris, 2012a).

total². Some of the damaged places were not only those mentioned above, but also involved other important spaces, such as those where the citizens residing in the Hilton Hotel, the *Vanguardia Liberal* newspaper and the DAS headquarters were located (Sixirei, 2011). This subversive way of attacking the country had an explanation beyond the deaths they caused. The sustenance and incentive were conditioned to the economic background; in other words, the money that those involved kept from their salaries. In addition, the capital obtained by the criminals was useful for them to carry out other attacks, such as the attack on the Avianca plane, the murder of Minister Rodrigo Lara Bonilla and the massacre at the police stations (Velásquez and Valentín, 2015).

The third case of internal retrospection that the author develops is taken from February 4, 1987. On that date, the Colombian drug trafficker Carlos Lehder is captured for illicit marijuana trade and deported to the United States two years later (García Márquez, 1996; Atehortúa and Rojas, 2008). This smuggler was the founder of the political party Movimiento Latino, whose objective was to skimp on extradition. He acted as a financial intermediary for the trafficking of substances with the North Americans. He even managed a transportation network for cocaine: he built airstrips (a base in the Bahamas that served to send drugs to the USA), a hotel and other amenities (Mabile, 2008). His arrest and proscription were credited to Virgilio Barco, since the Betancur government found it difficult to execute these consensuses.

For efficient extrapolation, former President Ronald Reagan had already given them his support a year earlier, declaring that this commercial modality was a threat to his country (Benítez, 2009). Therefore, national security (securitization) was intensified. It was intended to use an identical strategy for the other narcoterrorists; however, the Extraditables announced their resistance with intimidations from the newspaper *El Colombiano* on November 22, 1987. On top of that, they set the condition that if Jorge Luis Ochoa was subjected to the same judicial disposition, they would wage a full-scale war in the country

² It should be remembered that a member of the terrorist group ETA taught Pablo Escobar the method to explode car bombs.

(Sixirei, 2011). To eradicate this threat, the State did everything possible to combat the narco-terrorists; on the contrary, the police forces were not sufficient. Other entities of the same ilk as the subversives had to support them: their opponents in the clandestine sphere. In this regard, Popeye recalls the idea that as one kills more enemies, one gains more adversaries (Morris, 2012a); that is, the war will lead one to acquire more opponents. This is what happens in this context of armed struggles. For this reason, Pablo Escobar and his organization will have to confront his cocaine trafficking opponent, the Cali Cartel (Entel, 2009). This group was sponsored by British mercenaries. Their purpose was to exterminate the leader of the Medellín Cartel (Velásquez and Valentín, 2018). On one occasion, they attacked him and Gonzalo Rodríguez Gacha at the Hacienda Nápoles (Atehortúa and Rojas, 2008). Moreover, on January 13, 1988, they detonated a car bomb in the Monaco building, where Pablo Escobar lived (Sixirei, 2011). This attack was a warning to challenge his military hegemony. From that moment on, he justified his actions against the government (De Beaufort, 2004). He fled to Ecuador, where he was arrested and imprisoned. He will be in the Tena prison in 1988, together with the Mexican. The curious thing about this event is that three days later the narco-terrorist will be released. That was because the FARC helped him escape with a financing they paid of USD 500 000 (Sixirei, 2011).

The fourth case of internal retrospection developed by the Colombian writer coincides with August 18, 1989. That date is memorable because the candidate Luis Carlos Galán Sarmiento of the New Liberalism party was liquidated. That atrocity happened just when this politician was in the middle of deliberating his rally in Soacha (Bogotá), an area frequented by Rodríguez Gacha, a narco-terrorist affiliated to Pablo Escobar (García Márquez, 1996; Rousso, *et.al.*, 2014). Moreover, it is necessary to remember that a few days before this attack Luis Carlos Galán had already suffered something similar at the University of Medellín. All these actions were occurring for a special reason. The intention of these criminals was to exterminate this politician because his existence was a danger for the permanence of the smugglers in that territory.

This character wanted to reach the Presidency for the period from 1990 to 1994³. His candidacy was the most controversial and, at the same time, the most welcomed by Colombian society, since the majority of citizens wanted what he was offering to the country to be fulfilled. Luis Carlos Galán pledged to totally eradicate any type of criminal organization that came from the illicit drug trade. It should be noted that the issue of the extradition of these criminals to the United States was a perennial issue in these elections (Wye, 2002). It was hoped that these criminals would be tried abroad and that they would never again have any form of participation in the political arena (Wetzels, 2001). Obviously, this pretension was not to the criminals' liking. As long as the candidate's purpose was maintained, he did not let this be a justification for the Medellín Cartel leader's business and lust for power to be hindered. However, Luis Carlos Galán's position was very clear: he would support the needs of the national people. For this reason, it is true what Gonzalo Guillén confirmed (Polletta, 2007), who argued that this political will of wanting to expel the narcoterrorists was the reason why this presidential candidate was killed.

The following internal retrospection, which is part of the scheme that includes the events that occurred during 1986 to 1990, is related to the action taken by Virgilio Barco. He chose to reconsider and strengthen the extradition law because of the assassination of Rodrigo Lara Bonilla on April 30, 1984 (García, 1996). This choice originated because previously this law had not been rigorously extrapolated. Since Belisario Betancur approved it during his term of office, there had not been a strong and permanent intervention. By taking it up again, the aim was to eradicate exponentially the participation of narcoterrorists.

This was desired, since these criminals were still attacking with detonations, homicides and public threats (Benítez, 2009). At the same time, this situation generated a prominent citizen insecurity. All this concern was fearfully exposed by the former Minister of Justice, Enrique Parejo González (Wetzels, 2001). This task was not so easy for him, because by expressing this news he risked retaliation from the narcoterrorists. So he preferred to flee

³ Luis Carlos Galán Sarmiento came out as the winner in the polls (Granier and Sierralta, 2007). Then, there were Ernesto Samper Pizarro, Hernando Durán Dussán and Alberto Santofimio Botero. The latter asserted to Pablo Escobar that he was going to win.

the country to avoid any misfortune. That was the most convenient thing to do, considering that it was not known with certainty how the smugglers would react. With the murder of Rodrigo Lara Bonilla, it was corroborated what Pablo Escobar was capable of, who was blamed for having prepared that seditious attack. Moreover, he will be held responsible for the deaths of three of the five presidential candidates (Wye, 2002).

It is necessary to remember that up to that moment the leader of the Medellín Cartel had already been accused of 4,000 crimes against judges, gendarmes, reporters and opposition leaders (De Beaufort, 2004). However, this specific assassination meant his reevaluation as an invincible enemy (Benítez, 2009). Subsequently, more people began to be implicated as the perpetrators or organizers of this attack. Verbigracia, this assassination was also attributed to the political group Frente Nacional, as well as to those who exercised paramilitary violence during the last two decades of the twentieth century (Koessl, 2015).

In addition, the former Minister of Justice, Enrique Parejo, tried to justify a criminal link with the liberal politician Alberto Santofimio (Granier and Sierralta, 2007), who would be sentenced to 24 years in prison on October 11, 2007. All this uncertain panorama produced terror among the citizenry; there was even a tendency to doubt politicians' promises more. However, the participation of César Gaviria, who will be a successor of Rodrigo Lara Bonilla's proposals, will become notorious. This candidate retained the decision to combat the drug trade and maintained a firm position for the application of the extradition law (Polletta, 2007). On the contrary, while fighting for this cause that was going to protect the rights of Colombians, criminal organizations dedicated to corruption within the same political sphere prevailed.

This generated the questioning of the reputation of the members of the political parties. In other words, the whole context was still very controversial. The affronts were multiple and from different sides. This meant that the attacks provoked by narcoterrorism did not have an immediate end. They continued. For example, on August 18, Commander Valdemar Franklin Quintero, a key opponent of drug trafficking since the 1980s, was killed. Similarly, the headquarters of the newspaper *El Colombiano*, the Intercontinental Hotel and

the El Poblado police station were bombed (Morris, 2012g). These incidents left 4 dead and 97 wounded, without there being any concern to eradicate or prevent this type of events from continuing. This was the panorama that continued to be seen, despite Virgilio Barco's insistence that the extradition treaty for narcoterrorists be complied with.

Two additional references of internal retrospection that the Colombian writer develops are registered with the dates of September 28, 1989 and November 27 of the same year. The first one relates the explosion that the Extraditables caused in the Historic Precinct of Cartagena de Indias (García, 1996), while the second one narrates when Pablo Escobar ordered the assassination of the candidate to the Presidency of the Republic, César Gaviria Trujillo (García, 1996; Granier and Sierralta, 2007). This last event was a predominant warning, since a very dedicated study was carried out in order to make this crime come true. For this purpose, the instantaneous detonation of a plane HK 1803 of the Avianca airline en route from Bogota to Cali⁴ was resorted to. That altercation occurred in mid-flight and was memorable because it left not a single survivor (Morris, 2012e)⁵. The 107 people on board died; among them, two Americans. The news of this event was broadcast by radio Caracol and published in the newspaper *El Tiempo*.

However, despite the magnitude of the criminal event, this operation did not achieve its main objective, which was to kill César Gaviria. The perpetrators believed that this official was going to travel by plane at that time, but that was not the case. He was not a crew member at that time. If they had assassinated him, they would have exterminated a favorite politician who was against the survival of any action that came from drug trafficking. In addition, his death would have meant a way of coercing the Government to withdraw the

⁴ Dario Uzma was the one who placed the bomb on the plane by means of an alleged audio device (Wye Berry, 2002). It exploded three minutes after takeoff.

⁵ In view of this attack, the United States declared Pablo Escobar a threat to public security. To this end, George Bush's legal advisors had previously considered a rule. This was that a person would be killed if he endangered the lives of its citizens. From there, they are interested in intervening in Colombian territory. They want to capture drug trafficking leaders (Dotterweich, 2016). And they will resort to the CIA and the Delta Force to achieve this.

ban on the United States from article 35 of the country's Constitution. This requirement would later be confessed by Jhon Jairo Velásquez Vásquez, alias Popeye (Morris, 2012e).

Another case of internal retrospection is found on December 6, 1989. On that date, it is reported that the Medellín Cartel placed a bus bomb with 700 kilos of dynamite in front of a building that was the headquarters of the Secret Police (DAS) in Bogotá (García, 1996; Morris, 2012c)⁶. Many agents of that institution were killed. Likewise, that detonation would produce 70 homicides, in which most of the victims were street vendors, civilians and innocent people (Morris, 2012h). In view of these facts, it is necessary to mention that Pablo Escobar had made the decision to proceed in this way as a way to take revenge on Judge Gustavo Zuluaga Serna in Medellín (Morris, 2012d). The assassination of this magistrate would have been provoked because he was the one who issued the arrest warrant against the narco-terrorist leader.

The month of December 1989 was a key month, since the Notables were constituted. This is another event that is recorded in *Noticia de un secuestro* as an internal retrospective (García, 1996). Similarly, the founding of the Elite Corps that same year can be seen (García, 1996). This would be an organization that would have the pretension of counteracting Escobar's attacks. These two alluded facts would be the last internal retrospections that have been specified in the scheme that refers to the most important and documented events in the novel of the Colombian writer about the government of Virgilio Barco (1986-1990).

To complement the information regarding Virgilio Barco's mandate, I will explain the development of some external retrospections that are not identifiable in *Noticia de un secuestro*, but that fulfill the function of providing a more specific panorama to understand that macro-criminal period.

⁶ Controversially, Popeye confesses that narco-terrorist Carlos Castaño supported the DAS interventions to execute Bernardo Jaramillo Ossa and Luis Carlos Galán Sarmiento. He also reveals that he shot Ernesto Samper Pizarro and attacked M-19 commander Pizarro León Gómez (Morris, 2012e).

Verbigracia, in this context, the M-19⁷ made agreements with the two Colombian governments between 1986 and 1994 to achieve the pacification of the country (Acevedo, 1995), as well as the use of Secretary Germán Montoya as mediator between the drug traffickers and the government authorities. This attempt will originate at the end of that presidential regime, and will end up being frustrated. The war between the State and the Medellín Cartel would intensify further during those years (La Rosa and Mejía, 2013). For example, the headquarters of the newspaper *El Espectador* was dynamited, just as the reporter Jorge Enrique Pulido was killed on November 8, 1989 (Morris, 2012c).

At the same time, it is infallible to remember that during the whole year of 1989 Virgilio Barco was supporting extradition to strengthen justice and declare the paramilitary groups illegal. That convention will be taken as a government policy (García, 1996; La Rosa and Mejía, 2013), since there were many victims who were getting involved in Escobar's armed struggle. To this was added all the terror that these people were going through because of these causes. Moreover, it should be noted that these events had been going on since the 1980s and continued until the early 1990s. Throughout this period, almost 10,000 people have been affected (Morris, 2012i).

Faced with this situation, it is impossible to corroborate the establishment of a nation state. The conditions under which these people are living are not ideal. If a beneficial project for the citizens were to be consolidated, it would require that at least their rulers be the ones to support and organize any attempt to repair the ills of society. Otherwise, there will be no way to eradicate the various attacks, nor will there be any interest on the part of the citizens in wanting to recognize their own identity of their country (Hall, 2010). At the same time, they will distrust everything that comes from politics: from its proposals to the application of sanctions to narcoterrorists.

⁷ M-19 member and leader Carlos Pizarro León-Gómez signs a peace agreement. This armistice caused him to become interested in running for the presidency, as he had learned to interact with all social sectors in Colombia, whether oligarchic or rural. This predilection led to his assassination on April 26, 1990 (Morris, 2012b).

They have reason to use this approach, as attacks and assassinations continue to spread and harm them. There is no viable security for them. Considering this context, in 1989 a high number of people died in Colombia as a result of these criminal causes, 90% of whom were young men between 15 and 44 years of age. As a result, the number of people who could have been useful in the fight against the drug trafficking empire began to decline. With the lack of personnel to contribute to the preservation of citizen security in various regions of the country, the effectiveness of the police decreased (Sixirei, 2011).

Thus, history is revealing different situations and corollaries that do not correspond to eventualities of other times. For example, in this context, macrocriminality has a greater force and repercussion on social and political life, so much so that it is uncontrollable and impossible to eradicate this criminal modality. All this will be caused by the fact that in daily life an alteration is observed around the facts, as well as one can ascertain the appreciations that are made of them.

Moreover, elementary notions such as ethics or humanism will have an unusual value in the course of time (Auerbach, 1996). Paul Ricoeur (1995) would give a historicist explanation to these changes in perceptions. For him, all this would be a product of the fact that the nature of history is not static, as well as the identity and performance of people who develop in a specific period.

On the other hand, the year 1989 was not only characterized by the homicides committed by criminals, but also by the way they carried them out. Verbigracia, they planned in detail the execution of explosions of airplanes and buildings.

These acts were very eye-catching and would soon begin to have better results for their benefit. As time went by, these practices would spread throughout the nation, as César Gaviria confesses (Rouso, *et al.*, 2014). On top of that, these attacks would become more and more dangerous and compromising, since the assassinations would no longer target common people, but would involve political representatives, as it happened on July 14, 1989 with the former governor of Antioquia, Antonio Roldán Betancur.

The same tragic fate would befall presidential candidates, as happened on March 22, 1990 with Bernardo Jaramillo Ossa, a leftist political representative of the Patriotic Union. For example, the latter would be annihilated because he criticized the guerrillas. At the same time, he postulated an authentic model of economic and social development, subject to national reconstruction.

With this in mind, at a rally he stated that his political party would strive to generate an environment conducive to dialogue. In this way, contact with those responsible for the armed insurgency would be achieved, as well as the elimination of any type of attack against the citizens. In addition, this candidate seeks that there are no political inequalities, as evidenced when he judges impunity in the political sphere, since he assumes that this is one of the reasons why narcoterrorists take advantage of it to commit crimes. This diatribe is expressed in the following statement:

One cannot be consistent with peace and talk about peace while paramilitary groups are not effectively combated, nor can one talk about peace, nor be consistent with peace, when members of the State committed to violence against the civilian population are not punished in an exemplary manner (Morris, 2012b).

With these words, it is clear that the candidate has the idea that peace will only come from the distancing of any attack that transgresses Colombian society, as well as the omission of sanctions and punishments to the same government representatives. With this, there is a desire to hatch a new democracy, channeled in a pluralistic government with which everyone is able to verify that what governs and administers society is not violated.

In many opportunities, the credibility that citizens who are not in public office have towards these legal armistices is greater than the credibility of those who assume responsibilities in the State. This is corroborated by the testimony of Myriam Rodríguez (Morris, 2012b), widow of former M-19 guerrilla Carlos Pizarro, who once confessed that her husband considered Bernardo Jaramillo to be prominent, whom he tried to emulate, since he believed in freedom.

In this sense, there were people who, no matter how much damage they caused to society, tried to ascribe to a good practice of good morality, while some officials did break the order and democracy by engaging in corrupt practices, among other criminal exercises. This uncertain and controversial panorama was always persistently revealed by Colombians themselves through the proclamation of their needs and rights.

On one occasion, Bernardo Jaramillo Ossa took advantage of the people's needs to propose and highlight a solution in one of his rallies:

It is the oligarchic sectors of the traditional liberal and conservative parties, who have to answer to the country for the crisis we are living, and it is those sectors, precisely, who cannot the Colombian people, who suffer from that economic, social and political crisis, who suffer from a secular violence, who suffer from a denial of their freedoms and elementary rights, support at the polls in the next elections, because that would mean putting the noose around our necks and continuing to support those who have liquidated the Republic, those who have ended the nationality, those who have annihilated the homeland (Morris, 2012b).

From the fragment quoted above, we can observe this interest in promising a new way of administering politics and social problems on the part of the Unión Patriótica candidate. The way in which he promotes it is moving for the people, due to the fact that an attempt to balance several sectors of the country can be appreciated.

By way of conclusion

In general, all these events shaped Virgilio Barco's term of office, which ended on August 7, 1990. At the same time, it is necessary to emphasize that the acquisition of all this selective information was made possible by the finding and articulation of internal retrospections, which recorded the assassinations of Villamizar and Cano, the deportation of Lehder to North America, the murder of Luis Carlos Galán, the strengthening of the extradition law, the explosion of the Historic Precinct of Cartagena de Indias, the frustrated attempt to kill César

Gaviria, the detonation in the DAS building, the constitution of the Notables and the foundation of the Elite Corps to combat the leader of the Medellín Cartel.

In addition, the external retrospectives were useful because they served as a support to assist the documentation of the period between 1986 and 1990. Telling the story concerning those years entailed forming a meaning with respect to the perspectives that were assumed about the events. According to Gérard Genette (1998), this is the purpose of its restoration, since it was possible to corroborate the non-existence of a nation state and the controversies to introduce it in this macro-criminal context.

Its absence is a demonstration that incompatible elements prevailed in that period of government, such as the inconsistency or nullity of common goods (Rodríguez, 1981/1979), which would have been of help to all of Colombia. This collective requirement to safeguard national security and reorient political decisions to deal with subversive attacks was impossible, since the innocent victims could not contribute to or coerce the decisions of public officials.

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