



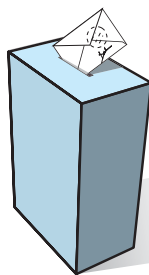
Bolivia

The Legal Framework

National Legislation

Systems and Concepts	Military Organization
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organic Law of the Armed Forces (N° 1.405 - 1992/12/30) - Organization of the Executive Power Act (N° 2.446 - 2003/03/19) - Citizen Security System Act (N° 2.494 - 2004/08/04) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Decree-Law of Organization of Military Justice (N° 13.321 - 1976/04/02) - Manual on the Use of Force in case of Internal Conflict (Supreme Decree N° 27.977 - 2005/01/14)

Source: Compilation based on the legislation above mentioned. For constitutional provisions see Chapter 1.



Political Participation of Military Members

	Retired	On Duty
Are they entitled to vote?	Yes	Yes
Are they entitled to become candidates for elections	Yes	No

Source: Constitution.

International Treaties

On Hemispheric Security

- Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance: Signature: 1947/09/02 Deposit: 1950/09/26
- American Treaty on Pacific Settlement (Pact of Bogota): Signature: 1948/04/30 Unratified

On Disarmament

- Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean (Treaty of Tlatelolco): Signature: 1967/02/14 Deposit: 1969/02/18
- Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons: Signature: 1968/07/01 Deposit: 1970/05/26
- Convention on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons: Signature: 1993/01/14 Deposit: 1998/08/14
- Convention on the Prohibition of Anti-Personnel Mines (Ottawa Convention): Signature: 1997/12/03 Deposit: 1998/06/09
- Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction: Signature: 1972/04/10 Deposit: 1975/10/30
- Convention on the Prohibition of Military or any other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques: Signature: 1977/05/18 Unratified
- Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of certain Conventional Weapons: Accession: 2001/09/21
- Inter-American Convention against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Ammunition, Explosives, and other Related Materials: Signature: 1997/11/14 Deposit: 1999/04/29
- Inter-American Convention on Transparency in Conventional Weapons Acquisitions: Signature: 1999/06/07 Unratified
- Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT): Signature: 1996/09/24 Deposit: 1999/10/04

On Human Rights and Justice

- Inter-American Convention on Human Rights (Pact of San Jose de Costa Rica): Accession: 1977/07/19
- Inter-American Convention on Forced Disappearance of Persons: Signature: 1994/09/14 Deposit: 1999/05/05
- Inter-American Convention to Prevent and Punish Torture: Signature: 1985/12/09 Deposit: 2006/11/21
- International Criminal Court: Signature: 1998/07/17 Deposit: 2002/06/27

On the Hemispheric System

- Charter of the Organization of American States: Signature: 1948/04/30 Deposit: 1950/10/18

Source: Compilation based on the information supplied by the web pages of the Secretariat for Legal Affairs of the Organization of American States, and the UN Office for Disarmament Affairs.

The Budget

State Budget 2008

Local currency	80,554,139,517
US\$	11,203,635,538
2008 GDP (in US\$)	16,699,000,000

Defence Budget 2008

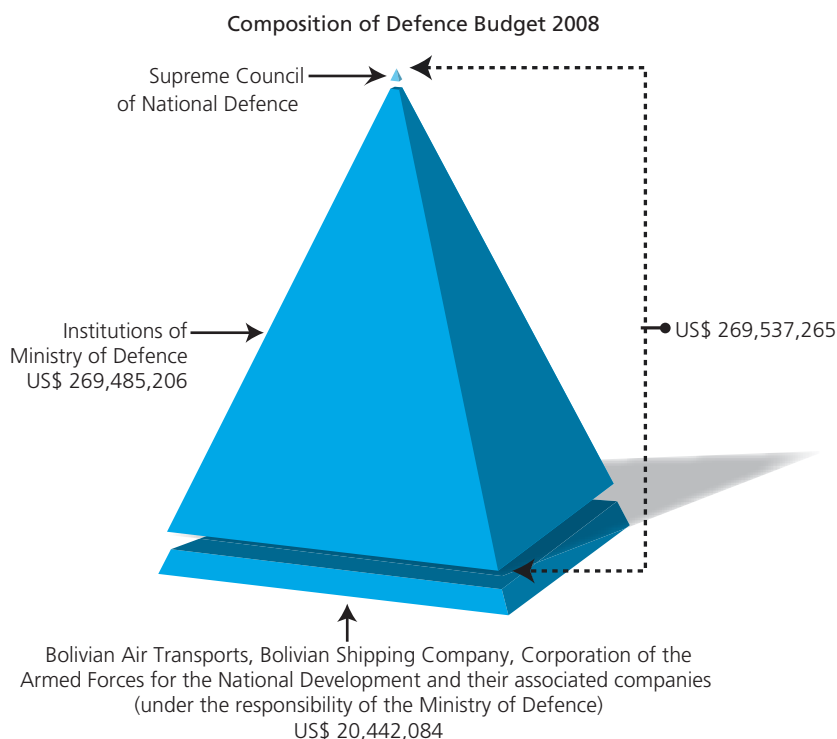
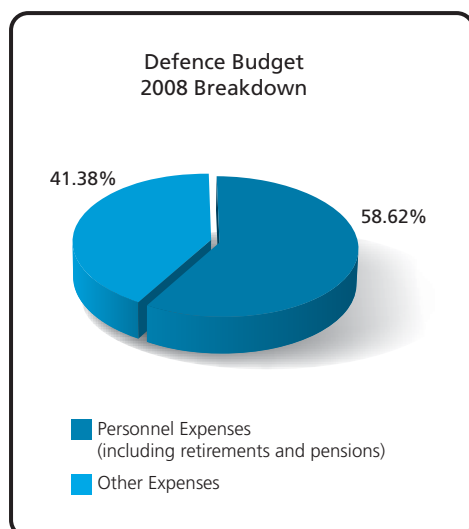
Local currency	1,937,972,935
US\$	269,537,265
GDP's %	1.61
% of the State Budget	2.41

Defence Budget 2008 (in Local Currency)

Institutions	Personnel Services	Non Personnel Services	Materials and Supplies	Others*	TOTAL
Ministry of Defence	1,030,268,154	153,701,315	250,890,118	61,520,299	1,496,379,886
Corporation of the Military Social Security**	44,821,724	22,462,605	28,761,226	213,454,619	309,500,174
Military School of Engineering**	3,980,027	17,857,364	3,257,975	27,006,519	52,101,885
Engineering Command of the Army**	943,200	27,586,717	35,757,563	11,507,433	75,794,913
National Service of Naval Hydrograph**	106,466	106,786	73,891	267,500	554,643
National Aerophotogrametric Service **	210,390	848,719	1,006,426	604,650	2,670,185
Geodesic Service of Maps**	302,458	233,020	61,465	0	596,943
Supreme Council of National Defence	239,515	39,880	94,911	0	374,306
TOTAL	1,080,871,934	222,836,406	319,903,575	314,361,020	1,937,972,935

* Includes Real Assets, Financial Assets, Public Debt Services, Transferences, Taxes, Royalties, and Other Expenses.

** Institutions under the responsibility of the Ministry of Defence.



Source: Compilation based on General Budgetary Law of the Nation – 2008 Administration. The State Budget passed by the Congress by means of the above mentioned Act is considered herein.

2008 GDP: World Economic Outlook Database Projection, IMF. This source has been taken for comparative purposes. Each country makes the budget based on its own GDP estimation.

The dollar value is the exchange rate considered by the World Economic Outlook Database, IMF. The exchange rate average is 7.67 Bolivianos, based on the information provided by the Central Bank of Bolivia. For further calculations, figures are provided in local currency. Expressions in Bold Type (Table) make reference to the different items regarding defence, which can be found in a sectorial or institutional classification of the budgetary Act.



Political Definitions

Concepts

What is Defence?	What is Security?
<p>The State, through the Armed Forces, shall organise national security and defence, as an integrated system in order to neutralize, repel or destroy any action which is aimed at infringing them.</p> <p><i>(Ley Orgánica de las Fuerzas Armadas de la Nación, Nº 1.405 - 1992/12/30, Sec. 3)</i></p>	<p>Internal security: it is closely related to threats which can hinder the development and internal security, such as corruption, delinquency, political instability, arms trafficking, drug trafficking and terrorism.</p> <p>External security: it is supported by the institutional mechanisms provided by defence and diplomacy. It is related to national independence, territorial integrity and national sovereignty.</p> <p><i>(Libro Blanco de la Defensa, 2004)</i></p>

Participation in Peace Operations

Missions	Military Component	
	MO	CT
MINURCAT (Central African Republic and Chad)	1	-
MINUSTAH (Haiti)	-	218
MONUC (Dem. Rep. of Congo)	10	198
UNAMA (Afghanistan)	1	-
UNMEE (Ethiopia and Eritrea)	1	-
UNMIK (Kosovo)	2	-
UNMIL (Liberia)	1	1
UNMIN (Nepal)	3	-
UNMIS (Sudan)	16	-
UNOCI (Ivory Coast)	3	-

■ The Center for Peacekeeping Operations of the Bolivian Army (COMPEBOL) was founded on January 23, 2007.

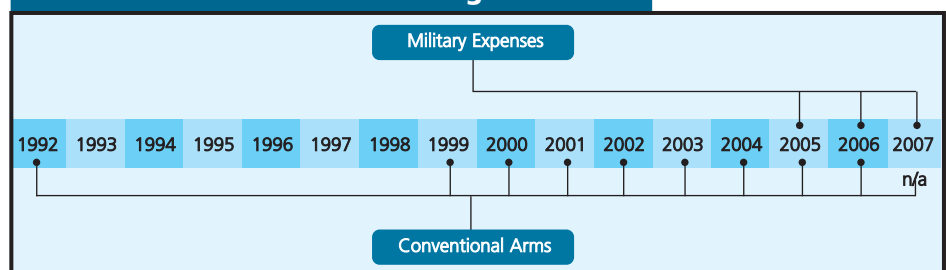


MO: Military Observers - CT: Contingent Troop.

Source: Compilation based on the information supplied by the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/>). Information as of June 30, 2008.

Submissions to the UN Registers

■ Bolivia provides 455 military members to UN peace operations, which represents a 7.16% of the total amount of the Latin American contribution and a 0.59% of the world total.



Source: Compilation based on reports submitted to the UN Register of Conventional Arms and the UN Instrument for Reporting Military Expenditures from 1992 to 2008. The publication of information from the Register of Conventional Arms corresponding to the year 2007 is expected by August 2008.

■ Bolivia published the *Libro Blanco de la Defensa* (White Book on Defence) in 2004.

Constitutional Powers of the Congress

Related to War and Peace

- Can it declare war?: No
- Is a congressional authorization required to declare war?: Yes
- Can it make peace?: No
- Is a congressional authorization necessary to make peace?: Yes
- Is a congressional authorization necessary for the entry of foreign troops to the national territory?: Yes
- Is a congressional authorization necessary for the deployment of national troops outside the country?: Yes

Related to Control

- Is its approval required to appoint senior officers of the Armed Forces?: Yes ⁽¹⁾
- Can it accuse officers of the Armed Forces?: No
- Can it try officers?: Yes ⁽¹⁾
- Does it participate in the election of officials for institutions of external control?: Yes
- Can it modify the national budget?: Yes

1. Corresponds to the Senate.

States of Exception

Name: State of siege

Cause: Internal commotion

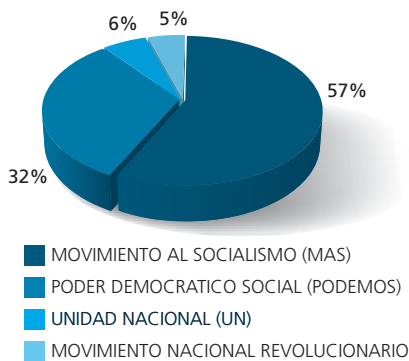
International war

Participation of the Legislative Power: Requires the approval of the Congress. If it were declared during legislative recess, corresponds to the Chamber of Deputies to consider the report on the state of siege presented by the Executive.

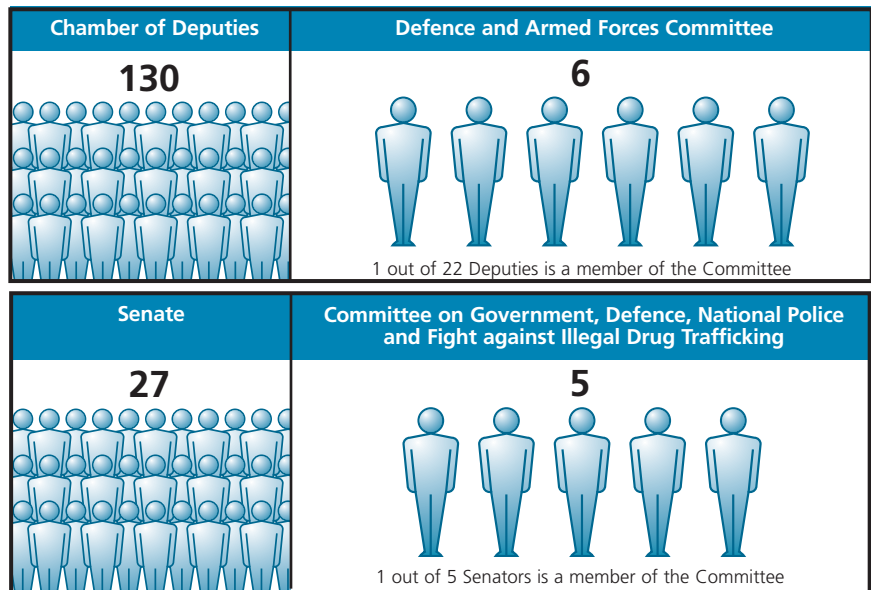
Source: Compilation based on the Constitution.

Breakdown of Parties

Chamber of Deputies

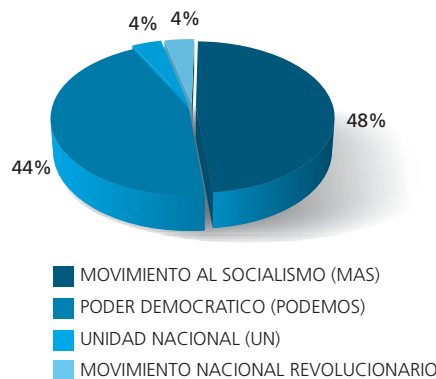


Defence and Armed Forces Committee

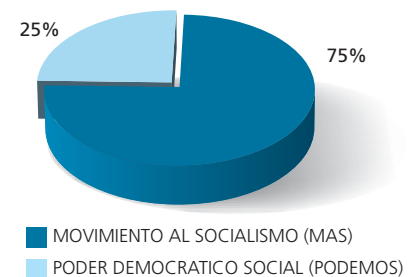


Breakdown of Parties

Senate



Committee on Government, Defence, National Police and Fight against Illegal Drug Trafficking



Source: Compilation based on information provided by the Legislative Power.



System Organization

Functions

State Powers Sphere

The President of the Republic and General Captain of the Armed Forces, in full use of the faculty bestowed by the Constitution, will determine the use of the military forces. The President will set the national security and defence policy, together with the advice of the Supreme Council of National Defence and the Military High Command.

The Supreme Council of National Defence is the highest advising body regarding the comprehensive security and defence of the Nation. The Military High Command is the highest decision-making organism of the Armed Forces. It is composed of the President of the Republic; the Ministry of National Defence, the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, the Chairman of the General Staff of the Armed Forces, and the General Commanders of the Armed Forces. The Congress of the Nation exercises the faculties conferred by the National Constitution and permanently monitors those issues related to the Armed Forces through specific commissions in both chambers.

Ministerial Sphere

The Ministry of National Defence is the political and administrative body of the Armed Forces. The Minister of Defence is the legal representative of the armed institution before the public powers. The Ministry plans the total or partial use of the Armed Forces in coordination with the Commander-in-Chief.

Military Sphere

The Command-in-Chief of the Armed Forces is the highest commanding and decision-making technical-operative body; it coordinates and directs the Armed Forces in a permanent manner. In case of war, the operations shall be headed by the Commander-in-Chief.

The General Staff of the Armed Forces is the Commander-in-Chief's counselling, coordinating, planning, supervising and controlling body. The General Command of the Army, Air Force and Naval Force are the commanding bodies of the Armed Forces. The Armed Forces of the Nation are subsidiary to the President of the Republic and receive their orders through the Ministry of Defence as to administrative matters, and through the Commander-in-Chief, as to technical matters.

Source: Compilation based on *Ley Orgánica de las Fuerzas Armadas* (N° 1.405 - 1992/12/30).

Date of Foundation
1933

Current Minister (August 2008)
Walker San Miguel Rodríguez

Can the military members be Ministers of Defence?
Yes (if they have retired)

Number of military members who were Ministers of Defence
38

Number of civilians who were Ministers of Defence
41

Have there been any women in charge of the Ministry of Defence?
No

The Ministry of National Defence

Specific Responsibilities:

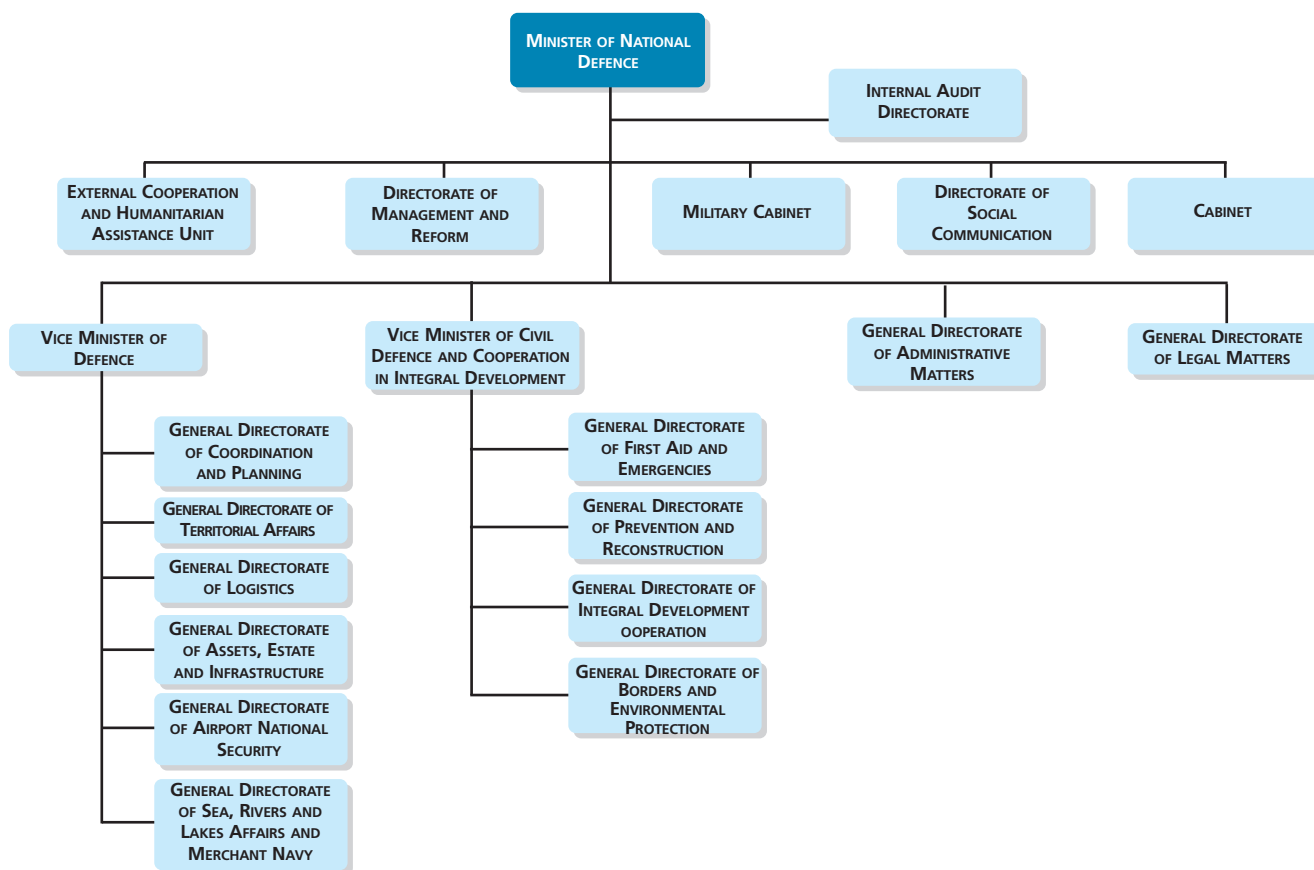
- Inform the Armed Forces the presidential decisions regarding the administrative field and coordinate their fulfillment with the Command-in-Chief, the Army, the Air Force, and the Naval Force.
- Elaborate and manage the budget of the Armed Forces and represent them in front of the public powers.
- Be in charge of the discipline and military justice, through the pertaining courts, as well as the integral development of its human resources.
- Foster the country's integral development.
- Supervise air, river and lake navigation, along with the Ministry of Public Works and Services and foster the Nation's maritime rights.
- Perform civil defence, risk reduction, disaster and emergency-aid actions, as well as actions aimed at protecting the environment in coordination with the Ministry of Sustainable Development.

Average permanence in the Minister of Defence position
11 months

[The Minister currently in charge is not considered. The creation date is related to the moment in which the term "Defence" becomes part of the Institution's name]

Source: Compilation based on *Ley de Organización del Poder Ejecutivo* (N° 2.446 - 2003/03/19) and information supplied by the Ministry of National Defence.

ORGANIZATION CHART



Source: Ministry of National Defence.

Defence Education

Main Training Courses of Specialization in the Area

Training Course	Institution
-Training Course for Journalists in Peace Operations	Centre for Peacekeeping Operations of the Bolivian Army (COMPEBOL)
- Masters in Security, Defence and Development	National School of Higher Education Studies "Coronel Eduardo Avaroa"
- Masters in Research of Security and Defence Public Policies	University for Strategic Research in Bolivia (UPIEB)-Ministry of the Presidency-Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Government

Source: Compilation based on the information supplied by the above mentioned institution. In the case of COMPEBOL, the courses open to civilians are referenced.



Military Career

ARMY

Military School of the Army

Duration: 5 years

Graduation Title: Graduate in Land Sciences and Arts

Graduation Rank: Second Lieutenant

Academies of Intermediate Education

Lieutenant

Captain

Staff College

Command and General Staff School

Major

Lieutenant-Colonel

Colonel

Brigade General

Division General

Army General

Entry to the Military School of the Army – 2008 –

Admitted Candidates:
300

NAVY

Naval Military School

Duration: 5 years

Graduation Title: Graduate in Naval Sciences and Arts

Graduation Rank: Second Lieutenant

Academies of Intermediate Education

Frigate Lieutenant

Navy Lieutenant

Staff College

Naval War School

Corvette Captain

Frigate Captain

Navy-Captain

Rear-Admiral

Vice-Admiral

Admiral

Entry to the Naval Military School – 2008 –

Candidates:
400

Admitted Candidates:
120

1 out of 3 candidates was admitted

AIR FORCE

Military Aviation College

Duration: 5 years

Graduation Title: Graduate in Military Air Arts

Graduation rank: Second Lieutenant

Academies of Intermediate Education

Lieutenant

Captain

Staff College

Air War School

Major

Lieutenant-Colonel

Colonel

Brigade General

Division General

Air Force General

Entry to the Military Aviation College – 2008 –

Candidates:
498

Admitted Candidates:
198

2 out of 5 candidates were admitted

Source: Compilation based on *Ley Orgánica de las Fuerzas Armadas* (Nº 1.405 – 1992/12/30). Entry to Academies: Ministry of National Defence and Naval Military School. The table strictly follows the order and hierarchy of the ranks shown on each country.

The Armed Forces

General Mission

The Armed Forces have the fundamental mission to defend and maintain national independence, the security and stability of the Republic and national honour and sovereignty; ensure the rule of the Political Constitution, guarantee the stability of the legally constituted Government and cooperate in the integral development of the country. (Constitution, Sec. 208)

Specific Missions

Army

- Defend the sovereignty and the integrity of the national territory.
- Guarantee land security and cooperate with maintaining the public order carrying out the orders of the Commander-in-Chief.
- Take part in the integration of the national territory by means of building and opening roads, motorways and other access systems.
- Occupy, protect and support the development of the national borders.
- Protect vital areas and cities of the country.
- Carry out specific missions with the support of the Air Force and/or the Navy.
- Actively participate in the integral development of the Nation, according with the orders of the Commander-in-Chief.
- Contribute to the empowerment of the country in coordination with other Forces, enhancing, fostering and protecting the national development.
- Create and edit maps and politics of the national territory.
- Protect the sources of production and legally constituted services, as well as the natural resources and ecological preservation within the national territory.

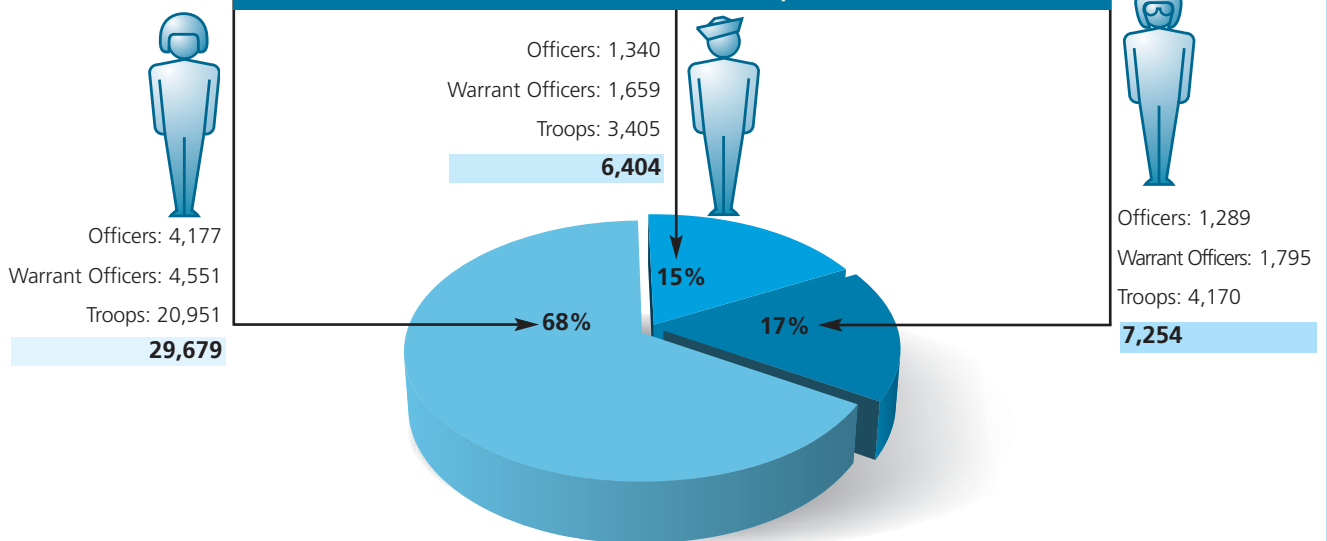
Navy

- Ensure the sovereignty and defence of the fluvial, marine and lacustrean interests of the Nation.
- Guarantee the free navigation of the Merchant Navy in seas, rivers and lakes controlling the right to use the territorial sea, adjacent areas, the continental platform and seabeds.
- Contribute to the empowerment of the Nation in coordination with the other Forces, enhancing, fostering and protecting military and merchant navigation as well as others of private nature.
- Create the national hydrographical map.
- Prevent and repress acts of piracy in navigation, trade and fishing.
- Carry out specific missions supporting the Army and/or Air Force.
- Actively participate in the integral development of the Nation in accordance with the orders of the Commander-in-Chief.
- Exercise competence and jurisdiction on patrimonial waters, ports and naval installations in accordance with the regulations established in the Fluvial, Maritime, and Lacustrean Navigation Act.

Air Force

- Ensure the sovereignty and defence of the national air space.
- Reach and maintain a position of supremacy in the aerospace, which allows the execution of a dissuasive action on any enemy.
- Contribute to the integration of the national territory by means of air transport services.
- Carry out the necessary and timely air transportation to support all the military operations for national defence.
- Execute specific missions to support the Army and/or Navy.
- Actively participate in the integral development of the Nation, in accordance with the directives issues by the Commander-in-Chief.
- Permanently surveil and repress acts of piracy in the military and civil air navigation.
- Protect and foster the development of military and civil aviation, infrastructure, aerospace industry and institutes of aerospace scientific investigation of the Nation.

Total Armed Forces: 43,337



Source: Ley Orgánica de las Fuerzas Armadas (N° 1.405 – 1992/12/30) (missions) and Ministry of National Defence (Regular Force).



Women in the Armed Forces

		Army	Navy	Air Force
Entry year (Officers)	Staff Corps	1982	—	2004
	Line Corps	1979 ⁽¹⁾	—	2007
Rank reached		All ranks	—	All ranks

(1) The first opening extended until 1985. In 2001 the access to women was opened again.

“Line Corps” means those military members trained to perform in combat missions, and who also have command capacity.

“Staff Corps” means those military members who are part of the Forces or who join them, in order to provide technical and/or professional

Source: Compilation based on information supplied by the above mentioned institutions.

Defence and/or Military Attaché Office in:



Source: Information supplied by the Ministry of National Defence. The country to which the Attaché is posted is considered here as the Office, beyond other cross accreditations to one or many countries.

Analysis:

The Armed Forces in Bolivia: the Challenge of Change

Loreta Tellería Escobar*

The democratization period carried out by most Latin American countries some decades ago, has set the defence and security institutions aside. This has happened in such a way that only since some years ago, institutions as the police and the Armed Forces have been adapted to the institutional changes pertaining to democratic governments. Respect for human rights, transparency in the administration, and especially political control, are the main principles which are core to all models of institutional modernization.

In the case of Bolivia, the Armed Forces have not been away from these challenges. However, their authoritarian past and traditional structure were easy prey to manipulation by democratic governments which used the institution according to the situation and pragmatically, thus worsening their institutional crisis and making the challenge for change more difficult.

During the nineties, several governments of the region showed clear initiatives towards modernization and professionalism of their military institutions. The enhancement and respect for human rights, by bringing into trial several military members who were part of dictatorial governments, became the main step to begin with a whole set of changes aimed at recovering, if ever had, the political control over the Armed Forces.

This political control had to be expressed through a series of institutional changes, such as the way the institution showed certain openness towards so-

■ During the nineties, several governments of the region showed clear initiatives towards modernization and professionalism of their military institutions.

* Director of the Observatory of Democracy and Security.



ciety- by accountability, transparency and social participation policies- replacing bureaucratic structures by more professional ones as well as its openness towards external relations mechanisms which could reflect the transition of traditional security policies towards those ones which could foster mutual co-operation and confidence.

The long authoritarian past which resulted in the foundation of autonomous institutions, showed the military resistance towards significant changes, such as its complete subordination to political power, which implied the beginning of a long modernization and professionalization process for the military. Despite all the obstacles, there currently are significant advances in the democratization of military institutions. The presence of a higher number of civil Ministers of Defence in comparison to military ministers in the region, sum up to the fact that there are several women in the charge of the position, implies a clear sign of change. If we also consider the attempts by several governments to elaborate White Books of Defence, including transparency and social participation principles, and the creation of a budgetary transparency model carried out by Argentina and Chile, then, those changes are clearly in progress.

In the case of Bolivia, the military institution has not been subject to any institutional reform along the whole democratic process. This means that at present, the military institution does not have a democratic agenda on security including urgent issues such as military modernization and professionalism policies, effective civil control through a Ministry of Defence, not pending on bureaucracy, effective budget management, change of military rules and regulations and finally, defined roles for the Armed Forces action, in accordance with the new security concepts as well as the new internal and external threats.

The lack of strategic definition has made the Bolivian military institution perform roles which are not incumbent to its military nature. This option was the result of national (and international) government interests, trying to solve situational problems threatening the political, economic and social stability of the country. The Armed Forces participation in tasks such as the fight against drug trafficking¹, public order and civic security, have contributed in blurring the real function of the military and it has also increased its legitimacy crisis.

In short, the Bolivian democratic process maintain the problematic military issues unresolved, acting more as a catalyser of its lack of strategic definition than a guide towards a democratic policy on security, covering national and international aspects.

■ In the case of Bolivia, the military institution has not been subject to any institutional reform along the whole democratic process.

¹ The consequences of this policy have not been good for Bolivia, as there have been conflicts regarding the lack of respect for human rights, increase of social conflict, government legitimacy crisis and hindrance to national sovereignty.

Under an indigenous government

The new political approach brought to Bolivia by the election of an indigenous president like Evo Morales since January 2006 was undoubtedly the beginning of a new stage for all democratic institutions in the country. A President who won the elections garnering a 54% share of the vote, thus obtaining a parliamentary majority, and who after a one year government nationalized hydrocarbons without any traumatic effect, against all predictions, represents the beginning of a popular oriented government willing to make a fundamental turn regarding the traditional way of managing the State's institutions.

If we analyze the process undergone by the Armed Forces along the first years of government, we can find important elements to assert and foresee a dramatic change within the institution. The National Development Plan submitted at the beginning of the government, includes for the first time, a section about the military institution, empowering it to take part in national security and defence issues, civil defence and development support.

In December 2006, the approval rating of the Armed Forces in all Bolivian cities reached 68%², a historic level during the democratic process, which showed a better perception of the institution by society. This approval level could be due to various factors. However, none of them could set apart the military actions carried out since 2006:

- In January of that year, the new President Evo Morales left two military graduate courses out, due to the missile case³, and appointed the Military High Command instead.
- On May 3, 139 military members watched over 56 oil facilities as a result of the decree of hydrocarbon nationalization
- Under Morales' management, a new boost was given to the program "Equal Opportunities" for native applicants who were willing to apply for a military career.
- The Armed Forces have taken part in the literacy plan "*Yo sí puedo*" (Indeed I can) in the rural communities of the country.
- The Ministry of Defence boosted an active policy to strengthen international relations with Ministries of Defence of several countries such as Argentina, Chile, Venezuela, the Popular Republic of China and Peru. Thanks to this policy, mutual confidence measures could be widened and implemented with these governments as well as important help in equipment and training.
- Civil defence worked in mobile health campaigns in many departments and in contingency plans to stop the effects of natural disasters caused by "*El niño*" and "*La niña*" as well.

■ The National Development Plan submitted at the beginning of the government, includes for the first time, a section about the military institution.

² Group APOYO S.A., December 2006.

³ This case refers to the deactivation of Bolivian missiles by U.S. military members, where several high officials of the Armed Forces were involved. This deactivation did not have the authorization of the Parliament and apparently, neither the permission of the former President Rodríguez Veltze.



- A program for strengthening the borders was designed by improving living conditions in the military units operating there, along with the construction of development modules, in order to preserve sovereignty and defend natural resources.
- The Armed Forces have collaborated operatively with the “*Juancito Pinto*” allowance for children who attend the first five years at public schools.⁴
- Finally, the project for the construction of 25 technological institutes throughout the country was finished. There, the soldiers under military service will receive technical training in more than 40 specialities, for them to find, within the Armed Forces, technical education besides military training, so as they will be able to find more qualified job opportunities.

Clearly, since the first year of the new government, the Armed Forces took part in social, inclusive, humanitarian, sovereignty care and support of development issues. The priority was given to the fight against drug trafficking and social conflicts, led to a series of activities reflecting a trend of reconfiguring their roles. The information available shows that the Armed Forces have been unburdened from their repressive role, giving way to an active role which took them closer to society. Revaluing their role as guardians of national sovereignty through a more leading role in the hydrocarbon nationalization process, and a strong campaign to guard the borders (along with the reform of the traditional compulsory military service towards one which adapts to the needs on training and education that Bolivian youth have) have placed the institution in a more open position towards society which resulted in a higher degree of approval.

Although this is not the result of a wide process of institutional reform, it reflects the trend towards a new functional configuration. All this implies signals of change which could only be consolidated through the design of an institutional reform strategic plan, where moving from a more traditional organization to a modern one, adaptable to the new roles of international security and aligned to the new national and international threats are considered. Issues such as respect for human rights, transparency, and the execution of a real political control must be the cornerstone of any reform, which, in the case of Bolivia implies that the Armed Forces role should be re-considered together with their regulatory framework, educational structure modification, re-adaptation of their actions in accordance to new threats and a full openness to society.

There are certain weaknesses that the Armed Forces have in order to project a new strategic horizon, which can not be left out. Undoubtedly, the lack of resources is a considerable hindrance to reach this objective. However, political power and the will of the military members themselves are the ones to

■ Changes are not the result of a wide process of institutional reform, but they reflect the trend towards a new functional configuration.

⁴ Origins of the incomes were from hydrocarbon nationalization.

design the “critical route” towards change, especially if faced with a possible new constitutional framework as a result of the Statutory Assembly.

Currently, the power of the Armed Forces should not mean the power of its military arsenal but its capacity to adapt to the democratic context in a better way. Their strength in countries like Bolivia should lie in the development of methods to fully adapt to the changes of its society and to the regional scenario, in a professional way.

■ The political power and the will of the military members themselves are the ones to design the “critical route” towards change.