

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title: Bosnia - September 1995 [3]				
Staff Office-Individual: European Affairs-Vershbow, Alexander				
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	The Former Warring Parties Militaries. (3 pages)	09/17/1996	P1/b(1)
002. report	Deputy Minister. (3 pages)	09/18/1996	P1/b(1)
003a. memo	For Samuel Berger from Ivo Daadler and Nicholas Dowling. Subject: Record ID: 9620855. (4 pages)	09/18/1996	P1/b(1)
003b. agenda	Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia, September 18, 1996. Record ID: 9620846. (1 page)	09/18/1996	P1/b(1)
003c. list	Bosnia Issues. (3 pages)	09/18/1996	P1/b(1)
004. memo	September 19 Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia - Part 2. (26 pages)	09/18/1996	P1/b(1)
005. memo	Discussion Paper for September 19 Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia. Record ID: 9620853. (4 pages)	09/17/1996	P1/b(1)
006. cable	re: Parts for Serbia. [50 U.S.C. app. § 2411(c)] (2 pages)	09/17/1996	P3/b(3)
007. draft	Paper: Bosnia After the Elections. (4 pages)	09/1996	P1/b(1)
008. paper	Post-IFOR Strategy. (3 pages)	09/11/1996	P1/b(1)
009. paper	USUN Strategy. (5 pages)	09/17/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 851

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 [3]

2013-0687-F

vz2744

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Bosnia Post-Election Economic Strategy

Over the past year, the international financial institutions and donor community have mobilized significant support for the reconstruction of Bosnia. While much reconstruction remains to be done, we now must also focus on the creation of institutions and the development of policies necessary for a unified, viable, market-oriented Bosnian economy. At the request of Assistant Secretary Kornblum, a Treasury/State working group, working in close consultation with the IMF and the World Bank, has developed the following framework for working with the parties toward this end. In the aftermath of its election, Bosnia faces a four-part challenge on the economic front:

1. Resolving the remaining issues regarding the functioning of the Federation, including a viable fiscal structure for 1997 and beyond;
2. Developing linkages between the Federation and Republika Srpska (RS) and facilitating the coordination of policies for which the entities have responsibility but which need to be harmonized or comparable for an interdependent economy to function effectively;
3. Creating the joint economic institutions of the State, as envisaged by the Dayton Accords; and
4. Establishing the policy framework for the development of a market economy.

These issues raise difficult questions about the respective roles of the State, the entities and the cantons and municipalities and cut to the core of building a unified Bosnia. Progress requires both a consensus on the direction forward and political will to take significant steps in that direction. Building on the accomplishments of 1996, and taking as a guide the plans of the international financial institutions, our objective is to facilitate the development of that consensus and to encourage the parties to take the necessary steps.

The framework laid out below is not a detailed economic program for Bosnia. (That will be developed between Bosnia and the international financial institutions.) Rather, it is intended to be an overall template for the development of the institutions and policies necessary for a unified, viable, market-oriented Bosnian economy. In that regard, particular emphasis is placed on the development of institutions and policies that maximize the potential for integration over time.

Clearly, the most critical step toward developing a unified Bosnian economy will be the completion of an IMF program, which will require the development of a 1997 budget and the capability to implement certain fiscal and monetary conditions on a country-wide basis. The IMF is planning a series of missions over the next several months and is prepared to engage actively Bosnia's new leadership as soon as it takes office. The IMF will be encouraged to reach an agreement at the earliest possible opportunity, which will set the foundation for a successful donor's conference and for the rescheduling of Bosnia's official and commercial debts.

Framework for Economic Institution-Building and Policy Development

1. Ensuring a Functioning Federation

Much progress has been made over the past year in putting in place the Federation's economic institutions. Specifically:

- There now appears to be an effective unified Federation payments system, although it will require continued close monitoring by the international community.
- The customs administration has been unified, but further work should be done to balance its ethnic composition and to issue the necessary regulations and guidelines for it work operate effectively.
- A Federation banking agency has been created but has not yet begun to supervise banks effectively. It requires additional staff and resources, as does the Federation Ministry of Finance.
- A Federation privatization agency law has been approved, but there has been little progress toward putting in place the institution or a privatization policy.
- A Federation tax administration law was approved in late August. The Federation should work to put in place a functional institution to collect taxes (e.g., corporate, individual, sales taxes) within the territory of the Federation. This would supplement the efforts of the Federation customs administration to collect import-related taxes at the border.

Looking ahead, there is considerable uncertainty regarding the division of fiscal and expenditure responsibilities and the allocation of revenue among the State, the Federation and the cantons and municipalities. For example, there is considerable pressure to give substantial responsibility for tax policy to the cantons/municipalities, which could complicate tax collection and undermine the ability of the Federation to serve its role. At the same time, the State continues to provide various services and to collect certain revenues which are intended for either the Federation or the cantons/municipalities.

- Work is in progress on a Federation révenues and expenditures law, which could address personal income and corporate tax policies. Care should be taken to avoid putting in place a law which underfunds the Federation and overfunds the cantons and municipalities, given their respective expenditure responsibilities.
- At the Federation Forum meeting in August, the Special Group issued a finding regarding the allocation of revenue by the Federation to the State during the remainder of 1996. Implementation of that finding will need to be monitored.

- Some initial work has been done to lay the groundwork for the creation of a Financial and Fiscal Commission. That Commission should be established and should have the responsibility for recommending and helping to implement longer-term expenditure responsibilities and the allocation of revenue among the State, the Federation and the cantons/municipalities.
- Budgets should be established at all levels (i.e., the State, the Federation, RS and the cantons and municipalities), and donors should provide strategic support (e.g., topping off salaries) to those governmental structures which are likely to adhere to responsible fiscal management. The structures for managing those budgets should also be put in place.

2. Developing Linkages and Coordinating Policies between the Entities

There has been modest contact between economic officials of the Federation and RS regarding the linkage of the payments system and the creation of a central bank. Much further work remains to be done, both to create linkages between the economies of the Federation and RS and to ensure that, where necessary, the policies pursued by each are compatible:

- To facilitate trade and financial transactions between the entities, the payments systems of the Federation and RS should be linked immediately and ultimately unified, thereby allowing direct settlement of accounts between individuals and firms in the Federation and RS.
- While customs policy is the preserve of the State, customs administration is the responsibility of the entities. It is necessary, therefore, that the entities coordinate their customs procedures and administrative guidelines to ensure maximum compliance with customs laws and to avoid actions which could distort the flow of imports. All obstacles to internal trade should be eliminated.
- There should be a mechanism for coordinating/harmonizing policies in areas in which the entities are interdependent (e.g., the development of the electric power sector, telecommunications, postal service, infrastructure development).

3. Creating Joint Economic Institutions/Policies

The State is intended to have a limited role in economic affairs and is responsible for Bosnia's monetary policy, customs/trade policy, and external debt servicing.

- The establishment of a central bank is of highest priority. The central bank will play a crucial role in reintegrating the Bosnian economy and laying the foundation for economic stability and growth. While the introduction of new currency may take some time, the new State Parliament should adopt a central bank law and the IMF should nominate a governor as early as possible.

- The State Parliament should adopt a customs law which sets harmonized tariff rates exemptions country-wide. Currently, there is a tendency for the Federation to follow Croatia's customs policy and for RS to follow the FRY's customs policy. The policy should strive to impose low tariff rates and to minimize exemptions, consistent with the revenue needs of the State and the entities.
- The State should develop a budget for 1997 which takes into account the appropriate allocation of expenditure responsibilities (e.g., external debt servicing). In that regard, the State (in conjunction with representatives of the entities) should seek to obtain debt relief from the Paris Club and London Club as soon as an IMF agreement is completed.

4. Establishing a Framework for a Market Economy

In the coming year, both entities must work to develop the structures to support a market economy and to extricate the state from unnecessary involvement in the economy. A sound monetary and fiscal program should be put in place to create the macroeconomic environment for stability and growth. In addition, the entities should pursue the development of the legal and regulatory framework for private economic activity, tax reform, privatization and enterprise restructuring, the restructuring of the banking sector, and health and pension reform.

- Reforms to establish clear property rights, contract rights, bankruptcy procedures and accounting standards are necessary to support the develop of the private sector.
- Tax regimes must be designed to promote growth by expanding the tax base, lowering rates and creating a consistent stable tax environment, consistent with revenue needs.
- Both entities need to adopt privatization plans, including the method for privatization, and establish institutions with sufficient resources to carry them out. (The Federation is currently considering a privatization program which would be implemented primarily by cantonal privatization agencies, except for those firms that cut across cantonal lines. The status of privatization plans in RS is unclear at this time.)
- Enterprises that are salvageable will need to be restructured while maintaining hard budget constraints. Those that are not should be dealt with through bankruptcy procedures.
- Much of the banking system will require restructuring through the isolation and removal of bad assets, the closure of some banks and the recapitalization and privatization of others. The legal and regulatory framework for this and for effective bank supervision should be adopted. Donors should target financing (e.g., lines of credit) through stronger banks and provide strategic support and technical assistance to banks which are undergoing meaningful restructuring, rehabilitation and privatization.

- The health care and pension systems should be reformed and, if necessary, a social safety net strategy should be developed.

Next Steps

This post-election economic framework is intended to give ourselves and the parties in Bosnia a clear roadmap of what needs to be achieved in the coming months. Backed by international donor financing and the active engagement of the Special Group, our objective is to bring maximum leverage to bear during the very difficult negotiations that lie ahead in creating new economic institutions and developing a market-oriented policy framework. We have refrained from outlining an unrealistically-detailed timetable. However, we see the following as potentially important next steps in putting in place this framework:

1. A "Vision Conference" in Sarajevo (October)

Last year, the IMF, the World Bank and the EU engaged in an intensive set of meetings with the Bosnians to reach agreement on the reconstruction program. A similar conference could be useful in helping the parties to forge a consensus -- backed by the international financial institutions and donor community -- regarding the direction forward.

2. An IMF Program (target year-end)

The IMF is prepared to engage actively in the negotiations of an Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF), which should go a long way toward putting in place the preconditions for the a stable market economy. Reaching agreement by year-end would facilitate the success of a subsequent donors' conference (i.e., because some donors' willingness to pledge depends on the existence of a stable macroeconomic policy framework) and set the stage for the rescheduling of Bosnia's official and commercial debts.

3. A Donors' Conference (early 1997)

To maintain the pipeline of obligated funds, it is important to have a donors' conference in early 1997. It should be held as quickly as possible following the conclusion of an IMF agreement.

4. Special Group Meetings (ongoing)

The Special Group, co-chaired by Assistant Secretary Kornblum and Deputy High Representative Steiner should meet on a regular (e.g., monthly) basis to review progress on the development of this framework.

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003b. agenda	Deputies Committee Meeting on Bosnia, September 18, 1996. Record ID: 9620846. (1 page)	09/18/1996	P1/b(1)

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~~SECRET~~

20853

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

September 17, 1996

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL BERGER

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *AV*
FROM: IVO H. DAALDER *@*
SUBJECT: September 19 Deputies Committee Discussion Paper

Attached at Tab A is the Discussion Paper for September 19 Deputies Committee Meeting. Earlier drafts have been reviewed and cleared by the Bosnia ExComm. The memorandum to the agencies is attached at Tab I.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Andrew Sens to sign the memorandum to the agencies at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the Agencies
Tab A Discussion Paper

~~SECRET~~

Reason: 1.5 (a,c,d)
Declassify On: 09/17/06

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006

By *VZ* NARA, Date *7/18/2014*

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- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
007. draft	Paper: Bosnia After the Elections. (4 pages)	09/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 851

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 [3]

2013-0687-F

vz2744

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
008. paper	Post-IFOR Strategy. (3 pages)	09/11/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 851

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 [3]

2013-0687-F

vz2744

RESTRICTION CODES

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009. paper	USUN Strategy. (5 pages)	09/17/1996	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
European Affairs (Alexander Vershbow)
OA/Box Number: 851

FOLDER TITLE:

Bosnia - September 1995 [3]

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