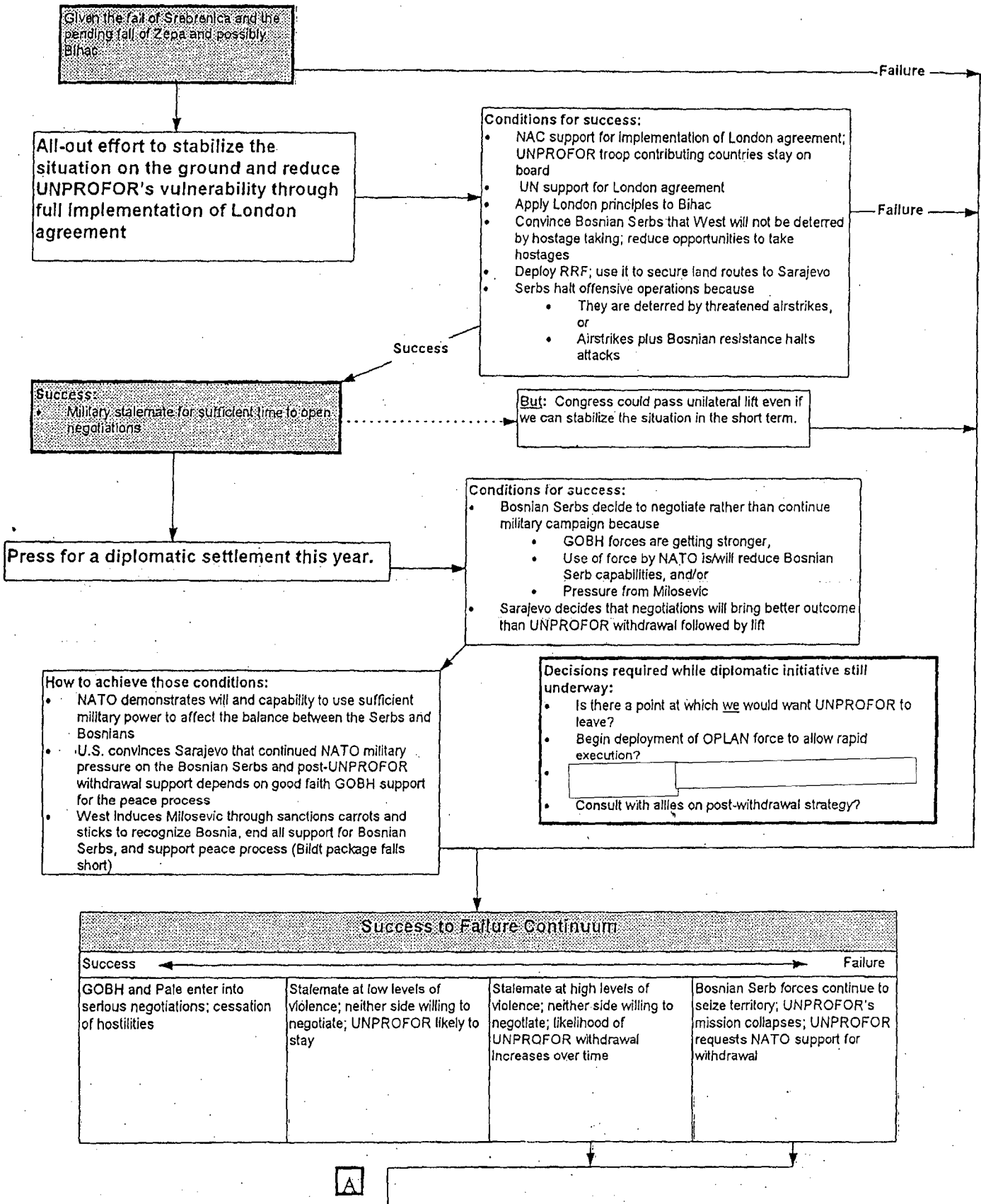




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**Schematic of Endgame Strategy**  
(Revised as of 7/23)



A

**UNPROFOR Withdrawal: US and NATO determine scope, duration and objective of withdrawal operation**

The mission and ROE for the withdrawal force are a function of the post-withdrawal strategy U.S. and/or allied policy makers wish to pursue. There are four options:

**Factors affecting scope and duration:**

- Missions assigned the withdrawal force (see below)
- Whether UNPROFOR has withdrawn from enclaves (because enclaves no longer exist and/or UN forces have consolidated in Sarajevo and Central Bosnia)
- GOBH and Bosnian Serbs' capabilities and intentions to resist withdrawal
- Whether any nations decide to commit units currently in UNPROFOR to an UNPROFOR successor force (see below)

**Option One: Neutral Withdrawal and US Disengages**

- Withdrawal force treats all parties alike and uses force only in self defense
- UNPROFOR equipment is withdrawn or destroyed
- If arms embargo is lifted, USG only supplies arms on a "cash and carry" basis -- no military aid or training
- U.S. and allies pursue strategy to contain conflict and keep Belgrade out
  - Belgrade gets substantial sanctions relief to seal border and stay out of conflict
  - UN strengthens peacekeeping forces in Croatia and FYROM
  - Contact Group attempts to reach peace accord in Croatia

**Prognosis (assumes FRY and GOC stay out):**

- Increased fighting after withdrawal
- Bosnian Serbs may try for knock-out offensive
- GOBH will increase attacks
- GOBH may try to impede UNPROFOR withdrawal
- Military stalemate with balance of forces gradually shifting to Sarajevo

**Option Two: Neutral Withdrawal and US stays Engaged (option in NSC "endgame" paper)**

- Withdrawal force treats all parties alike and uses force only in self defense
- UNPROFOR equipment removed or destroyed
- U.S. and others provide arms during withdrawal period [redacted]
- After UNPROFOR units depart
  - US-led air and other military support for Bosnian forces continues for a finite time period
  - USG supplies additional military aid and training [redacted]
  - USG organizes and helps deploy an UNPROFOR successor force (under UNSC mandate or Chapter 51)
- U.S. and allies try to contain conflict and keep Belgrade out (Same as above)

**Prognosis (assumes FRY and GOC stay out)::**

- Increased fighting after withdrawal
- Bosnian Serbs more likely to try knock-out offensive
- GOBH increases attacks
- Military balance shifts more rapidly towards GOBH
- Increased pressure on Belgrade to aid Bosnian Serbs
- Stalemate at higher levels of violence

**Option Three: Level the Playing Field During Withdrawal after which US Disengages**

- Withdrawal force attacks Bosnian Serb forces
  - Pre-emptive SEAD campaign
  - Destroy heavy weapons
  - Disrupt command and control system
- UNPROFOR equipment turned over to GOBH (requires lift)
- U.S. and others provide arms during withdrawal period [redacted]
- After UNPROFOR units depart
  - Air and other military support for Bosnian forces ends
  - USG only supplies additional arms on a "cash and carry" basis -- no military aid or training
- U.S. and allies try to contain conflict and keep Belgrade out (Same as above)

**Prognosis (assumes FRY and GOC stay out)::**

- BSA likely to oppose withdrawal operation
- Increased fighting after withdrawal
- GOBH will take offensive during or immediately after withdrawal to take advantage of diminished BSA capabilities
- Increased pressure on Belgrade to aid Bosnian Serbs
- Military balance shifts towards GOBH in immediate aftermath of withdrawal -- gradual shift towards GOBH after withdrawal
- Stalemate at higher levels of violence

**Option Four: Level the Playing Field During Withdrawal and US Stays Engaged**

- Withdrawal force attacks Bosnian Serb forces
  - Pre-emptive SEAD campaign
  - Destroy heavy weapons
  - Disrupt command and control system
- UNPROFOR equipment turned over to GOBH (requires lift)
- U.S. and others provide arms during withdrawal period [redacted]
- After UNPROFOR units depart
  - US-led Air and other military support for Bosnian forces continues for a finite time period
  - USG supplies additional military aid and training [redacted]
  - USG organizes and helps deploy an UNPROFOR successor force (under UNSC mandate or Chapter 51)
- U.S. and allies try to contain conflict and keep Belgrade out (Same as above)

**Prognosis (assumes FRY and GOC stay out)::**

- BSA likely to oppose withdrawal operation
- Increased fighting after withdrawal
- Military balance shifts towards GOBH in immediate aftermath of withdrawal -- continues to shift towards GOBH after withdrawal
- GOBH may gain enough combat power to retake territory
- Increased pressure on Belgrade to aid Bosnian Serbs

B

B

**Impact of actions by Serbia and/or Croatia that on the preceding prognoses:**

**If Serbia intervenes to end the war because balance of power is shifting decisively against the Bosnian Serbs**

- BSA, with FRY support, will launch offensives to defeat GOBH or get favorable settlement
- Sharply increased level of violence
- GOBH unlikely to capitulate, but will call for massive assistance from West and OIC

**If Croatia makes large-scale attacks against Sectors North and South**

- Bosnian Serbs would support Krajina Serbs and go on defensive in Bosnia
- GOBH would step up attacks against Pale
- FRY Involvement in Knin and Bosnia likely to increase

**If Milosevic and Tujman cut a deal**

- Bosnian and Knin Serbs free to concentrate against GOBH
- Federation will disintegrate
- Bosnian Gov't increasingly isolated

**If Milosevic breaks all contacts with Bosnian and Knin Serbs and seals border**

- Accelerates weakening of Bosnian Serbs
- BSA may try for knock out punch before balance of power shifts decisively towards GOBH
- GOBH would eventually gain military advantage, may be able to regain territory
- Bosnian Serbs may accept a peace settlement

Range of possible outcomes			
Good		Bad	
Shift in balance of power brings Pale to the negotiating table; sides reach and implement a peace agreement	Shift in balance of power leads to stable equilibrium after GOBH has regained some territory	GOBH unable to regain territory but can defend current holdings; stalemate ensues	GOBH unable to defend current territory; faces defeat without additional Western support