Ad-Hoc Committee of the Secretary-General

United States National Security Council (USNSC)

Chair: Ryan Dukeman ‘17

Director: Eli Schechner ‘18

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Dear Delegates,

Welcome to PMUNC 2015, and the 2015 US National Security Council! My name is Ryan Dukeman, and I’m excited to serve as your chair for the weekend. The Ad Hoc committee will be focusing on a wide variety of regional and global crises and events, and I’m really looking forward to seeing how you come up with policy responses in this fast-paced environment.

Just a bit of background on me – I’m a junior from Westwood, MA, majoring in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, with minors in American Studies and French Language & Culture. In the Wilson School, my primary interests are constitutional and national security law, international history, and international institutions. Other than Model UN, I’m involved with the American Whig-Cliosophic Society, the Princeton Debate Panel, and the Daily Princetonian. If at any point during the conference you have questions about Princeton, feel free to ask me.

I’m excited to have Eli Schechner ’18 as my Director for this committee. Eli is a Woodrow Wilson School major from New Jersey, and will be helping out with all aspects of the committee structure, logistics, and content.

The National Security Council is the principal organ for high-level US foreign and security policy-making, comprised of relevant Cabinet secretaries, advisors to the President, military representatives, and the President. It is assembled in times of crisis to coordinate the federal government’s multifaceted responses on a variety of foreign security concerns (military, diplomatic, economic, and otherwise). Of critical importance this weekend will be your ability to synchronize policy tools and objectives across a variety of departments and agencies, all while jockeying for influence and favor with the President. In the first committee session tomorrow, delegates will be notified of the start date of the committee and will receive their positions.

Best wishes for a successful, productive, and enjoyable conference.

Ryan Dukeman
Chair, US National Security Council
Overview: The US National Security Council

Under the National Security Act of 1947, authority was provided for the creation of the Department of Defense, the CIA, and the NSC. The Act aimed to better streamline and coordinate the United States’ policy response to what was perceived as a growing threat from the Soviet Union.

Since the 1940s, the NSC has served as the principal organ for high-level US foreign and security policy-making, comprised of relevant Cabinet secretaries, advisors to the President, military representatives, and the President. Its objective is to synchronize policy tools and objectives across a wide array of federal agencies and departments, in order to create better federal responses to national security crises with multifaceted dimensions (military, economic, social, political, and otherwise).

The staff of the NSC has grown from roughly 25 people under President Carter to over 400 under President Obama, despite efforts by National Security Advisor Susan Rice to make its decision-making process leaner and more agile. Originally a largely advisory board, the NSC now has enormous functional capacity and broad power over the federal foreign policy-making process, including deputies covering every region and issue/functional area of foreign and defense policy. This structure, and the rapid centralization of foreign policy into the White House under Presidents Bush and (especially) Obama, have led some to criticize the NSC as a parallel State Department usurping the authority of multiple Cabinet departments and agencies – which they say has led to substantive failures in policy-making.

In 2009, President Obama folded the staff of the Homeland Security Council into that of the NSC, thus giving it jurisdiction over all matters pertaining to national security. Additionally, the High Value Detainee Interrogation Group (HVDIG), formed by President Obama in 2010 and comprised of an interagency task force to interrogate top-level national security and terrorism suspects, operates under the aegis of the NSC.

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3 See footnote 1
Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the “Principals” of the NSC (including the President, Vice President, National Security Advisor, DNI, and CIA Director) maintain approval authority over the Disposition Matrix. The Disposition Matrix, informally referred to as the “kill list,” is the US government’s unified database of terror suspects (including US citizens) who the government is authorized to kill, usually by drone strike. The President must approve all drone strikes under the targeted killing program personally, unless carried out in Pakistan. The Disposition Matrix has been roundly criticized as unconstitutional and secretive, as no public record exists of the decision to add a name to the Matrix or to kill someone on the list, nor are there any laws that authorize the Matrix’s existence or establish its criteria. Nevertheless, the “kill list” remains one of the US government’s most important tools in fighting terrorism. The de facto decision-making process/criteria for the President to authorize a drone strike or other lethal force under the Disposition Matrix through the NSC is as follows:

4 http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/14/obama-secret-kill-list-disposition-matrix
Topic 1: Territorial Disputes in the South and East China Seas

The Chinese Constitution of 1949 declares the protection of territorial sovereignty to be a “core interest” of China, a doctrine which has been imbedded in CCP governance ever since. Since assuming the presidency of China in 2013, Xi Jinping has explicitly stated that the “core interest” standard – which originally applied only to places like Tibet, Xinjiang, and Taiwan – would be extended to include the Spratly and Parcel islands in the South China Sea. Additionally, it has claimed sovereignty over islands in the East China Sea administered and controlled by Japan, known internationally by their Japanese name, the Senkaku Islands, but dubbed the Diaoyu in Chinese.

In the South China Sea, several dozen islands – most of which are in the 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zones of China’s neighbors (as defined by the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, UNCLOS) – are claimed jointly by China and several neighboring states. These include the Philippines, a former US colony and steadfast Asian ally, Malaysia, Brunei, Vietnam, and Indonesia. Additionally, Taiwan – a key US ally and bulwark of democracy in Asia – claims sovereignty over the islands by virtue of its claim to be the sole government of all of China.

Over the last few years, China has been engaging in a series of minor but provocative military and civilian law enforcement actions with rival claimants to the islands and the United States, which many see as a form of

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saber-rattling or symbolic assertion of rising Chinese influence in the region. These include Chinese Coast Guard vessels harassing US Navy ships that are patrolling international shipping lanes, as well as dozens of instances of Chinese ships involved in standoffs with governmental and non-governmental ships from other countries claiming sovereignty.\(^7\)

The South China Sea also contains some of the most important shipping lanes for global commerce, especially for trafficking in oil and manufactured goods. Some of the world’s most important shipping routes, connecting India and the Persian Gulf through Singapore, Hong Kong, into the West, pass directly through or adjacent to the Spratly and Paracel Islands, both series of which are in dispute.\(^8\) US military patrols in the area have, for decades, been a critical means in which America can enforce the “global commons” of the ocean, keeping it open, free, and safe for international commerce and trade.

To further its territorial claims over the South China Sea, China has been engaged in “island building,” a process in which small, rocky atolls in the South China Sea are greatly expanded with reclaimed land – many with military bases or airstrips on them – by the Chinese military and some State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs). China has offered multiple, contradictory justifications for their island-building, but is has nonetheless proceeded at a \textit{rapid} pace under President Xi.\(^9\) Daniel Russel, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific Affairs, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee earlier this year that “land reclamation in the South China Sea is eroding trust in the region and threatens to undermine [regional and international] peace, security, and stability.”\(^10\)

The United States maintains an interest in peace and stability in the South China Sea, due to increasing threats to the international order and governance structure established over the last 40 years. China’s actions are widely seen as overt violations of the Law of the Sea, and aggressive posturing in overt disregard for US-led international norms and customs. The larger strategic implications of China’s ‘throwing its weight’ around in the South China Sea represent a threat to the continued survival and supremacy of the US-led international order in Asia, and military expansionism by China presents a clear and direct threat to our steadfast allies like Japan,

\(^7\) A listing of these incidents: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Territorial_disputes_in_the_South_China_Sea
\(^10\) http://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/051315_REVISED_Russel_Testimony.pdf
Korea, the Philippines, and other nations. Conflict over the Johnson South Reef and the Spratly Islands especially, has existed between nations for decades, but China’s recent heightened aggression in the region presents a new and more pressing threat that the NSC must find ways of dealing with.

East China Sea

Since the 1972 return of Okinawa to Japan, Japan has maintained sovereignty over the Senkaku Islands, a small series of uninhabited but potentially oil-rich islands in the East China Sea. The United States is officially neutral as to the ultimate sovereignty over the islands, but has in recent years determined that they qualify as “territories under the administration of Japan” for the purposes of Article V of the US-Japan Security Treaty, which obliges each party to “meet the common danger” (presumably with military force) should the other be attacked. 11

The Senkaku Islands are a small series of Islands near Japan in the East China Sea, over which sovereignty has periodically bounced between Japan and China for the last several hundred years. Since 1972, however, the islands have been controlled and administered by Japan. In 2012, the government of Japan purchased three of the islands from private Japanese owners, under the direction of the Governor of Tokyo and the federal government. Following this move by Japan, small but provocative military tug-of-war games have been occurring re: the islands between China and Japan (and often with US ships). This has included Chinese government ships frequently sailing in the (Japanese) territorial waters surrounding the islands, and the Japanese Coast Guard arresting Chinese individual and corporate fishermen fishing in the said waters. 12

These skirmishes have been mounting in recent years, and include multiple close calls wherein Chinese and Japanese military ships and submarines have come in dramatically close contact. Recently, Chinese and US Air Force planes nearly collided with one another while patrolling waters near the islands.

In 2013, China announced the establishment of an “Air Defense Identification Zone” (ADIZ) in the East China Sea that covered the Senkaku Islands. ADIZs are the air equivalent of UNCLOS EEZs for the sky, i.e. an area of sky over which that country’s military and civilian air traffic control

11 Copy of the treaty: http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/us/q&a/ref/1.html
Evidence of US position re: Senkaku Island’s under Article V:
Officials exercise national sovereignty. China’s ADIZ directly conflicts both with that of Japan’s in the Senkaku Islands, and with the international airspace in which US Air Force planes routinely fly on patrol from bases in Japan and the Philippines.¹³

Beyond territorial disputes, the Senkaku dispute matters to the US for a few main reasons: 1) the global trade routes which pass through the East China Sea (see above), 2) should the posturing lead to an open armed conflict, the US would be obligated to defend Japan against China under the US-Japan Security Treat, and 3) the potential for the dispute to lead to an armed conflict is high, given that the Senkaku Islands and waters around them are thought to be rich with oil (which could also disrupt global oil markets in which the US maintains a vital interest).

**NSC Objectives**

Your objectives as members of the US National Security Council in these matters will be as follows:

- Establish best policies and practices for maintaining the international architecture of the last 70 years in the S/E China Seas (i.e. Law of the Sea, US patrolling of global commons – sea and sky, open international trading, EEZs respected by foreign powers, etc.)
- Diffuse tension between China, Japan, and their neighbors in a way that protects US allies and advances our and their interests
- Develop a strategy that engages China constructively, as is the President’s objective per the 2015 National Security Strategy, while containing its territorial expansionism

**FURTHER READING RE: SOUTH/EAST CHINA SEAS DISPUTES**


http://www.cfr.org/world/armed-clash-south-china-sea/p27883


The top 5 search results on http://foreignpolicy.com/?s=south+china+sea


Results 1, 2, and 4 on http://foreignpolicy.com/?s=east+china+sea
Topic 2: Combatting the Threat of ISIS

ISIS presents the latest in a decades-long series of complicated national-security challenges faced by the United States in the Middle East. ISIS is a Sunni Islamist extremist group, which has been aided in its recruiting efforts by the government of Iraqi PM Nouri al-Maliki (2006 – 2014), who created a Shia secular state and further marginalized Iraq’s Sunni population from mainstream society. ISIS now controls territory covering several thousand square miles in Syria and northeastern Iraq, with a population of roughly 11 million people in its self-proclaimed Caliphate. Its total number of fighters is estimated at 20-35,000, and the US asserts its bombing campaigns have killed 10,000 fighters thus far.

In June of 2015, Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter, testifying before the House Armed Services Committee, re-iterated President Obama’s overarching strategy to “degrade and ultimately defeat ISIL,” which consists of 9 Lines of Effort. The 9 Lines of Effort are as follows (with responsible Departments/agencies in parentheses):

1. Build a stable, effective, and inclusive government in Iraq (State Dept.)
   a. NB: SecDef Carter said that “each of the other lines … requires success in this line because it’s the only way to create support among local forces – and local people – that is necessary to make progress against extremism stick.”
2. Deny ISIS safe haven in Iraq and Syria (DoD)
3. Build partner capacity in Iraq and Syria (DoD)
   a. Lines 2 and 3 involve coalition air-strikes against ISIS, “advising and assisting Iraqi security forces on the ground, and training and equipping trusted local forces.”
4. Enhance intelligence gathering on ISIS (National Counterterrorism Center, NCTC)
5. Disrupt ISIS financing (Treasury, w/help by State)
6. Counter ISIS’s message (State and NCTC)
7. Disrupt the flow of foreign fighters to and from ISIS (State and NCTC)
8. Provide humanitarian support to those displaced by ISIS (State)
9. Protect the homeland from terrorist threats (Homeland Security and FBI)

All quotes in this paragraph and list, and paraphrased descriptions of the lines of effort, are from: http://docs.house.gov/meetings/AS/AS00/20150617/103634/HHRG-114-AS00-Wstate-CarterA-20150617.PDF
A significant point of concern in the larger fight against ISIS is its recruiting, propaganda, and social media prowess, which is far more effective and sophisticated than any previous terrorist group. It was estimated that in March 2015, ISIS and ISIS-related accounts had roughly 46,000 followers worldwide, including over 11,000 English-language followers.\(^{17}\) It is likely wise to assume that number has grown in the intervening months. So far, the State Department has been engaging in a social media and grassroots campaign in Iraq and Syria to counter the hateful and extremist ideology of ISIS, a strategy that by its own admission has thus-far been largely a failure.\(^{18}\)

ISIS is also particularly adept at producing high-quality, professionally edited recruiting videos that make it appealing to potential recruits, offering adventure, a sense of belonging, and the promise of employment. These are of a level previously unseen with any other terrorist group, including Al Qaeda, and present a significantly increased risk for the recruitment of new fighters. It is estimated that between 4,000-7,000 Westerners have attempted or successfully left their home countries to fight with ISIS in Syria or Iraq, including significant numbers of French, British, and some American citizens.\(^{19}\) In the US, the FBI has been successful in preventing a number of Americans from leaving the country who were suspected of trying to go to Syria for the purpose of joining ISIS. The challenge has been more difficult in the European Union, which has open borders between member states and which has a land route to Syria through Turkey. Another worry is that some of these fighters will return to their homelands and conduct ISIS-inspired "lone-wolf" style terrorist attacks in major population centers.

Turkish cooperation is critical to ensuring a successful campaign against ISIS. Turkey was initially reluctant to ramp up screenings and arrests at its international airports (through which almost all foreigners looking to go to Syria or Iraq to join ISIS pass), but has recently been gradually obliging. Additionally, since July 2015, Turkey has allowed the US to conduct anti-ISIS airstrikes and bombing campaigns from the US Air Force Base in Incirlik, near the Syrian border. Turkey’s military has joined the coalition against ISIS, but has persistently been using its air campaigns to attack Kurds in the region as well (who are a key US ally in fighting ISIS but are a


\(^{19}\) [http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/07/isis-foreign-fighters-political-pilgrims/399209/](http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/07/isis-foreign-fighters-political-pilgrims/399209/)
persecuted ethnic minority group hated by the Turks and many other Middle Eastern peoples).

Because of its ability to ‘inspire’ lone-wolf style terrorists in locations across the globe with its sophisticated online presence and recruitment strategy, ISIS presents a grave and present danger to the US homeland. ISIS differs from its former parent organization, Al Qaeda, in that it does not need to organize a 9/11-style international terrorist attack to devastate the US homeland – it can simply inspire lone wolves already inside the US to carry out bombings in major cities. As such, the FBI, along with the Departments of Justice and of Homeland Security, play a critical role in this national security crisis.

**NSC Objectives:**

Your objectives against ISIS are to carry out and improve the 9 Lines of Effort strategy, while protecting the US homeland and ensuring regional stability in the Middle East.

**FURTHER READING RE: ISIS**


http://www.vox.com/cards/things-about-isis-you-need-to-know

Keep up with Google News for “ISIS”
Description of Roles:

1. **Vice President of the United States: Joe Biden** has been Vice President of the United States since January 20, 2009. Prior to serving as VPOTUS, Biden was Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for many years, and thus brings extensive foreign policy experience to the table in both a legislative and executive context. His relationship with President Obama is particularly close for a President and VP, with Biden often serving as Obama’s most trusted advisor on matters of foreign affairs.

2. **White House Chief of Staff: Dennis McDonough** has been White House Chief of Staff since the beginning of President Obama’s second term. Often called the “co-President,” the Chief of Staff is the President’s principal deputy, overseeing all aspects of government and ensuring that the President’s agenda is affected and realized on the ground. Though McDonough has no military experience, he has an extensive national security background, including having served as Deputy National Security Advisor immediately prior to his service as Chief of Staff.

3. **Secretary of State: John Kerry** has been Secretary of State since Hillary Clinton retired in February 2013. He served for nearly three decades on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (including as its Chairman 2009-2013, succeeding Biden), where he worked on numerous foreign policy issues such as the Iran-Contra Affair, the first and second Iraq Wars, normalization of relations with Vietnam, and terrorism. As Secretary of State, his legacy thus-far has included the détente with Cuba, the Iran Nuclear Deal, the elimination of chemical weapons from Syria, and the ongoing TPP and TTIP free trade agreements in East Asia and Europe. He enjoys deep personal ties to his European counterparts (due to significant time spent together on the Iran Deal and other negotiations), and a close working relationship with Chinese, Japanese, and other East Asian diplomats; however, his relationship with Middle Eastern allies and partners is strained.

4. **Secretary of Defense: Dr. Ashton “Ash” Carter** has been Secretary of Defense since February 2015, succeeding Chuck Hagel. He previously served as an Undersecretary of Defense and the Deputy Secretary of Defense. His background is in physics, and he was an academic at Harvard for most of his career, specializing in quantum physics at the Belfer Center for Science & International Affairs at Harvard. His short tenure as Secretary has been marked by continued struggles and setbacks in the fight against ISIS, though he continues to enjoy the confidence of the President.
5. **National Security Advisor:** The National Security Advisor, who operates in the White House outside of any Cabinet department (reporting directly to the Chief of Staff), is the President’s principal advisor on matters of national security. Susan Rice, former Ambassador to the UN and former Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, assumed the role in July of 2013. When the President is not in attendance at NSC non-emergency meetings, the NSA acts as Chairman of the National Security Council, and thus has significant sway over the committee’s long-term direction and objectives.

6. **Secretary of the Treasury:** The Treasury Secretary’s role on the NSC is to ensure that the so-called “financial War on Terror” is executed efficiently and in line with larger strategic national security objectives. Jack Lew, a former White House Chief of Staff under President Obama, assumed the role in January 2013. Under his leadership and in close consultation with Congress and foreign counterparts, the Treasury Department has significantly ramped up its fight against the finances of terrorist operations, enemy state actors, and other organizations targeted by the United States. Given the US’s central role in the global financial system, the importance of this “Treasury’s War” should not be underestimated.

7. **Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff:** The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs is the highest-ranking uniformed military officer in the United States, ranking directly under the Secretary of Defense. In practice, the Secretary and the Chairman run the DoD and the military as near equals. Chairman Martin Dempsey (US Army) has been at the helm of the Joint Chiefs since 2011. He has previously commanded troops in both Iraq and Afghanistan (as well as elsewhere), and has earned bipartisan praise in Congress for his leadership of the military.

8. **Director of National Intelligence (DNI):** As part of the post-9/11 government restructuring, the position of DNI was created to oversee all 17 of the US intelligence agencies, and serves as the President’s principal advisor from the intelligence community. De jure, the DNI has little power personally, but in practice, James Clapper (the current DNI) enjoys such a strong relationship with the President that the rest of the intelligence community has fallen in line in support of him. Clapper is a former 3-star Air Force general who has served as director of two intelligence agencies. Though he was widely criticized for lying to Congress about NSA surveillance programs targeting US citizens, he has largely succeeded in integrating information-sharing among the agencies and promoting inter-agency cooperation among the intelligence community.
9. Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA): John Brennan, a 25-year veteran of the CIA, has served as its director since 2013. Under his tenure, drone strike operations have increased dramatically, with some now calling the CIA a paramilitary organization or accusing it of operating several “shadow wars” around the world. However, the program has by many measures been successful, as roughly 30 successive deputy leaders or thirds-in-charge of Al-Qaida have been killed during his time as Director, and the organization’s governance structure has largely been decimated.

10. US Ambassador to the United Nations (UN): Samantha Power, a former Harvard Professor and journalist, covered human rights as a staffer for the NSC prior to becoming UN Ambassador in 2013. As Ambassador, she has aggressively pushed for human rights and international security at the UN. Her tenure has been marked by deepening cooperation among NATO allies at the UN, and contentious fights on issues like the Ukraine/Crimea crisis, Syria, and Chinese aggression in the East China Sea.

11. Supreme Allied Commander Europe/General Secretary of NATO/Commander, US European Command: US Air Force General Philip Breedlove has served in these positions (always held by one US-appointed military commander) since 2013. In this role, he oversees all NATO military operations, including building coalitions for joint operations across the Middle East (e.g. Libya, Afghanistan). As Russia continues to exert itself in Eastern Europe, NATO – the most successful multinational alliance in human history – has sought to expand, while serving as a buffer against Russia and the most important nexus in the US-led international institutions regime on security issues.

12. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs: Daniel Russel has served as Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs since 2013, overseeing all State department and diplomatic operations in the world’s largest region. Previously, he served in the White House as Associate National Security Advisor for Asian Affairs, where he was a major architect of the “pivot to Asia,” the Obama administration’s signature long-term foreign policy doctrine. In his present role, he has worked with military and other diplomatic players in the US and around the world to implement that strategy, in the face of growing competition from China and threats from North Korea.
13. **Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs**: Anne Paterson has served as Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern Affairs since 2013. She is a career diplomat who has served as US Ambassador to Pakistan and US Ambassador to Egypt. As Assistant Secretary, she oversees all US diplomatic efforts in the Middle East, including the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process, the conflict in Syria and against ISIS, the negotiations with Iran, and uprisings and human rights challenges across the region.

14. **Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)**: James Comey, a career US Attorney and former Deputy Attorney General, has been Director of the FBI since 2013. As director, he has tried to modernize the Bureau and increase its role in national security issues, including conducting several successful “sting” operations against individuals inside the United States plotting terrorist acts against the US and its allies. He has also tried to reform the Bureau’s civil rights records both abroad and at home, by implementing further restrictions on interrogation techniques and seeking to improve the Bureau’s relationship with minority communities in the United States.

15. **White House Counsel**: the White House Counsel is the chief legal counsel to the President, and is intimately involved in reviewing the constitutionality of (among other things) national-security/“situation room” operations, often giving one of the final “green-lights” for an operation or calling it off for constitutional reasons. A career lawyer, US Attorney, and a relatively major Obama campaign contributor, Neil Eggleston has held the position since June 2014. He was trained as an expert in constitutional law, including an extremely prestigious clerkship with Chief Justice Earl Warren. He is a liberal on constitutional matters, including believing in strong constitutional restrictions on US overseas operations.