A STUDY ON NATIONAL CRISIS MANAGEMENT SYSTEM: FOCUSING ON THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL OF KOREA

By

Soon-Kyung Kim

THESIS

Submitted to

KDI School of Public Policy and Management
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF PUBLIC POLICY

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY ON NATIONAL CRISIS MANAGEMENT SYSTEM:

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By

Soon-Kyung Kim

There was no country that free from war and crisis throughout the history. It is the most important task of all countries that protecting territory and people. Recently, the concept of national security is used comprehensively. It ranges over many new problems: international terrorism, regional disputes, infectious diseases, disasters and pollution problems.

North Korea has threatened Korean peninsula since Korean War. Whenever they wanted something from South, they used threats such as nuclear weapons, ballistic missiles, etc. So, national crisis management system is essential to Korean government. The system of Korea has developed since the National Defense Council (NDC) was organized in 1953. Especially, the National Security Council (NSC) took the major role of crisis management system.

The NSC has weakened as the Lee Myung-bak administration started. But the crisis management system was reinforced again undergoing three national crises: A tourist's death at Mt. Geumgang, Cheonan navy ship incident, Artillery shelling in Yeonpyeong Island.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. THE OBJECT OF STUDY

It is the most important task of all countries around the world that protecting the territory and sovereignty of the nation and defending the right to live of the nation people. National security can affect the fate of a country fatally. At times, we can see some country's cases suffered from the damage restoration because of ignoring the importance of National security.

In the early 1990s, the threat of war has been reduced and economic-centered new world order has been built up according to the end of the Cold War system between U.S. and Soviet, and the collapse of the socialism of Eastern Europe. But conflicts between individuals or minority groups and super-national crimes from political, economical, racial, religious disagreements have been increased. Consequently, causes that threat the national security are being changed from the past. Furthermore, natural disasters like tsunami which hit beaches of Southeast Asia and man-made disasters like the radiation exposure in Fukushima also are recognized as a national crisis. Disasters from failure of national infrastructure also put into a category of crisis as well.¹

Examining the security situation around the Korean Peninsula, U.S. is pursuing antiterrorism and counter-proliferation as a superpower and playing a role of peacemaker in Asia-Pacific area. Japan is solidifying alliance with U.S. and also pursuing a leadership in the area by cooperating and competing with China at the same time. And Japan is continuously creating a conflict with Korea at the Dokdo issue. China is making efforts on building-up defense power and expanding international influence on the basis of economic growth. Meanwhile, China is reinforcing cooperation with Russia and Central Asian countries to

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¹ Yeol-soo Kim, 21th Century National Crisis Management System, (Seoul, 2005), p. 15.

resist the congagement of U.S. And China is creating territorial and historical conflicts with neighboring countries. Russia is pursuing a recovery of global position through economic growth and multilateral pragmatic diplomacy. Meanwhile, Russia is checking the influence of U.S. through cooperation with China, India, Central Asian countries.²

North Korea has still maintained its strategy of communizing South Korea. They are reinforcing the internal control to secure the position of Kim jong-un. Because of severe financial difficulties and food shortage, it is possible that North Korea choose additional threats like Cheonan Navy Ship and artillery shelling of Yeonpyeong Island.

The security environments are continuously changing like this, and it is hard to anticipate what will happen a few hours later. So it is the most important to maintain national security. To do that, it is essential that the ability to collect the exact information and analyze and judge. And this ability is only obtainable when the Crisis Management System is developed. The Crisis Management System of Korea has changed frequently by changing of government after the National Security Council(NSC) is set up in 1960s. So whenever the national crisis was occurred, there was an opinion that we had no control tower for national security. I will analyze and evaluate the crisis management system of Korea by case study. How it changed and how it worked when a crisis occurred. And I will suggest the way to improve the system.

B. THE SCOPE AND METHOD OF STUDY

To accomplish the object of the study, I will set up the concept of national crisis and crisis management, and will examine the current security situation of Korea in Chapter II. In Chapter III, I will examine the transition of crisis management system of Korea by each government, and draw a problem of crisis management system of Korea through cases. After

² Nam-sung Huh, *The Development Plan of Crisis Preparation by Changing National Security Environment*, (Seoul, 2008), pp. 1-2.

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that I will overview the U.S. NSC about the similar and different things with Korean system. Finally, I will recommend some way to improve the system, in Chapter IV.

I use the rule of law about crisis management system, existing research papers, theses, policy documents, and military data for the study.

II. ISSUE BACKGROUND

A. THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL CRISIS AND CRISIS MANAGEMENT

In general, crisis means "a dangerous and urgent moment". ³ In the science of international politics, the national crisis is "a turning point between peace and war and an urgent situation just before war because of highly elated conflicts between countries". ⁴ According to the Ministry of National Defense Instruction, crisis is "a serious situation that needs multiple political, economical and diplomatic actions or a military action needed status before war because of incident that can cause severe threat to the national security". And according to the National Committee of Emergency Planning, crisis is "an urgent situation that needs an immediate action because there are severe threats to the national essential target, or an extremely conflict-heightened situation with other country, or an emergency that needs an immediate response because of domestic or foreign threats". ⁶

factors that are consisted the crisis. Michael Brecher suggested factors of ① Surprise, ②

Possibility of increasing military hostile action, ③ Shortage of responding time, ④

As we saw the definition of the crisis, a crisis is a very complicated, and there are many

³ Urimal Dictionary Compilation Association, *Urimal unabridged dictionary*, (Seoul, 1997), p. 1259.

⁴ Dong-hun Lee, *Social Science of Crisis Management*, (Seoul, 1999), p. 42.

⁵ Ministry of National Defense, *The Executive Instruction of Crisis Management*, (Seoul, 1998), p. 6.

⁶ National Committee of Emergency Planning, "Theory and reality of Crisis Management", *Education for Crisis 96-9*, (Seoul, 1996), p. 1.

Possibility of changing present situation.⁷ Robert Kupperman also suggested similar factors of crisis. He pointed out ① Limited time, ② Inadequate information, ③ Extreme severe result as a characteristic of crisis.⁸ As we put these factors together, preconditions are needed to be a crisis as follows.⁹

- ① Urgent response: it needs to be resolved as soon as possible.
- 2 Lack of information: the information for action is extremely limited.
- 3 Fatalness of expected result: the effect of crisis can affect national security
- (4) Lack of means: sources for the crisis management is limited

Then, what is crisis management? In general, crisis management is "a series of action to prevent current crisis situation from being worse." In other word, it is an effort to prevent the situation from ending up collapsing and to resolve the crisis and recover situation to the original state. Especially, the crisis that related with national security can bring the war. It is a turning point of war. So if we treat it well, we can prevent the war. Besides, national security can be affected by nonmilitary threat; natural disasters(typhoon, earthquake), man-made disasters(9·11 terror, oil-spill accident), financial crisis, strikes of national infrastructure, infectious disease, and cyber-terror. So the crisis management is a comprehensive action to protect people from military or nonmilitary threats that expected in domestic or foreign area.

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⁷ Michael Brecher and Jonathan Wilkenfeld, *Crisis, Conflict and instability* (New York, 1989), p. 5.

⁸ Robert H. Kupperman, *Leaders and Crisis : The CSIS Crisis Simulation*, (Washington, 1987), Vol. IX, p. 1.

⁹ Doo-hyun Cha, "Situation of Navy Ship Cheonan and Improving Directions of National Security / Crisis Management System", *34th KIMS National Security Seminar Report*, (Seoul, 2010), p. 76.

¹⁰ Ministry of National Defense, op. cit., p. 2.

B. THE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT OF KOREA

Change of international security environment

There are two perspectives of national security. One is a traditional perspective that approaches the national security only in political or military way. The other is a comprehensive perspective. It insists that national security have to cover economic, social, cultural, and environmental problems. After World War II, the world divided into two sides and have pitted against each other. Under this Cold War system, traditional security concept was predominated. But in 1991, the Soviet Union was fragmented and Russia couldn't be a pivot of communist countries any more. Eastern Europe abandoned the communism and the Cold War system ended. The possibility of war became decreased, and people started to regard the nonmilitary factors as national security problem.

After the end of the Cold War, conflicts among different ideologies were remarkably decreased. Reconciliation and cooperation were emphasized, and economic development was thought more important than military and security area. If we examine some characteristics of world order in this period, new threats were occurred in the basis of new security environment and the concept of security was also changed.

First, small scale disputes that were not founded under the Cold War system became increased from all around the world. After the end of the Cold War system, it seemed that the world enjoyed reconciliation and cooperation macroscopically. But dispute were still existed in regional level. Reasons of these disputes was more diversified than before; nationality, religion, territory, resources, environment problems. International terrors resulted from these reasons increased more systematically. Terrorist groups could get various weapons that were

only accessible at the state level in the past. Threats like international organized crime, drug trafficking, and piracy transcended national borders and became more serious. These groups have committed terror to achieve political purposes because terrors could bring big effects with a small cost than conventional war. After the end of the Cold War, Countries aiming for regional hegemony have sought the techniques and scientists of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) including nuclear weapons. Actually after 1998, India and Pakistan kept on nuclear and missile tests competitively. Iran already seemed to have the ability of mass production of uranium enrichment. And North Korea also announced the underground nuclear test and performed experiment about medium long-range ballistic missile.

The cyber terror became increased after supply of internet around the world. It allows terrorists to attack from a far away foreign country, without identifying themselves. It is very hard to respond, and the effect to the society is enormous. Actually there were several Distributed Denial-of-Service (DDoS) attacks to the computer network of Nong-hyup bank and other infrastructures, and it made huge confusion to the society. So the cyber terror must be prepared.

Infectious diseases just like Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE), and Avian Influenza (AI) also affect severe effects on the safety of national people and cause social chaos. So it must be regarded as a threat to the national security.

The environmental pollution became severe because of overpopulation and industrialization. As a result of environmental pollution, natural disasters like earthquake, tsunami, and flood occurred frequently. Many people concerned environmental pollution as a severe problem. But it seems that economic growth is more important to many developing countries. Every year Korea and Japan suffer from the yellow dust which blew from Gobi

Desert. It contains a lot of polluted materials during passing through China. And finally it causes an acid rain in Korea and Japan. Like this, the environmental pollution is not a problem of a specific country. It is related among neighboring countries, and national cooperation must be needed to solve the problem. So we have to deal this problem as a national security level.

As we saw above, the national security has to cover the whole national people's comprehensive security. Therefore now the concept of national security includes not only political, military area, but also nonpolitical, nonmilitary area, such as economic, social, cultural, cyber, and environmental area.¹¹

Analysis about The Security Environment of Northeast Asia

Changes of international situation after the Cold War system affected to the security environment of Northeast Asia. Economical conciliation has increased, and interdependence among countries has increased too. But there still exist complex reason of dispute such as the nuclear problem of North Korea, territorial disputes, historical problems among China, Japan and Korea. Northeast Asia is the center of Pacific area and the center of international economic growth. So, global powers are concentrating their economic and military power in Northeast Asia. There were comparatively stable balance between Northern triangle (former U.S.S.R., China, North Korea) and Southern triangle (U.S., Japan, Korea). But an overall security environment has changed after collapsing of former U.S.S.R. The influence of Russia has decreased and the role of China and Japan has expanded. And apprehensive factors like arms race, territorial and ideological disputes have intensified. There still exist many apples of discord; Dokdo issue between Korea and Japan, issue of northern islands between Russia and Japan, issue of Senkaku islands between China and Japan. Especially

¹¹ Min-ryong Lee, *The National Security Strategy of Korean Peninsula* (Seoul, 2001), pp. 36-45.

there is no multilateral security cooperation system in Northeast Asia like European Union (EU). Four military powers (U.S., Japan, China, Russia) make efforts to expand their influence in this area. Each country promotes a military transformation and continues efforts for adapting to new security situation. And they also develop the conciliation continuously to check each other.¹²

¹² The Research Institution for National Security Issues, *The Overall Analysis of World Security Situation*(2007-2008), (Seoul, 2008), pp. 55-56.

III. THE EVALUATION OF THE NATIONAL CRISIS MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

A. THREATS TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF KOREA

The most important threat of Korea is North Korea. North Korea has insisted they had nuclear weapons in 2002. U.S. and surrounding countries have put pressure to North Korea continuously to give up nuclear development. But North Korea has demanded guarantee of the regime above all. In 2003, North Korea announced the withdrawal from Non-Proliferation Treaty(NPT) and International Atomic Energy Agency(IAEA), and restarted the nuclear reactor in Yongbyun. North Korea also continued missile tests and extracting plutonium from reprocessing of spent fuel rods. In 2006, North Korea announced the success of nuclear experiment. After that, North Korea participated in six-party talk for the purpose of a nuclear state position, energy supporting, guarantee of regime, deletion from the list of terror-sponsoring countries, relaxing economic sanctions. But there is a big opinion gap between North Korea and surrounding countries. So in 2008, North Korea unsealed nuclear fuel rods and restarted nuclear reactor and continuously has threatened the South.

Another threat of North Korea is chemical and biological weapon system. It seems that North Korea has 13 kinds of biological weapons including anthrax bacillus, smallpox, cholera and more than 10 kinds of chemical agent in 6 storage facilities. It is the 3rd largest amount of the world. The conventional weapon system of North Korea is also threat as we have seen in the case of Yeonpyeon island. The accuracy and power is relatively low. But because huge amount of conventional weapons are stationed near the Military Demarcation Line(MDL) and they can damage to capital area in the early stage of war, the threat of the conventional weapon is severe. North Korea has possessed 300~500km ranged SCUD-B/C and 1,300km ranged Nodong missile. In 1998, North Korea did experiment of 2,000km ranged

Daepodong-I missile as a satellite carrier. Now North Korea is developing 6,000km ranged Daepodong-II missile. Recently some of Nodong missile and 170mm, 240mm long ranged artillery have forward deployed to threat capital area of Korea.

Neighbor countries of Korea have been developing military power competitively, especially in high-tech weapons. It may cause conflicts among the regional countries. Particularly, competition for resources around Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) or territorial dominium can easily be developed to a regional dispute. Japan already announced illegally that Dokdo was its own territory and has appealed to international public opinion. Korean government continuously has no react to that, but we have to expect the probability of an armed conflict. Actually, there was a confrontation between the guard ship of Korean Maritime Police (KMP) and the patrol ship of Japanese Maritime Safety Agency (JMSA) in 2007. China also may confront with Korea because large scales of Chinese fishing boats have trespassed Korean EEZ every year and have damaged to profits of Korean fishers.

As we see above, there are many kinds of potential threats around us. If we can't react properly when these potential threats develop to a real one, the national security may be severely damaged. So the National Crisis Management System must be prepared.

B. THE TRANSITION OF NATIONAL CRISIS MANAGEMENT SYSTEM OF KOREA

It is the character of crisis that there is not much time to react. So decision-making in crisis situation is different from general policy making; number of decision makers, understanding of situation and way of reaction. For example, when deciding a general policy, each branches of government cooperate to make policy suggestions. The decision maker gets advice from experts, and sometimes conducts debate or hearing. But decision-

¹³ Sang-sik Park, *The International Political Science*, (Seoul, 1985), pp. 303-305.

making in national crisis situation has little time to discuss and needs extreme security. So there is no margin to analyze situation in diverse aspects and to gather various opinions. Therefore even though each country has different strategic situation and different form of government, most of countries have established a small professional decision-making group for efficient national crisis management and supporting the president's decision.

The national crisis management system of Korea is based on presidential system. So crisis management decision-making is running around the president as a central role. The president has right of final decision and also has staff organization and advisors for consultation. The president can get advices and suggestions from cabinet, staff or assistant organization. Then he or she decides the way of crisis management, and orders to the branches of government or institutions. Looking at the process of crisis management decision-making macroscopically, the ministry and concerned office make a plan and bring it to the cabinet meeting after consultation. The cabinet meeting adjusts and deliberates the policy item generally, and the president finally decides. The president can be advised from National Security Council (NSC) before final decision. ¹⁴

The first security policy deliberative organization was the National Defense Committee (NDC) which was pounded in 1953 by the presidential degree. This organization was consisted of 10 members; the president, the Prime Minister, the Minister of National Defense, the Minister of Domestic, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Army, Navy, Air Force Chief of Staff (CoS). But the NDC has only handled national defense policy. After the cease-fire agreement the organization became nominal. In 1962, the article 87 of the constitution regulated NSC as an advisory organ of the president. The next year, NSC was established and took the role of advisor to the president including foreign, military and domestic policy. And

¹⁴ Chun-il Jeong, "A Study on Organizing Way of National Security Management System", *Reports of National Defense Researcher*, (Seoul, 1998), p. 76.

the Executive Office with General Affair Division, Policy Planning Division, Research and Study Division was also established in order to plan security policies, to study mobilization, and to maintain records of the NSC. In 1971, National Emergency Planning Committee (NEPC) was established under the NSC to prepare the wartime and emergency. The chairman of the NEPC was pointed among NSC members and took charge of preparing war exercise and National Situation Room. The NSC had an extreme power of controlling branches of the government. Especially it took an essential role in crisis management system because it directed NEPC to plan and control the preparing war exercise. But at the Fifth Republic, the NSC Executive Office was reduced to Administration Office and did only office work for the NSC. And the NEPC was reorganized under the Office of Prime Minister in 1984. This made the NSC react slowly in the national crisis because the National Situation Room under NEPC also moved under the Office of Prime Minister. In 1986, after the Administration Section is transferred to the NEPC, the NSC remained just a simple advisory institution without any subordinate organizations.

Because the NSC couldn't act as a control tower for the national security, various temporary security-related meetings are established. In 1993, Kim Young-sam Administration founded the Security-Related Minister Meeting. The president leaded the meeting, and the Ministers of Unification, Domestic, Foreign Affairs, Defense, chief of the Agency for National Security Planning, chief of NEPC and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (CJCS) participated in the meeting. The Unification-Related Minister Meeting was started for the policy of South-North dialogue and issues of unification in 1991. In 1994, the Unification and Security Policy Coordination Meeting was established to coordinate policies when pending issues occurred between South and North Korea. In addition, the Unification-Related High

¹⁵ National Emergency Planning Committee, "A Brief History of The National Emergency Planning Committee", (Seoul, 2007).

Strategy Meeting which is conducted by the Prime Minister, the Counter-Terrorism Committee that supported the president about the terrorism, the Arms Control Planning Group that integrated the matter about arms control also established. Dealing a security policy which included foreign affairs, military, and domestic area needed coordination among the branch of government under government-level of mediation and control. But temporary meetings which made whenever certain matters happened were impossible to take proper roles.

The Kim Dae-jung Administration reinforced National Crisis Management System through reorganizing the function of the NSC. In 1998, Kim Administration reduced the NEPC, and created the NSC Secretariat designed on the model of the U.S. NSC, and made the Standing Committee, the Working-level Mediation Meeting, the Situation Evaluation Meeting under the NSC. The member of the NSC was reduced to seven members. But if needed, Minister of Finance and CJCS could attend the meeting. The member of Standing Committee was six members, and the Minister of Unification leaded it. But if needed, other ministers also could attend the committee. The Standing Committee was held once in a week to mediate policies about unification, diplomat, security pending issues, and reported to the president. If it was hard to mediate, the committee handed over the issue to the NSA. The Working-level Mediation Meeting mediated issues which would deal in Standing Committee in advance. The Situation Evaluation Meeting evaluated and analyzed North Korean and international situations. Members of the meeting were heads of intelligence departments; the National Intelligence Agency (NIA), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the National Defense Intelligence Command, and the Defense Security Command (DSC). The NSC Secretariat was leaded by Senior Secretary to the President for Foreign Affairs and National Security and supported the NSC to advise efficiently. The NSC Secretariat took charge in planning and mediating the national security strategy, preventing national crisis, planning

management policy, arms controlling, checking the fulfillment of instruction, and other meeting-related task. ¹⁶ The NSC Secretariat was consisted of the Crisis Management Office, the Policy Coordination Division, the Policy Planning Division, and the General Affair Section. It could be evaluated affirmatively that the Kim administration organized the NSC. It provided the basis of comprehensive decision-making process. But the NSC Secretariat was so small that the function of National Situation Room couldn't be secured.

After Roh Moo-hyun Administration launched, the function and member of the Office of the Senior Secretary for Foreign Affairs and National Security and Blue-house Situation Room was absorbed to the NSC Secretariat. And the NSC Secretariat expanded its members in order to manage not only national security but also national disaster. And the NSC Secretariat was reorganized with the Strategy Planning Office (SPO), the Policy Mediation Office (PMO), the Information Management Office (IMO), and the Crisis Management Center (CMC). Accordingly, the NSC Secretariat could have the function of information management, and was transformed into a real president supporting organ. Before, ministers of each branch reported the information to president directly. But after the reorganization, the NSC collected and arranged whole information from each branch, and reported to the president. The function of the NSC Secretariat could be divided into two area; policy management area and information management area. The SPO and PMO performed the policy management area. The SPO was making security policy, and the PMO was mediating pending issue policy, checking the fulfillment of instructions, and supporting levels of meetings. The IMO and CMC performed information management area. The IMO was collecting and handling information, and the CMC was monitoring the whole national security situation in 24 hours. In the policy management area, if a policy issue needed a

¹⁶ "The Operational Code of the NSC", (The Presidential Decree No. 17275, 2001).

strategic judgment, the SPO took it. And the policy move to an executive phase, the PMO handled it. The instruction of the president also was primarily handled by the SPO and the PMO. The SPO reported the long-term strategy and the resolving direction of main pending issues. The PMO checked the fulfillment of president's instruction and gave president's feedback to each branch on their reports. The NSC Secretariat of Korea was made on the model of the U.S. NSC. But it was more specified in the information management area. In case of the U.S. NSC, the White House Situation Room handled both information management and monitoring task. But in case of the Korean NSC, the task was divided into IMO and CMC. The IMO collected and arranged the whole information coming from the NIA, Ministry of National Defense, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Unification, and reported it to the president. Message from an overseas agency of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, reports of agent of the NIA, security trend report of Ministry of National Defense and Joint Chief of Staff (JCS), North Korean situation report from Ministry of Unification are included. And IMO shared the collected information in the NSC or spread information to other branches. Situation Evaluation Meeting was one of the main tasks of the IMO. The president could get more comprehensive information than before. The CMC was made for reporting or spreading the crisis situation rapidly, and issuing a crisis alert. The center monitored 24 hours about the security issues all around the country. If there was significant thing, immediately spread it to whole NSC members and reported to National Security Advisor and the President. The center was located under the Blue House with facilities and network to the JCS, the Ministry of National Defense, the National Emergency Management Agency. Through the situation management system, the center evaluated signs and situations with related agency, and gave the alarm in case of need. So the government-level of standardized crisis management action could be taken, and the information supporting system for the president was built. The center selected 33 types of crisis which were needed to be

managed by the government, and built alarming system by types. On the basis of this system, the center made Crisis Management Standard Manual and Crisis Handling Working-level Manual.¹⁷

But there was some opinion that the reinforced NSC Secretariat violated the Constitution and exceeded its authority. Actually the NSC Secretariat made many conflicts in the process of handling work with the Ministry of Unification, Foreign Affairs, and National Defense. Accordingly, the NSC Act was revised. The CMC was remained in NSC Secretariat, former tasks of the NSC Secretariat about strategy, policy and information management moved to the Presidential Unification, Diplomacy, Security Policy Office. And the President appointed the deputy minister of the office and let him reported national security issues to the President directly. But the deputy minister was also the chairman of NSC Standing Committee and Secretary General at the same time, there wasn't a big change in working process.

As the Lee Myung-bak Administration started, the crisis management system changed again. The NSC was remained because it was a constitutional organization, but the Standing Committee and the NSC Secretariat were abolished. The Presidential Unification, Diplomacy, Security Policy Office also fell out of use. Instead of that, the Office of Senior Secretary for Diplomacy and Security (SSDS) under the Presidential Secretariat was established. And four Secretaries of Foreign Strategy, Diplomacy, National Defense, Unification were appointed. Instead of the Standing Committee, the Strategy Mediation Meeting for Diplomacy and Security was established. The Minister of Diplomacy and Trade leaded the meeting. The Minister of National Defense, the Minister of Unification, the Director of NIA, the Minister

¹⁷ The Ministry of Public Administration and Security, "The Modifying Plan of Crisis Management Manual", (The Ministry of Public Administration and Security, 2009)

¹⁸ Dae-shik Park, "Analysis and Prescription for Organizational Conflict of the National Security Council in Korea", *A Study of Social Science*, (Chungnam, 2007), pp. 11-12.

of the Prime Minister Office, and the SSDS attended the meeting. And the Working-level Mediation Meeting which was leaded by the SSDS was also established. The Strategy Mediation Meeting for Diplomacy and Security substituted the Standing Committee, and the Office of the SSDS substituted the Policy Office of Unification, Diplomacy, and Security. Compared with previous crisis management system, the ability of security management was decreased because the Office of the SSDS was just one of Senior Secretary Office under the Presidential Secretariat. And the Office of the SSDS wasn't an organ by functions; strategy, policy, information. The office was consisted by branches; diplomacy, national defense, unification. Especially, the abolition of the Office of Information Secretary made impossible the country-level integration of information. Each secretary reported information from their own branches to president separately. 19 The CMC also reduced to the Crisis Information Situation Team (CIST) under of the Presidential Secretariat. On July 11th 2008, a tourist shot to death by a soldier of North Korea in Mt. Geumgang. But the information was reported to the Blue House 7 hours later, and the President recognized it additional 2 hours later. Furthermore, there was no NSC meeting or related department meeting until the next day. In the next day, the President called the Urgency Related Minister Meeting that was a temporary one. 20 People blamed about that, and the government upgraded the CIST to the National Crisis Situation Center (NCSC) that was leaded by the SSDS. The center was expanded its personnel and took the mission of collecting, analyzing, and spreading the crisis sign and situation information. Especially, the center reduced the process and time of report. But in 2010, the Cheonan navy ship was blown up by North Korean torpedo attacking, and the reaction of the government was blamed again. The government established the National

¹⁹ Jin-hang Kim, "A Study on the establishment of Korea National Crisis Management System in the Comprehensive Security Ages", Thesis of Ph. D., (Kyungki University, 2010), p. 77.

²⁰ Chan-kwon Jeong, *The National Crisis Management Theory in the 21th Century Comprehensive Security Ages*, (Seoul, 2010), p. 329.

Security Special Advisor and upgraded the NCSC to the National Crisis Management Center (NCMC) under the supervision of the National Security Special Advisor. But North Korean committed artillery shelling on Yeonpyeong island again. After the NSC meeting, the government upgraded the system again. The NCMC was upgraded to National Crisis Management Office (NCMO) leaded by Senior Secretary of National Security. The NCMO was consisted of National Crisis Management Secretary Office, Information Analysis Secretary Office, and Situation Team. The National Crisis Management Secretary Office took an initial reaction in emergency and checked the crisis preparation system at ordinary times. The Information Analysis Secretary Office managed and analyzed whole information about national security. The Situation Team did monitoring across the Korean peninsula. 21 According to the establishment of the NCMO, the Office of SSDS took in charge of diplomacy and security policy and conducted the Minister Meeting for Diplomacy and Security, the Policy Mediation Meeting for Diplomacy and Security. The NCMO took in charge of the NSC meeting. Especially, as the NCMO could function of information analysis, the stream of information became unified. And the presidential instruction based on the information became a policy through the Office of SSDS.

C. THE EVALUATION OF NATIONAL CRISIS MANAGEMENT SYSTEM BY CASE

A Tourist's Death by North Korean Military Shooting at the Mt. Geumgang Resort

A woman tourist Wang-ja Park shot to death by North Korean soldier at the Mt. Geumgang Resort in the early morning of July 11, 2008. North Korea insisted that she was

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²¹ Chosun Ilbo, Dec. 22, 2010.

trespassed illegally onto the military prohibited area. But the truth has remained unrevealed because North Korea rejected the investigation requirement of South Korea. ²²

This incident revealed the overall vulnerability of the national crisis management system. In 11:30, The Hyundai Asan Corp. firstly reported her death to Ministry of Unification six hours later. And Ministry of Unification reported to the CIST of the Blue House in 11:40. But it has passed another two hours that the president recognized the fact. Because there was a confusion that she was possible to die by illness and it took more time to figure out the truth. An officer of the Donghae-Line Custom, Immigration and Quarantine (CIQ) office called to the situation room of the JCS. He said there was a request from the Ministry of Unification that a dead body would come to the CIQ office and need to open the gate of the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ). So the JCS asked him the reason of her death. He didn't hear the reason from Hyundae Asan or Ministry of Unification. So he supposed and replied arbitrarily that she might be dead by disease. After that, the CIST requested the JSC for additional information. The JCS reported the officer's supposition and it became the reason of confusion. It was a mistake that the JCS reported a simple guess of field officer as important information. But the CIST already had an official report from the Ministry of Unification based on the Hyundai Asan's investigation of incident scene. The delayed report didn't make the decision maker to react properly. According to the policy of "Small Government" at the early stage of Lee Administration, the NSC Secretariat was abolished and the function of the CMC and IMO was reduced to the CIST. Staffs of the CIST were only 15. So the comprehensive analysis of information was impossible. The CIST just gathered information from each department and reported it to the president. As a result of this incident, the CIST was upgraded to the NCSC. Staffs of the NCSC were also expanded for the synthesis, analysis and spread of the

²² Chosun Ilbo, Jul. 14, 2008.

information. And the reporting time also was reduced by the direct reporting system between the chief of NCSC and the president.

The Sinking of The Cheonan Navy Ship by North Korean Submersible

The North Korean submersible discharged a torpedo to the South Korean navy ship. 46 navy soldiers were sacrificed by this attack, and another UDT officer was died during the rescue operation. The government upgraded the national crisis management system through the tourist's death at the Mt. Geumgang. But this incident revealed the weak point of the system. The critical information to the national security was not collected and shared timely. After the naval defeat at the Daecheongdo in November 2009, North Korea might be find another way of attack rather than the trespassing NLL by ships. Actually, the JSC kept the possibility of underwater attack in mind and did the tactical discussion. But it wasn't shared with the decision maker. The system that collected, analyzed and managed comprehensively the important information was vulnerable. And the initial reacting ability of the NCSC also was limited. So the government reorganized the system again. The government made the National Security Advisor and upgraded the NCSC to the NCMC. It meant that the system was complemented from the just "reporting information" level to the "managing crisis" level.

North Korean Artillery Shelling of Yeonpyeong Island

Only 8 months later from Cheonan incident, North Korea fired hundreds of artillery shelling to the Yeonpyeong Island where the civilians lived in November 12. This attack killed 2 marines and 2 civilians, and injured dozens of people. The whole world blamed the indiscriminate shelling, especially to the civilians. The government was reorganized the crisis management system after the Cheonan incident. But during managing the crisis, the system was evaluated still vulnerable. It couldn't connect and control each intelligence agencies organizationally. The NIA intercepted radio message that was about readiness for a large

scale attack to western islands in 3 months ago. But there was a missing point in the reporting channel, so there was no preparation against the attack. After the attack, the government announced the establishment of the NCMO on the same level of the Senior Secretary Office for Diplomacy and Security, and organized some supporting sub-organizations. So the NCMO could react at the initial stage of crisis. And the NCMO inspected crisis management system in normal times, monitored security related information in real time, analyzed and managed the information comprehensively.

IV. CONCLUSION

There was no country that free from war and crisis throughout the history. So every country in the world tries to develop the crisis management system and military system to protect people's life and profit from the crisis. Especially, the Korean peninsula has been invaded by foreign powers more than 900 times, because of the characteristic of geographical condition. At this time, North Korea continuously threats us. And if there is a contradiction of interest with neighboring countries, the crisis situation can be occurred anytime. So it is the most important thing that we develop the government-level of crisis management system to prepare threats. In this respect, the upgrade of national crisis management division by the government may be evaluated in the affirmative. But additional requirement of development still exist. So I want to suggest some ways for improvement to resolve the problem that was appeared in the history.

First, people's awareness of crisis must be converted. After the case of Cheonan navy ship and shelling in the Yeonpyeong Island, people's consciousness of crisis got lifted up considerably. But as time went on, we meet many other daily issues; economic recession, social problem, etc. and the awareness became faint. Crisis has occurred whenever we had good events and peoples feel happy. When people excited about the news of sightseeing in Mt. Geumgang, North Korea sent the submarine to East Sea and one of the tourists was killed. And when all attention of people was focused on World Cup in 2002, North Korea fired shells to our navy ship in the West Sea. We must remind that the crisis can be occurred anytime, and prepare the emergency.

Second, institutional supplement of crisis management system was achieved, as the crisis management division was established. But more important thing is check and exercise in ordinary times to operate the system properly. To achieve this, every government department

and agency must take the check and exercise leaded by crisis management division for granted and participate it sincerely. The idea that crisis management is only the task of crisis management division is the shortcut to crisis.

Third, we need an independent crisis management system more, as the wartime operational control will be transferred in 2015. So, the crisis management division has to prepare the role of the wartime command center, too. The organization, function and process of crisis management division are needed to be improved to be connected between peacetime and wartime.

Finally, many people blame that the upgrade of crisis management division is revival of NSC secretariat of Roh administration.²³ And some of them argue that the NSC secretariat must be revived. Actually, crisis management division is similar in many functional aspects. Whenever government has changed, many national policy and organs that the former government made have been abolished and new similar policy and organs have made again. Although current crisis management system is made by several revisions, now it is well organized. Therefore, I wish that the next government would not make the same mistake again. Maintaining and developing the previous well-made policy is more important than making a new one.

²³Bo-hyup Kim, "Repeat Mark of National Crisis Management is Unstable", *Hankyoreh 21*, Dec. 31, 2010.

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