

CONTACT INFORMATION College of Security Studies, APCSS. 2058 Mahulia Avenue, Honolulu, Hawaii, 96814. U.S.A. Email: [pao@dkiapcss.net](mailto:pao@dkiapcss.net) Phone: +1-808-971-8916 Website: <https://apcss.org/college/faculty/cho/>

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS **Daniel K. Inouye Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies** Hawaii August 2018 –  
**(\*Academic Institute of the U.S. Department of Defense)**  
• Professor, College of Security Studies

**Georgetown University,** Washington D.C. 2016-2018.  
• Lecturer (Teaching Associate)

EDUCATION **Georgetown University: Ph.D. in Government** Washington D.C. 2012-2018  
• Dissertation: *Authoritarian Counterstrategy to cope with Western Democracy Promotion: The China Model*  
• Committee: Victor Cha (Chair), Marc Howard, Kristen Looney  
• Field: International Relations, Comparative Politics

**Peking University: M.A. in International Relations** Beijing, China 2008-2010  
• Thesis: *The Sino-US relations in the UN Security Council* (written in Chinese)  
• Advisor: Zhang Xiaoming

**University of British Columbia: Exchange Student** Vancouver, Canada 2003-2004  
• Credits Transferred to Korea University

**Korea University: B.A. in Political Science** Seoul, South Korea 2000-2005  
• Advisor: Suh, Jin-young.

RESEARCH INTERESTS

- **Chinese Politics and Foreign Policy:** Regime Legitimacy, Governance Reform, Politics of Economic Reform, Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy, Defense Strategy.
- **Political Science Theories:** International Security, Grand Strategy, Deterrence, Alliance Politics, Modernization Theory, Democracy Promotion, Authoritarian Resilience.
- **Qualitative Research:** Comparative Historical Analysis, Counterfactual Analysis, Elite Interview, Public Survey, Fieldwork Design, Archival Research.
- **Geopolitics in East Asia:** US-China Strategic Competition, China-North Korea Relations, Korean Peninsula-Taiwan Strait Linkage, US Alliance System.

JOURNAL  
ARTICLES

- [11] Sungmin Cho, “Does China’s Case Falsify Modernization Theory? Interim Assessment.” *Journal of Contemporary China* \* 32(144) (September 2023): 1034-1052 \*[SSCI]
- [10] Sungmin Cho and Oriana Skylar Mastro, “How South Korea Can Contribute to the Defense of Taiwan,” *The Washington Quarterly* \* 45(3): 109-129. (October 24, 2022) \* [SSCI]
- [9] Sungmin Cho, “The U.S.-China Power Transition: An assessment of China’s internal view.” *Melbourne Asia Review*, Edition 9 (March 2022).
- [8] Sungmin Cho and Oriana Skylar Mastro "North Korea Is Becoming an Asset for China." *Foreign Affairs* \* (February 3, 2022) \* [SSCI]
- [7] Sungmin Cho\* and Jennie Jin, “The Politics of Bones: The Political Motives Behind the Repatriation of Remains of Chinese Soldiers Killed in the Korean War.” *The China Journal* \*\*, 87. (January 2022): 92-107. \*[First Author] \*\*[SSCI]
- [6] Sungmin Cho, “Why Non-democracy Engages with Western Democracy Promotion Programs: the China Model,” *World Politics* \*, 73(4) (October 2021): 774-817. \*[SSCI]
- [5] Sungmin Cho, “China’s Quiet Challenges at Sea: Explaining China’s Maritime Activities in the Yellow Sea, 2010–2020,” *Asian Security* \*, 17(3) (June 2021): 294-312. \*[SCOPUS]
- [4] Sungmin Cho, “The Chinese Perspectives of the Korean Unification: Evidence from the Chinese Academic Publications.” *Korea Observer* \*, 51(4) (January 2021): 551–587. \* [SSCI]
- [3] Sungmin Cho and Joshua Turner “The Economics of Repression: The Belt and Road Initiative, COVID-19, and the Repression of Uyghurs in Xinjiang,” *Journal of Indo-Pacific Affairs*. 4(2) (Spring 2021): 92-96
- [2] Sungmin Cho, “Why North Korea Could Not Implement the Chinese Style Reform and Opening? The Internal Contradiction Between Economic Reform and Political Stability,” *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs* \*, 7(3) (December 2020): 305-324. \*[SCOPUS]
- [1] Sungmin Cho, “Anticipating and Preparing for the Potential Assassination of Kim Jong-un,” *International Journal of Korean Studies*, Vol.19, No.1(December, 2015): 175-195.

BOOK CHAPTERS

- [3] Sungmin Cho, “Chapter 18: The Fang-Shou Cycle in Chinese Politics,” in Alexander Vuving ed. *Hindsight, Insight, Foresight: Thinking about Security in the Indo-Pacific*. (Hawaii: DKI APCSS, 2019): 269-282
- [2] Sungmin Cho, “Chapter 4: China’s Foreign Policy in the Indo-Pacific Region and US Interests,” in Michael Burgoyne and Scott McDonald ed. *China’s Global Reach: A Security Assessment* (Hawaii: DKI APCSS, 2019): 57-72

[1] Sungmin Cho, “The Origin and Evolution of the North Korean Prison Camps: A Comparative Historical Analysis with the Soviet Gulag,” in Michael David-Fox ed., *The Soviet Gulag: Evidence, Interpretation, Comparison* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016): 268- 285

UNDER PEER  
REVIEW

[3] Sungmin Cho, “Alliance Theories and Chips: Explaining the US-South Korea Semiconductor Cooperation and China’s Response.” (Under Review)

[2] Sungmin Cho and Chris Carothers, “Why the Party Cracks Down and Lets Up Again: Explaining the Fang-Shou Cycle in Chinese Politics.” (Under Review)

[1] Sungmin Cho, “The Theory of Strategic Constructivism: Explaining the Pattern of US-China Ideological Competition.” (Under Review)

OTHER  
PUBLICATIONS

[17] “[The Crisis In East Asia: Korea Or Taiwan?](#),” *War on the Rocks* (April 4, 2024)

[16] “China’s Dilemma with Russia-North Korea Arms Deal and its Implications for the United States.” Commentary, invited by **Atlantic Council** (forthcoming, January 2024)

[15] “[The Geopolitics of Semiconductor Cooperation among the United States, South Korea and China](#),” Policy Report, commissioned by **Pacific Forum** (July 25, 2023)

[14] “[Nationalism versus Liberalism: A South Korean view of Taiwan issues](#),” Commentary to Taiwan-U.S. Quarterly Analysis series, invited by **Brookings Institution**. (May 5, 2023)

[13] “[South Korean View on Escalating Tensions in the Taiwan Strait](#),” Commentary. invited by **The National Bureau of Asian Research**. (December 5, 2022)  
- Reprinted in *PacNet* series (#68, December 27, 2022), in *Asian Times* (January 6, 2023)

[12] “[How Beijing Approaches Crisis Management](#),” Commentary, invited by **The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)**. (November 22, 2022)

[11] “[South Korea’s Taiwan Conundrum](#).” *War on the Rocks* (December 30, 2021)

[10] “[China and North Korea: A New Peak of Comradeship](#),” contribution, invited by the Italian Institute for International Political Studies (**ISPI**) (December 21, 2021).

[9] “[The Joint Recovery of Fallen Soldiers from the Korean War: One way for American, Chinese, North and South Korean soldiers to cooperate and reconcile](#)” *Security Nexus* (May 2021): 1-7.

[8] “[The New US Diplomacy with China: ‘Keep Your Promises’](#)” *PacNet #10*, posted by Pacific Forum. (February 19,2021).

- [7] “COVID-19 Has Dimmed Xi’s Approval Ratings Abroad – But Not in China,” *The Diplomat*. October 9, 2020.
- [6] (Co-authored with Dr. John Hemmings), “South Korea’s Growing 5G Dilemma,” report posted by CSIS (Center for Strategic and International Studies) (July 7, 2020).
- [5] “The Coronavirus and its Likely Impact on North Korea,” *Security Nexus* (April, 2020): 1-12.
- [4] “North Korea as a Land of Cooperation between America and China,” *Security Nexus* (March 27, 2020)
- [3] “The Coronavirus Gives the US a Chance to Restart Talks with North Korea,” *Defense One* (March 23, 2020).
- [2] “Maximum Pressure and Maximum Strategic Patience: The Long Game Against North Korean Nuclear Weapons,” *Modern War Institute of West Point* (February 18, 2020)
- [1] “China’s Akward Neighbor,” New Leader Forum, *The Diplomat* (July 25, 2011)

NON-ENGLISH  
PUBLICATIONS

- [5] 조성민, <시진핑 정권의 정당성 및 안정성에 대한 이론적 고찰> JPI Peace Net 시리즈, 제주평화연구원. 2023 년 12 월 출판 예정. 1-13 페이지. <http://jpi.or.kr/?p=21564>
- [4] 조성민, <양안문제: 대만 해협의 무력충돌 가능성과 한국에 미칠 영향> 한반도 포커스 시리즈. 경남대학교 극동문제연구소, 2023 년 5 월. 55-70 페이지. <https://ifes.kyungnam.ac.kr/material/ifes/92/cnDownload.do>
- [3] 조성민, <간접지원: 미-중 전략경쟁 시대 한국의 대응전략> KIMS Periscope 제 289 호 한국해양전략연구소. 2022 년 9 월. 1-14 페이지. <https://kims.or.kr/file/peri289.pdf>
- [2] 조성민, <기고문: 미국 내 확산되는 주한미군 철수 논의> 경향신문. 2017 년 6 월 29 일. <https://m.khan.co.kr/opinion/contribution/article/201706292038005>
- [1] 赵成珉, <天安号事件与好警察, 坏警察> 金融时报 中文版(*The Financial Times*: Chinese version) June 1, 2010 <https://www.ftchinese.com/story/001032872?archive>

SELECT WORKS IN  
PROGRESS

- [3] Sungmin Cho, “Anaoalgy and Theory of Technological Alliance: Explaining the Geopolitics of Semiconductor Cooperation among the United States, South Korea and China.”

[2] Sungmin Cho, “Can China Influence North Korea’s Decision-making on Missile and Nuclear Programs? : Systemic Investigation and Empirical Evidence”

[1] Sungmin Cho, Book Project: *Distrustful Brotherhood: the Alliance Politics of China-North Korea Relations*

TEACHING

Assistant Professor, DKI APCSS

- Teaching executive courses for the military officers (O6-O8 level) and senior officials from the U.S. and 34 Asia-Pacific countries.
- Briefing the commanding generals of the US Indo-Pacific Command and distinguished visitors from the U.S. and 34 Asia-Pacific countries.
- Lectures on the
  - Geopolitics of Northeast Asia
  - The Chinese Communist Party and its Legitimation Strategy
  - The US-China Strategic Competition Through the International Relations Theory
  - The Evolution of China-North Korea Relations
  - Ideological Competition in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

Lecturer, Georgetown University

- The Politics of China (Undergraduate Lecture) Spring 2018
- The Politics of Nuclear Weapons in East Asia (Graduate Seminar) Fall 2017
- The Politics of China (Undergraduate Lecture) Spring 2017
- The Politics of China (Graduate Seminar) Fall 2016

Teaching Assistant, Georgetown University

- Human Rights in International Relation (for Dr.Marlin McMorrow) Spring 2016
- Introduction to Comparative Politics (for Dr.Matthew Carnes) Fall 2015
- Introduction to International Relations (for Dr.Andrew Bennett) Fall 2014
- Introduction to International Relations (for Dr.Kier Lieber) Spring 2014
- International Security (for Dr.Daniel Byman) Fall 2013

GRANTS, AWARDS

- World Politics Fellowship, Smith Richardson Foundation (\$7,500) 2016- 2017
- Merit-based Graduate Assistantship (\$27,000 stipend annually) 2013- 2016
- Georgetown Summer Research Award (\$5,000) 2015
- Jacques Rossi Memorial Gulag Research Fund Awards (\$9,000) 2013- 2014
- Departmental Scholarship, Georgetown University (\$10,000) 2013
- Korea University Alumni Scholarship (\$3,000) December 2012
- James Kelly Korean Studies Fellowship, Pacific Forum (\$24,000) 2011- 2012
- Chinese Government Scholarship, Ministry of Education (\$ 15,000) 2008- 2010
- Commander’s Letter of Commendation, Multinational Forces Command-Iraq September 2006

SELECTED INVITED  
TALKS,  
CONFERENCES

- “*Taiwan’s Geopolitics after 2024: Election Implications for the Indo-Pacific and Beyond*” invited by Perry World House, **University of Pennsylvania** (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: March 2024)
- “[*JoongAng Ilbo-CSIS Forum 2024*] [\*The Polycrisis in 2024- Session 3: After Camp David Summit: Economic Security and Supply Chain\*](#),” invited by **JoongAng Ilbo** (Seoul, South Korea: March 2024)
- “[\*The Risks of Simultaneous Conflicts in The Indo-Pacific\*](#),” invited by **Atlantic Council**. (Washington D.C.: February 2024)
- “[\*Strengthening U.S.-ROK-Japan Trilateral Cooperation: Session 2- China and Taiwan\*](#),” invited by **CSIS**. (Washington D.C.: February 2024)
- “*How and Why has the United States changed its China policy over the last decade?*” Graduate School of International Studies, **Yonsei University** (Seoul, South Korea: November 2023)
- “*A U.S. View on the Maritime Issues in East Asia*,” Seoul Defense Forum 2023, hosted by the **Ministry of Defense**, South Korea (Seoul, South Korea: October 2023)
- \* “[\*The Chinese Views of North Korea’s Uncertain Future\*](#),” **The Korea Society** (New York: September, 2023) \*youtube clip of this event is available at here.
- “*Strategic Constructivism: Explaining the Pattern of US-China Ideological Competition*,” **Georgetown University** (Washington D.C.: September 2023)
- “[\*South Korea’s Role in a Taiwan Contingency\*](#),” Podcast of <The Impossible State: North Korea> series, hosted by **CSIS**. (Washington D.C.: September 2023)
- “*A South Korean View of the Problems in the South Korea-China Relations*,” The 2<sup>nd</sup> Yonsei Korea-China Forum. **Yonsei University** (Seoul, South Korea: March 2023)
- “*Why Does Non-democracy Engage with Western Democracy Promotion Programs?: the China Model*,” Guest lecture. **Ashoka University** (New Delhi, India: March 2023)
- “*The Security Dynamics of Northeast Asia*,” Expert Lecture for the **United States Forces Korea** at Camp Humphrey (Pyong-taek, South Korea: February 2023)
- “*Theory of Strategic Constructivism: Explaining the Pattern of US-China Ideological Competition*,” Graduate School of International Studies, **Seoul National University** (Seoul, South Korea: July 2022)
- “*The Domestic Sources of China’s Foreign Policy*,” The Commanding General’s Conference, **The U.S. Army Pacific Command** (Honolulu, HI: April 2021)

- *“The Chinese-style Democracy and Asian Values,”* The Harvard Project for the Asian and International Relations (HPAIR) , **Harvard University** (Cambridge, MA: February 2020)
- *“Geopolitical Landscape in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Indo-Pacific Region,”* Senior Security Studies Course, Strategic Studies Center of the **Royal Thai Armed Forces** (Bangsuean, Thailand: November 2019)
- *“How to Make Maritime Confidence-Building Measures More Effective in East Asia: A Realist Approach,”* 14<sup>th</sup> International Seapower Symposium, hosted by **the Republic of Korea Navy** (Seoul, South Korea: September 2019)
- *“China’s Influence in Europe,”* Senior Executive Seminar, **George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies** (Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany: June.2019)
- *“Authoritarian Regime’s Counter-strategy against Western Democracy Promotion: The China Model,”* **Midwest Political Science Association**, annual conference (Chicago, IL: April 2016)
- *“The Domestic Challenges of Post-Unified Korea,”* **Angelo State University**, Special Symposium on North Korea (San Angelo, Texas: September 2015)
- *“Anticipating and Preparing for the Potential Assassination of Kim Jong-un,”* The Annual Conference of **the International Council on Korean Studies** (Washington D.C.: June 2015)
- *“Sources of Divergence between China and North Korea,”* **Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies** Conference on Asia (Washington D.C.: April 2013)
- *“Living and Studying in China,”* for the Hawaiian Emerging Leaders Program, hosted by the East West Center at the **University of Hawaii- Manoa** (December 2011)
- *“Assessing US Extended Deterrence for South Korea against North Korea,”* for Project on Nuclear Issues, invited by the **CSIS** (Washington D.C.: November 2011)
- Panelist, Quadrilateral Strategic Dialogue among China, Japan, the US and South Korea, **the Research Institute for Peace and Security** (Tokyo, Japan: August 2010)
- *“South Korean View on Trilateral Relationship among China, Japan and the US,”* Trilateral Security Dialogue between China, Japan, US Trilateral Conference, hosted by the **Peking University** (Beijing, China: August 2009)

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE	<p>Pacific Forum CSIS (Honolulu, USA) <span style="float: right;">2011</span>  James Kelly Korean Studies In-Residence Fellow  <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conducted research and assisted in organizing the conferences</li> </ul> </p> <p>The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee (Beijing Office) <span style="float: right;">2009-2010</span>  Contractor/ Program Manager  <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Managed the welfare of North Korean refugees under protection</li> </ul> </p>
MILITARY SERIVCE	<p>Republic of Korea Army, Logistics Command (Daejeon, South Korea) <span style="float: right;">2007-2008</span>  First Lieutenant, Foreign Military Sales Team  <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Translated various types of documents in association with weapon trades with US government, including proposals, contracts and official letters.</li> </ul> </p> <p>Republic of Korea Army, Multinational Division-North East (<b>Irbil, Iraq</b>) <span style="float: right;">2006</span>  First Lieutenant, Intelligence Officer, G3 Operations  <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interpreted for Commanding General of the Division, during VIP meetings with General Officers from Multinational Forces Command in Iraq (MNF-I), US military leaders, Iraq Minister of Defense, Governor of Irbil, and Director of UN Assistance Mission-Iraq etc.</li> </ul> </p> <p>Republic of Korea Army, Capital Corps (Anyang, South Korea) <span style="float: right;">2005-2006</span>  Second Lieutenant, Combined Intelligence Coordination Office  <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Acted as Point of Contact for intelligence exchange with USFK</li> </ul> </p>
LANGUAGE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• English: Fluent</li> <li>• Korean : Native</li> <li>• Chinese: Fluent- HSK Level 10 (old version) and 6 (new version)</li> </ul>