

GEORGE SOROKA

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APPOINTMENTS

Lecturer on Government & Assistant Director of Undergraduate Studies, Harvard University (2014-present)

EDUCATION

Harvard University, Ph.D. (Political Science), 2014
Harvard University, A.M. (Russian, East European & Central Asian Studies), 2002
Drew University, M.A. (Religion & Society: Liturgical Studies), 2000
Drew University, B.A. (Anthropology & Religion), *summa cum laude*, PBK, 1994

BOOKS

George Soroka & Tomasz Stępniewski (eds.), *Ukraine after Maidan: Revisiting Domestic and Regional Security* (Stuttgart: ibidem Press, 2018)

JOURNAL ARTICLES

“Explicit Content: Two Experiments on Bringing Writing Instruction into the Political Science Classroom,” (w/Colin Brown & Sarah James; revise & resubmit, *Journal of Political Science Education*)

“Regions, Frames, and Actors: Examining the Politics of History in East-Central Europe,” (w/ Félix Krawatzek; under review)

“Recalling Katyn: Poland, Russia and the Interstate Politics of History” (under review)

“Navigating the Politics of the Past: The Polish-Russian Group on Difficult Issues,” (under review)

“Nationalism, Democracy, and Memory Laws,” (w/Félix Krawatzek) *Journal of Democracy* 30.2 (April 2019): 157-171

“Bringing the Past into the Present: Towards a New Social Scientific Research Agenda [Review Essay]” (w/ Félix Krawatzek) *Journal of Politics* 80.4 (October 2018): e74-e79.

“Religion and the Making of Post-War Europe: Assessing Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on European Integration [Review Essay],” *Politics & Religion* 10.4 (December 2017): 906-916

“The Political Economy of Russia’s Reimagined Arctic,” *Arctic Yearbook* (2016): 358-387

“An Eastern Heritage in a Western Rite: A Study of Source and Method for Thomas Cranmer’s Inclusion of the ‘Prayer of Chrysostom’ in the 1544 Litany,” *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 7.2/3 (2005): 249-267

BOOK CHAPTERS

“Tenacious Pasts: Geopolitics and the Polish-Russian Group on Difficult Issues,” in Anton Weiss-Wendt & Nanci Adler (eds.), *The Future of the Soviet Past: The Politics of History in Contemporary Russia* (Indiana UP, forthcoming 2020)

“Assessing Domestic Security Challenges in Post-Maidan Ukraine: Two Critical Dimensions,” in Soroka & Stępniewski (eds.), *Ukraine after Maidan* (Stuttgart: ibidem Press, 2018), pp. 93-134

“Poland,” (co-authored w/Grzegorz Ekiert) in Isobel Coleman and Terra Lawson-Remer (eds.), *Pathways to Democracy: Political and Economic Lessons from Democratic Transitions* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2013), pp. 77-103

MANUSCRIPTS IN PREPARATION

Combative Pasts: History as a Foreign Policy Variable in Post-Communist Russia, Ukraine and Poland (book manuscript)

“Modeling Population Losses in Chechnya: Two Waves of Russian Census Data” (w/Sergei Maksudov, article)

“Foreign Policy in the (Very) Near Abroad: Oligarchic Networks and Interest Alignment in Russian-Belarusian Relations” (article)

“Battlefields of History: Politics and the Russian Mnemonic Landscape” (w/Félix Krawatzek, article)

“Between a Rock and a Holy Place: The Political Negotiation of Christian Identity in Jerusalem,” (article)

“The Handmaiden of the State? The Russian Orthodox Church and Russia’s Interventions in the Syrian and Ukrainian Crises” (article)

“Conflict, Politics and the Christian East: Assessing Contemporary Developments” (w/Christopher Rhodes, article)

“Russia’s Policy Towards the Near-Abroad: Changes and Consistencies” (w/Tomasz Stępniewski, article)

“Legitimizing the Ukrainian State Through Historical Recall: “No One Suffered More than Us” (article)

“On the (In?)Commensurability of the “Totalitarian Twins”: Stalinism, Nazism and the Legislation of Memory in Europe” (article)

“China, Russia and the Status Imperative” (w/Jeanne Wilson, article)

GENERAL-AUDIENCE PUBLICATIONS

“What Poland Sees in the Three Seas Initiative,” *ZOIS Spotlight* 28, 17 July 2019

“Blessings and Curses from Constantinople: How the Orthodox Church is Reshaping the Conflict Between Russia and Ukraine,” *Foreign Affairs*, 25 October 2018

“A House Divided: Orthodoxy in Post-Maidan Ukraine,” *New Eastern Europe* XXXI.3-4 (May-Aug. 2018)

“Combative Pasts: The Politics of History in Post-Communist Europe,” *New Eastern Europe* XXV.1 (January-February 2017): 108-115

“Putin’s Arctic Ambitions: Russia’s Economic Aspirations in the Far North,” *Foreign Affairs*, 5 May 2016

“Putin’s Patriarch: Does the Kremlin Control the Church?” *Foreign Affairs*, 11 February 2016

“How to Disappear Completely: Europe’s Right to Be Forgotten Laws and the Future of Internet Privacy,” *Foreign Affairs*, 16 November 2015

“The Spotless Mind: Behind Europe’s Attempts to Legislate Memory,” *Foreign Affairs*, 14 July 2015

BOOK REVIEWS

Law and Memory: Towards Legal Governance of History (Uladzislau Belavusau & Aleksandra Gliszczyńska-Grabias, eds.), *Nationalities Papers* (forthcoming)

The Legacies of Totalitarianism: A Theoretical Framework (Aviezer Tucker), *Historical Dialogues, Justice and Memory Network* (September 14, 2017)

The Convolutions of Historical Politics (Alexei Miller & Maria Lipman, eds.), *Europe-Asia Studies* 66.5 (2014): 830-831

The Orthodox Church and Russian Politics (Irina Papkova), *Europe-Asia Studies* 65.7 (2013): 1486-1488

Church, State and Democracy in Expanding Europe (Lavinia Stan & Lucian Turcescu), *Politics & Religion* 6.1 (2013): 216-219

Russian Foreign Policy in the 21st Century (Roger Kanet, ed.), *Europe-Asia Studies* 64.6 (2012): 1153-1155

Religion and Modern Society (Bryan Turner), *Journal of Church and State* 54.4 (2012): 650-652

The Ukrainian West: Culture and the Fate of Empire in Soviet Lviv (William Risch), *Nationalities Papers* 40.2 (2012): 284-286

The Colour Revolutions in the Former Soviet Republics: Successes and Failures (Donnacha Ó Beacháin & Abel Polese, eds.), *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 53.2/3/4 (2011): 617-619

Diaspora Politics (Gabriel Sheffer), *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 7.1 (2007): 104-106

PODCASTS

“Religion and Politics—Ukraine Edition,” *Talk Eastern Europe* February 5, 2019

“Circulating Across Europe? Transgressive Narratives About the Past,” *ZOiS Berlin*

INTERVIEWS

“Russia Set to Stage Charm Offensive in Arkhangelsk [interviewed by John Thompson],” *Arctic Deeply*, March 28, 2017

“Russia’s Reimagined Arctic [interviewed by Heather Exner-Pirot],” *World Policy*, March 15, 2017 (reprinted as “Russia’s Reimagined Arctic: Restoring Status,” *Arctic Deeply*, March 24, 2017)

“The Ukraine Crisis: Russia and the West [interviewed by Tomasz Stępniewski],” *Yearbook of the Institute of East-Central Europe* 14.1 (2016): 1-7 (reprinted as “Putin is Not a Grand Tactician, He is an Opportunist,” *New Eastern Europe* 3-4 [May-August 2016]: 125-131)

MEDIA APPEARANCES

The Whole Truth with David Eisenhower (PBS): “The 21st Century Resurgence of the ‘Strongman’” (Ep. 313, fall 2018)

UkeTube: “Ukraine after Maidan: Revisiting Domestic and Regional Security” (June 6, 2018)

CONFERENCES ORGANIZED

Circulating across Europe? Transgressive Narratives about the Past (Harvard University, August 28-29, 2018 [co-organized w/Félix Krawatzek, Oxford])

TRANSLATIONS

Translated KGB report featured by *The Wall Street Journal* (Suzanne Sataline, “Cold War Lingers at Russian Church in New Jersey,” 18 July 2007)

FELLOWSHIPS & GRANTS

2018	Transgressive Narratives Conference (\$21,500 [multiple sources])
2017	Harvard University Pedagogy Study/GovWrites Grant (\$5,000)
2011-2012	Krupp Dissertation Completion Fellowship
2008-2009	Krupp Research Travel Fellowship
2009, 2007, 2006	Weatherhead Center for International Affairs Research Grant
2008, 2004, 2001	Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies Summer Travel Grant
2007	Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies Pre-Dissertation Grant
2006, 2004, 2001	Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Summer Fellowship (Jagellonian University, Moscow State University, Nevskii Institute)
2004-2006, 2001-2002	Foreign Language and Areas Studies (FLAS) Fellowship
2003-2008	Harvard Graduate School of Arts & Sciences Fellowship
2003	Merle Fainsod Graduate Student Prize
2002	Fulbright Fellowship, Russia (<i>declined</i>)
2000-2002	Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies Fellowship

CONFERENCE PAPERS

2019 “Memory Laws and Nation-Building: Responses to a Post-National Europe,” APSA, Washington DC (August 29-September 1)

2019 “Memory Laws in France and Russia,” MELA, Brussels (May 24)

2019 “Democratic Backsliding: Memory Laws and Nation-Building in a Post-National World,” ASN, New York (May 7-9)

2018 “Post-Communist Geopolitics and the Polish-Russian Group for Difficult Issues,” ASEEES, Boston (December 6-9)

2018 “Russia, the Politics of History, and Foreign Policy,” EISA, Prague (September 7-9) (w/Félix Krawatzek)

2018 “Explicit Instruction Strategies for Political Science Writing,” APSA, Boston (August 30-September 2) (w/Colin Brown and Sarah James)

2018 “The Political Processes Surrounding the Rise of Memory Laws in Europe,” Circulating across Europe?, Harvard (Aug 28-29) (w/Félix Krawatzek)

2018 “Legislating Recall: The Recent Rise of European Memory Laws,” ASN, New York (May 5-8) (w/Félix Krawatzek)

2017 “The Politics of History as Transformative Force in Relations Between Russia and the West,” Council for European Studies, Glasgow, Scotland (July 12-14)

2017 “Putin’s Arctic Strategy: A Window to Asia?” International Studies Association, Baltimore, MD (February 22-25)

2017 “Parading the Past: Russia, the Politics of History, and Engagement with the West,” International Studies Association, Baltimore, MD (February 22-25)

- 2017 “Modular Approaches to Teaching Writing and Reinforcing Academic Integrity in the Discipline” (w/Colin Brown) APSA Teaching & Learning Conference, Long Beach, CA (February 10-12)
- 2016 “Post-Maidan Ukraine and the Politics of History: Why Ideas and Identity Matter for Foreign Policy,” Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, Washington, D.C. (November 14-17)
- 2014 “Projecting Eurasia Northward: Russia’s Emerging Arctic Claims,” American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C. (August 28-31)
- 2013 “Combative Past: Russia, Poland and Ukraine,” Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, Boston, MA (November 21-24)
- 2013 “‘History is Politics Projected into the Past’: Russia and the EU as Didactic Frames in the Post-Communist Space,” American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (August 29-September 1)
- 2013 “Polish-Russian Mnemonic Discourse in the Post-Communist Era: A Political History of Katyń,” Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, NY (April 18-20)
- 2012 “Political Remembrance in the Post-Communist Space,” Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, New Orleans, LA (November 15-18)
- 2012 “Between Katyń and Smolensk: Polish-Russian Political Discourse and the Kaczyński Presidency (2005-2010),” Irish Association for Russian, Central and East European Studies, Cork, Ireland (May 4-5) (also presented at the Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, NY [April 19-21])
- 2008 “Democracy, Party Systems, and Civil Societies in Post-Cold War East-Central Europe and East Asia,” (w/Grzegorz Ekiert), Hokkaido University Research Symposium
- 2007 “The Russian Electoral System, Political Elites, and Normative Conceptions of Democracy: Who Governs, and How?” American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, New Orleans, LA (November 15-18)
- 2006 “Party Switching in the Russian Legislature, 1993-2003,” American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Washington, D.C. (November 16-19)
- 2006 “Euro-Skepticism and the EU: East Meets West,” Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (April 20-23)
- 2005 “Measuring Partisanship Development in Post-Communist Russia: Pitfalls and Suggestions” (w/Tassili Pender), Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (April 7-10)

INVITED TALKS

- 2019 “Ukraine, Orthodoxy, and Nation-Making,” Tufts University (April 15)
- 2018 “Historical Memory, Inter-Ethnic Relations and Conflict Prevention in European Foreign Policy,” panel discussion with OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, Contemporary Europe Study Group (October 12)
- 2018 “The Ukraine Crisis and Eastern Europe’s Grey Zone of Security” (w/Tomasz Stępniewski), Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (July 26)
- 2018 “Religion and the Liberal World Order,” EPIIC Symposium, Tufts University (March 3)

2017 “Russia, Media Manipulation and Global Geopolitics: What Does the Evidence Say?” Wheaton College, MA (November 27)

2014 “The Politics of Blasphemy Laws in Post-Communist Europe,” Studying Religion across the Disciplines Conference, Harvard Divinity School (March 28)

2013 “Realizing Democracy: Lessons from Poland” (w/Grzegorz Ekiert), Council on Foreign Relations’ Civil Society, Markets, and Democracy Initiative (April 19)

2010 “Russian Orthodoxy and the Pious Kremlin,” National Resource Council Workshop (December 9)

TEACHING (AS INSTRUCTOR OF RECORD)

Research Methods in Qualitative Methods (Harvard College, Spring 2019)

The Politics of Religion in Liberal Democracies: American Exceptionalism, European Secularism? (Harvard Extension Spring 2018; Summer School 2016; Harvard College, Spring 2018; Fall 2016. Previously taught as *Religion and Politics: American Exceptionalism, European Secularism?* [Harvard College, Fall 2010, Spring 2013, Fall 2013])

Democracy’s Century: Democratic Transitions in Comparative Perspective (Harvard Extension Fall 2018; Harvard Summer School 2019, 2018, 2017, 2016. Previously taught as *Tough Transitions: Consolidating Democracy under Adverse Circumstances* [Harvard Summer School 2014, 2015; Harvard College, Fall 2014])

Foundations of Comparative Politics (Harvard College, Fall 2019, Fall 2015. Previously taught as *Intro to Comparative Politics* [Harvard Summer School, 2015])

Combative Pasts: The Politics of History in Post-WWII Europe (Harvard College, Spring 2014)

Senior Thesis Writers’ Seminar (Harvard College, 2010-2011, 2012-2013, 2013-2014, 2016-2017, 2017-2018, 2018-2019)

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Communications Committee, *American Association of Ukrainian Studies*

Editorial Board Member, *Wschodni Rocznik Humanistyczny*

Reviewer, *Nationalities Papers*, *Politics & Religion*, *Rising Powers Quarterly*, *Third World Quarterly*, *CES Working Papers*

PBK Selection Committee, 2013-present

Co-creator, *GovWrites* website (www.govwrites.fas.harvard.edu)

ACADEMIC AFFILIATIONS & MEMBERSHIPS

Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Affiliate Faculty

Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Center Associate

Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Associate

Institute for Quantitative Social Science, Associate

American Political Science Association

Association for the Study of Nationalities

Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies

American Association for Ukrainian Studies

Council for European Studies

International Studies Association

European International Studies Association

Polish Studies Association

LANGUAGES

Russian—fluent

Polish—good speaking and writing; excellent reading ability

Ukrainian—good reading ability

French—read with dictionary

REFERENCES

Dissertation Committee

Prof. Timothy Colton

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Prof. Grzegorz Ekiert

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Co-authors and Collaborators

Prof. Jeanne Wilson

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Dr. Félix Krawatzek

British Academy Post-Doctoral

Fellow, Nuffield College, Oxford

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Felix.krawatzek@nuffield.ox.ac.uk

Dr. hab. Tomasz Stępniewski

Associate Professor of Political

Science, University of Lublin

Al. Racławickie 14, 20-950,

Lublin, POLAND

tomasz.stepniewski5@gmail.com

Teaching Reference

Prof. Cheryl Welch

Senior Lecturer and Director of Undergraduate Studies

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