**GEORGE SOROKA** [soroka@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:soroka@fas.harvard.edu)

1737 Cambridge Street, K-151D [www.gsoroka.org](http://www.gsoroka.org)

Cambridge, MA 02138

617-495-9890

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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

Dissertation: *Combative Pasts: Politics and Remembering in the Post-Communist Space*

Committee: Tim Colton (chair), Grzegorz Ekiert, Peter Hall & Steve Levitsky

Harvard University, A.M. (Russian, East European & Central Asian Studies), 2002

Thesis: *Social Capital and Post-Soviet Environmental Activism in Baikalia, 1991-2001*

Drew University, M.A. (Liturgical Studies), 2000

Thesis: *Isabel Florence Hapgood and the Making of the 1906 Orthodox Service Book*

Drew University, B.A. (Anthropology & Religion), *summa cum laude*,PBK, 1994

**FELLOWSHIPS & GRANTS**

2020 Harvard Innovation in Teaching and Learning (HILT) Grant

2019 Harvard Pedagogy Study/GovWrites Grant

2018 Transgressive Narratives Conference funding (multiple sources)

2017 Harvard Pedagogy Study/GovWrites Grant

2011 Krupp Dissertation Completion Fellowship

2008 Krupp Research Travel Fellowship

2009 Weatherhead Center for International Affairs Research Grant (also 2006, 2007)

2008 Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies Summer Travel Grant (also 2004, 2001)

2007 Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies Pre-Dissertation Grant

2006 Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Summer Fellowship (also 2004, 2001)

2005 Foreign Language and Areas Studies (FLAS) Fellowship (also 2004, 2001)

2003 Harvard Graduate School of Arts & Sciences Fellowship

2003 Merle Fainsod Graduate Student Prize

2002 Fulbright Fellowship, Russia (*declined*)

2000 Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies Fellowship

**EDITED VOLUMES**

George Soroka & Christopher Rhodes, eds., *Conflict, Politics, and the Christian East: Assessing Contemporary Developments* (London: Routledge, 2022)

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

**JOURNAL ARTICLES**

“Circulation, Conditions, Claims: Examining the Politics of Historical Memory in Eastern Europe” (w/Félix Krawatzek), *East European Politics and Societies*, online March 25, 2021, [doi.org/10.1177/0888325420969786](https://doi.org/10.1177/0888325420969786)

“Recalling Katyń: Poland, Russia, and the Interstate Politics of History,” *East European Politics and Societies*, online March 25, 2021, [doi.org/10.1177/0888325420983433](https://doi.org/10.1177/0888325420983433)

“‘I’d Like to Help You in Your Struggle to Be Free’: 50 Ways to Leave Your Lover *à la russe*” (w/Félix Krawatzek, forthcoming 2021, *Problems of Post-Communism*)

“The Politics of the Past: Polish-Soviet and Polish-Russian Efforts at Historical Reconciliation,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, online January 25, 2021, [doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2020.1844023](https://doi.org/10.1080/10758216.2020.1844023)

“An Introduction to Conflict, Politics and the Christian East: Towards a Theoretical Typology,” (w/Christopher Rhodes), *Religion, State & Society* 48.5 (2020): 314-322

“Explicit Content: Two Experiments on Bringing Writing Instruction into the Political Science Classroom” (w/Colin Brown & Sarah James) *Journal of Political Science Education*, online March 20, 2020, [doi.org/10.1080/15512169.2020.1716239](https://doi.org/10.1080/15512169.2020.1716239).

“Russia and the Rest: Permeable Sovereignty and the Former Soviet Socialist Republics” (w/Tomasz Stępniewski), *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society* 6.2 (2020): 3-12

“The Three Seas Initiative: Geopolitical Determinants and Polish Interests” (w/Tomasz Stępniewski), *The Yearbook of the Institute of East-Central Europe* 17 (2019): 15-29

“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 2021)

“Assessing Domestic Security Challenges in Post-Maidan Ukraine: Two Critical Dimensions,” in George Soroka & Tomasz 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

**OTHER PUBLICATIONS**

“The Eagle and the Bear: US-Russian Relations Under Biden,” *ZOiS Spotlight* (3 March 2021)

“What the Incoming Biden Administration Means for Central and Eastern Europe,” *New Eastern Europe* XLV.1-2 (Jan.-Mar. 2021): 99-103

“The Crisis in Belarus: A U.S. Perspective,” *IEŚ Policy Papers* 8 (2020): 25-29

“A View from the United States: Washington and the Visegrád Group (V4),” *IEŚ Policy Papers* 7 (2020): 42-45

“Laughing with Him or at Him? Zelenskyy’s First Year,” *IEŚ Policy Papers* 1 (2020): 23-30

“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-August 2018): 90-97

“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 and Aleksandra Gliszczyńska-Grabias, eds.), *Nationalities Papers* 48.5 (2020): 960-962

*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), *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**

“9 May in Russia: Memory (Politics) of World War II,” *ZOiS Berlin* (May 6, 2020) <https://www.zois-berlin.de/mediathek/podcast-roundtable-osteuropa/9-may-in-russia-memory-politics-of-world-war-ii/>

“Religion and Politics—Ukraine Edition,” *Talk Eastern Europe* (February 5, 2019) https://talkeasterneurope. podbean.com/

“Circulating Across Europe? Transgressive Narratives About the Past,” *ZOiS Berlin* (October 2018) https://en. zois-berlin.de/research/research-areas/memory-laws-nation/podcast-transgressive-narratives/

**INTERVIEWS**

“In Conversation… Interview on the Crimea Crisis [interviewed by Miceál O'Hurley],” *Diplomat Ireland* (December 15, 2020). <https://www.diplomat.ie/in-conversation-interview-with-harvards-george-soroka-ph-d-on-the-crimea-crisis-video-icc-finds-basis-war-crimes-crimes-against-humanity-committed/>

“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” [https://youtu.be/pr8RHQ-zBUE](https://urldefense.proofpoint.com/v2/url?u=https-3A__youtu.be_pr8RHQ-2DzBUE&d=DwMFaQ&c=WO-RGvefibhHBZq3fL85hQ&r=PH3Gbb_hYWy6qivUGQwTogG6iyPhfl-AKbH_XgKklE8&m=sG-iHwL49onRhLI1ZOv6Mo2uN-zGHvBifSQscZfxewQ&s=bNYYHLFV23nPQm8uVB-3e3d4VvVYp4iSokNiF0kJxbw&e=)

**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)

**CONFERENCE PAPERS**

2019 “A Comparative Analysis of Memory Laws in France and Russia,” APSA, Washington DC (August 29-Sept 1) (w/Félix Krawatzek)

2019 “Governing History,” MELA Conference, Brussels (May 24) (w/Félix Krawatzek)

2019 “The Rise of Memory Laws in Europe: What We Have Learned (1985-2018),” ASN, New York (May 2-4) (w/Félix Krawatzek)

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 Pasts: 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 “To Define and Protect the Nation: Memory Laws in Post-Communist Europe” Nanovic Institute, Notre Dame University (November 9)

2019 “What’s Special About Ukraine?” HURI, Harvard University (October 15)

2019 “Faith, War, and Schism: Religion in Russia-Ukraine Relations,” Fletcher School, Tufts University

(April 9)

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), HURI, Harvard University (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**

*Research Practicum in Qualitative Methods* (Harvard College, Spring 2021, 2019)

*The Politics of Religion in Liberal Democracies: American Exceptionalism, European Secularism?* (Harvard Extension Fall 2020, Spring 2018, and Summer School 2016; Harvard College Fall 2020, 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 2020, 2018, and Summer School 2020, 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. Also taught as *Intro to Comparative Politics* (Harvard Extension Spring 2021, 2020, and Summer School 2020, 2015)

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

*Senior Thesis Writers’ Seminar* (Harvard College 2020, 2019, 2017, 2016, 2013, 2012, 2010)

**PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

Editor, Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies Working Papers

Chair, Communications Committee, American Association of Ukrainian Studies

Executive Committee Member, Religion and IR section, International Studies Association

Editorial Board Member, *Wschodni Rocznik Humanistyczny*

Advisory Board Member, *Yearbook of the Institute of East-Central Europe*

PBK Selection Committee, 2013-present

Co-creator, *GovWrites* website ([www.govwrites.fas.harvard.edu](http://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

**LANGUAGES**

Russian—fluent

Polish—good speaking and writing, excellent reading ability

Ukrainian—excellent reading ability

French—read with dictionary

**REFERENCES**

Prof. Timothy Colton Prof. Grzegorz Ekiert Prof. Steven Levitsky

1730 Cambridge Street Center for European Studies 1737 Cambridge Street,

Cambridge, MA 02138 27 Kirkland Street 204 Weatherhead Center

617-495-4345 Cambridge, MA 02138 Cambridge, MA 02138

[tcolton@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:tcolton@fas.harvard.edu) 617-495-4303 (ext. 213) 617-495-9997

[ekiert@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:ekiert@fas.harvard.edu) [levitsky@wcfia.harvard.edu](mailto:levitsky@wcfia.harvard.edu)

Prof. Jeanne Wilson Dr. Félix Krawatzek Dr. hab. Tomasz Stępniewski

Shelby Cullom Davis Professor British Academy Post-Doctoral Associate Professor of Political

Wheaton College Fellow, Nuffield College, Oxford Science, University of Lublin

Norton, MA 02766 1 New Rd, Oxford OX1 1NF, UK Al. Racławickie 14, 20–950,

(508) 286-8200 [Félix.krawatzek@nuffield.ox.ac.uk](mailto:felix.krawatzek@nuffield.ox.ac.uk) Lublin, POLAND

[wilson\_jeanne@wheatoncollege.edu](mailto:wilson_jeanne@wheatoncollege.edu) [tomasz.stepniewski5@gmail.com](mailto:tomasz.stepniewski5@gmail.com)

Prof. Cheryl Welch

Senior Lecturer and Director of Undergraduate Studies

Harvard Government Department

1737 Cambridge Street, Rm 151-A

(617) 495-3249

[cwelch@gov.harvard.edu](mailto:cwelch@gov.harvard.edu)