EMILY J. HOLLAND

emily.holland@usnwc.edu www.emilyjholland.com Strategic & Operational Research Department Naval War College 686 Cushing Road, Newport, RI 02841 +1 617-645-5299

ACADEMIC POSITIONS

MARCOM, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, London, UK

February 2024-

Deputy Political Advisor to the Commander, Critical Undersea Infrastructure

United States Naval War College, Newport, RI

2020-

Assistant Professor, Russia Maritime Studies Institute, Strategic and Operational Research Department

New York University, NY, NY

2019-2021

Visiting Scholar, Jordan Center for the Advanced Study of Russia

United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD

2018-2019

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science

Harvard University, Cambridge, MA

2017-2018

Postdoctoral Research Fellow, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies

Columbia University New York, NY

2017-

Associate Research Scholar, Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies

EDUCATION

PhD, Political Science

May 2017

M.A., 2010, M.Phil., 2013

Columbia University, New York, NY

Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

Dissertation: "Poisoned By Gas: Institutional Failure, Energy Dependency and Security."

Major Field: International Relations, Minor Field: Comparative Politics

BA, Political Science with Honors

2009

Columbia University, New York, NY

Salutatorian, Phi Beta Kappa, Summa Cum Laude

RESEARCH

RESEARCH INTERESTS Russian and Post-Soviet Politics, energy/climate politics, infrastructure, nuclear geopolitics, trade, foreign policy

BOOK PROJECT

"Poisoned By Gas: Institutional Failure, Energy Dependency and Security" Under Review.

CURRENT PROJECT

"Critical Minerals, Battery Technology, and Reducing Dependence on Hostile Suppliers in the Clean Energy Supply Chain" with Josh Busby and Morgan Bazilian, 2023-2027.

- Winner 2023 Minerva Defense Education and Civilian University Partnership Award
- \$368,508 budget for period 2023-2027
- Two workshops (September 2023, Golden CO; April 2024 UT Austin); TTX (Fall 2024 U.S. Naval War College)
- Forthcoming edited volume, policy paper

PUBLICATIONS

"Illiberal Leaders in the International Arena: The Cases of Hungary and Israel," with Hadas Aron. *Journal of Illiberal Studies*, Vol.4 No. 2, 2024.

"Strategic Competition and Basing in Central and Eastern Europe." Geostrategic Competition and US, Chinese, and Russian Basing Eds. Andrew Yeo and Isaac Kardon. Washington DC: Brookings/ Rowman & Littlefield, 2024.

"Opportunistic Basing: Russian Foreign Policy & Overseas Military Facilities." Under Review.

"All Bark No Bite? Systematic Analysis of Populism and Foreign Policy," with Hadas Aron. Under Review.

"Reaching Across the Border: Internationalizing Citizenship as Domestic Strategy," with Hadas Aron. Under Review.

"The Euro-Russian Energy Divorce: How Ukraine and Climate Broke Ostpolitik," *The Naval War College Review*, Autumn 2022, vol. 76, No. 4.

"Beyond the End of History: Nationalism, Liberalism, & the War in Ukraine" with Hadas Aron *Instituto Affari Internazionale Commentaries*, May 2022.

"Ukraine and Taiwan: Small Powers in the Shadow of Great Power Rivalries" *Perspectives on Taiwan: Insights from the 2017 Taiwan-U.S. Policy Program*, Editors: Bonnie S Glaser and Matthew Funaiole, March 2018.

Policy (selection)

- "China, Clean Technologies, and National Security," with Josh Busby and Morgan Bazilian, War on the Rocks, October 2, 2024.
- "The Defense Production Act's Role in the Clean Energy Transition," with Josh Busby, Morgan Bazilian and Paul Orszag, *Lawfare*, July 17, 2023.
- "America's Military Depends on the Minerals that China Controls," with Morgan Bazilian and Josh Busby, Foreign Policy, March 16, 2023.
- "Permanent Rupture: The European-Russian Energy Relationship has Ended with Nord Stream," War on the Rocks, October 3, 2022.
- "Declaring a Climate Emergency Won't Save the Planet, Energy Security Could," with Morgan Bazilian, Just Security, August 8. 2022
- "The Energy Crisis is a National Security Opportunity," with Morgan Bazilian *Defense One*, June 23, 2022.
- "Is Hungary Ukraine's Biggest Problem in the European Union?" with Hadas Aron. War on the Rocks, April 29, 2022.
- "The Urgent Case for Energy Austerity," with Marco Giuli War on the Rocks, March 24, 2022.
- "Biden is threatening Putin with energy sanctions. That may be difficult to pull off," The Monkey Cage, the Washington Post, December 15, 2021.

- "Europe's Energy Security Problem Leaves it in the Cold," War on the Rocks, November 30, 2021.
- "Trump's Budweiser Putsch," Duck of Minerva, January 9, 2021.
- "The New Nuclear Conundrum: Russia is the Real Problem, Not China," National Bureau of Asia Research, 2020.
- "Levers of Power: Russia's Domination of the Global Nuclear Reactor Market," U.S.-Russia Security Workshop, Harriman Institute, Columbia University, June 2019.
- "Ukraine and Taiwan: Small Powers in the Shadow of Great Power Rivalries," *Perspectives on Taiwan: Insights from the 2017 Taiwan-U.S. Policy Program*, Editors: Bonnie S. Glaser & Matthew Funaiole, March 2018.
- "Is Trump Nudging America Towards Corrupt Authoritarianism?" With Hadas Aron. Newsweek, February 9, 2018.
- "Countering Russian Influence in the Balkans." With Rebecca F. Lissner. Lawfare, August 6, 2017.
- "Oligarchy 2.0: Rebuilding the Ukrainian Economy While Ensuring Energy Security." *Harriman Institute Program on US-Russia Relations*, March 2017.
- "The Trump Dossier is aimed at taking down American democracy, not Donald Trump." With Hadas Aron. London School of Economics American Politics and Policy Blog, January 17, 2017.
- "How Vladimir Putin Became the Oracle of the East" With Hadas Aron. Duck of Minerva, December 8, 2016.
- "Poisoned by Gas: Domestic Networks and Energy Security Strategy in Ukraine," *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 69 No. 1, Fall/Winter 2015.
- "Russia and The West are Both Being Played by Ukraine's Political Elite." With Rebecca R. Friedman. The Christian Science Monitor, March 7, 2014.

WORKING PAPERS

- "Russian Indo Pacific Strategy." 2021.
- "With Friends Like These: Russo-Turkish Energy Politics"

TRANSLATIONS

• "STRATEGY for Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation and Provision of National Security for the Period up to 2035." with Anna Davis, Russia Maritime Studies Institute, U.S. Naval War College, 26 October 2020.

DATASETS

"Russian International Nuclear Energy Contracts"

• Systematic collection of Russian build-own-operate contracts governing global nuclear reactor sales

"Eurasian Energy Dependence Index"

 Original index of Eurasian dependence on Russian energy supplies 1991-2015, tracks dependence over time in 22 downstream states

"Natural Gas Contract Database" (in progress)

• First systematic collection of major producer (Russia, Algeria, Qatar, Nigeria, Norway) bi-lateral contracts governing sale and transport of gas across borders

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

- 2023 Minerva Defense Education and Civilian University Partnership Award: Critical Minerals, Battery Technology, and Reducing Dependence on Hostile Suppliers in the Clean Energy Supply Chain. With Josh Busby (UT Austin) and Morgan Bazilian (CO School of Mines). 2023-2027, \$368,508
- 2021-2024 PONI Mid Career Cadre, Next Generation Nuclear Network, CSIS
- 2019 Track Next Arms Control Dialogue Fellow, Harvard Davis Center, Gorchakov Foundation

- 2019 National Asia Research Project Fellow, National Bureau of Asian Research
- 2017-2018 Postdoctoral Fellowship, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University
- Carnegie Corporation of New York Borderlands Project Summer 2017
- Government Accountability Project International Research Fellowship Summer 2017
- Taiwan-U.S. Policy Program Fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies Summer 2017
- Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs Cordier Fellowship 2016-2017 Academic Year Fellowship; 2015-2016 Academic Year Fellowship
- Harriman Institute Padma Desai Fellowship Summer 2015 Fellowship for fieldwork in Russia, Lithuania and Bulgaria
- Center for International Business Education and Research Doctoral Research Fellowship Summer 2013 for fieldwork in Russia and Hungary
- Harriman Pepsico Fellowship for Research Travel Summer 2013 for fieldwork in Russia and Hungary

AWARDS

- Graduate Student Finalist, Presidential Teaching Award Columbia University, 2017
- Salutatorian, Class of 2009, Columbia University May 2009

SELECTED PRESENTATIONS & WORKSHOPS

Presentations at Academic Conferences:

- NYU Jordan Center Workshop on Populism and Foreign Policy (Organizer) 2021
- ISA 2021
- MPSA 2021
- APSA 2020
- ASEEES 2020
- European Political Science Association Annual Conference 2019
- International Conference of Europeanists 2019
- PONARS New Voices on Russia 2019

Selected Other Talks:

- Panelist Managing Risks and Relationships with Russia in the Arctic, Arctic Circle Assembly, Reykjavik, October 2023.
- Panelist *Trade*, *Geopolitics and Security*, Colorado School of Mines Critical Minerals Symposium, Golden, CO September 2023.
- Lecturer The Russian Strategy for the Development of the Arctic Zone and Russia's National Security, NATO Conference on Maritime Operational Law, Victoria, CA September 2023.
- Panelist Critical Seas and Seabeds, MARCOM Seapower Symposium, Kingston-upon-Thames, UK, July 2023.
- Lecturer Russia and the West, Legal Threats to NATO Maritime Operations, Lisbon, Portugal, June 2022.
- Briefing *Energy Security*, Black Sea Maritime Forum (Romanian Naval Forces, U.S. Naval Forces Europe, Allied Joint Force Command Naples), Sofia, Bulgaria April 2023.
- Lecturer Russia's Strategic Doctrine, NATO Conference on Maritime Operational Law, Vilnius, Lithuania October 2022.
- Lecturer *Energy Security Challenges*, European American Security Dialogue, Tallinn, Estonia, May 2022.
- Lecturer Black Sea Energy Security, Black Sea Maritime Forum (Romanian Naval Forces, U.S. Naval Forces Europe, Allied Joint Force Command Naples), Bucharest, Romania February 2022.
- Lecturer Maritime Security Implications of Energy Security, Cooperative Strategy Forum, Karlskrona, Sweden April 2022.
- Briefing Nuclear Geopolitics: Russian Dominance of the Global Nuclear Energy Market, Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo, Norway, November 2017.
- Guest Lecturer Politics and Strategy in the Nuclear Age, University of Oslo, Norway, November 2017.

- Discussant Next Generation Policy Conference: Russia, the U.S., and the World, New York, NY, March 2017
- Discussant Russian-Western Relations until 2020: Scenarios and Options IMEMO, MGU Moscow, Russia, April 2016
- Discussant *The Geopolitics of Energy*, School of International and Public Affairs Thought Leadership Forum, New York, NY, February 2016
- Discussant The New Europe: Russia and US Relations after the Reset NYU Center for Global Affairs, November 2013

RESEARCH AND POLICY EXPERIENCE

Consultant Feb 2019-June 2021

The World Bank Group, Washington DC

- Lead Consultant, Underlying Drivers of Policy Effectiveness: Serbia
- Political economy research and analysis of the mining sector, and public sector reforms in health and education

Getulio P. Carvalho Fellow

Summer 2017

Government Accountability Project, Washington D.C.

• Lead researcher, Project on Corruption in Development and Extractive Industries in Eurasia

Consultant January 2017- October 2017

Political Economy of Extractive Industries Governance, Columbia Center for Sustainable Investment, Columbia University

• Consulted and provided research materials for Columbia Law School Executive Session on the Political Economy of Extractive Industries Governance

Visiting Fellow Academic Year 2014-2015

German Institute for Economic Research (DIW), Berlin, Germany

- Initiated data collection project with the Department of Energy, Transportation and Environment on Russian natural gas contracts with European states and collaborated with researchers Russian market power models
- Conducted primary source research and field work on East European energy security policies and market power in Russia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Poland and Germany
- Provided policy analysis For the Valdai Discussion Club Conference on Energy Security in Berlin, Germany and the Frankfurter Allgemeine Forum Energy Security Summit

Visiting Fellow Spring 2014

European Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin, Germany

- Researched and wrote policy analysis reports on European and Russian energy politics and the Ukraine crisis
- Conducted original research on Russo-Ukrainian relations which culminated in a public lecture on US-Russian Relations vis-à-vis Ukraine held at the New York University (NYU) Center for Global Affairs

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

TEACHING DEVELOPMENT

Learning Community on Inclusive Teaching, Columbia University Center for Teaching and Learning, Fall 2016

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR

Russia and the World

Jan 2019-Present, U.S. Naval War College

• Overview of Russian strategic thinking and contemporary war fighting, economic, diplomatic practices

Russian Foreign Policy (FP370)

Fall 2019, United States Naval Academy

• Comprehensive course on contemporary Russian Foreign Policy

Introduction to International Relations (FP210)

Fall 2018-2019, United States Naval Academy

• Introduction to central principles and analysis of international relations

LECTURER

Conceptual Foundations of International Politics (U6800)

Instructor, Fall 2015, Columbia University, School of International and Public Affairs

- An introduction to the foundations of International Relations Theory for MIA and MPA students.
- Supervised 60 incoming MA students
- Created and taught two weekly graduate level public policy seminars on IR theory and world politics, set criteria for evaluation and assessed student participation and written work

ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE

SWAMOS Program Coordinator

2012-2017

Summer Workshop on the Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy, New York, NY Supervisor: Dr. Richard K. Betts

- Coordinated and managed annual workshop on the analysis of military operations and strategy, held annually at Cornell University
- Organized the selection process, liaised with both participants and faculty, participated in discussion and facilitated the day-to-day operations of the workshop including organizing travel and reimbursement
- Managed and supervised the budget, wrote annual grant applications and reports

SERVICE

American Political Science Association:

Foreign Policy Chair, 2022-2024

US Naval War College:

Faculty Awards Committee, 2021, 2022

Brodie Group Hiring Committee, 2020-2021

Mittendorf Awards Committee, 2020, 2021,2023

Columbia University:

SWAMOS Coordinator, Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies, 2012-2017

President, Political Science Graduate Students Association, 2012

SKILLS

LANGUAGES: English (Native), French (Fluent), Russian (Intermediate), German (Basic)

STATISTICAL SOFTWARE: STATA (proficient) and R (proficient) **OTHER SOFTWARE:** LATEX (proficient) and OFFICE (proficient)