

Minda Holm
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Education

- 09/2018 – **PhD, Department of Political Science**
University of Copenhagen
Working title: Theorizing international ideology and counter-ideology: Right-wing critics of liberal order and the limits to their critique, or towards a materialist rhetoric in IR
Supervisor: Ole Wæver (due 1 October 2021)
- 01/2015 – 1/2016 **Master of International Studies (International Security Studies)**
Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University
Courses in international security politics, responses to terrorism and international economy, GPA 4.0. Fulbright scholar. Scholarship award for outstanding academic achievements.
- 10/2013 – 10/2014 **Master of Science in International Relations Theory**
London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE)
Distinctions in all/ GPA 4.0. Thesis 'Rethinking unit, structure and the "1989 End of History": Towards a real and more radical social theory in IR', on limits to IR theory in understanding ideology, and on states' increasing resistance to liberal democracy.
Supervisors: Tarak Barkawi & George Lawson.
- 08/2008 – 06/2013 **BA Political Science, BA Russian and Eurasian studies**
University of Oslo
Two parallel BA's: specialization in comparative politics and international politics (thesis on conceptualizing the democratization process in Myanmar) and Russian language, history, politics and literature respectively (thesis in area studies on Russian and Chinese led security cooperation through SCO and CSTO, third parallel thesis in Russian literary theory on Bakhtin and his theory of laughter).
- 01/2012 – 06-2012 **Semester Abroad, American University in Cairo**
Arabic (intensive daily language class), International Law, Comparative Democratization, History of American Foreign Policy in the Middle East (research class).

Main work experience

- 12/2017 - **PhD Fellow (associated)**
Research Group on International Security
Danish Institute of International Studies (DIIS)
Funds 30% of PhD through "Velux" grant on "World of the Right"
- 3/2017 – **Research fellow**
Research Group on Foreign Policy and Diplomacy,
Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)
Past research projects/article projects: Russian and Turkish perspectives on European security, recognition and ideas of statehood, conceptual history and early modern sovereignty.
Current: PhD, Ministry of Defence Project Leader on "The New Right and Global Order"
- 7/2017 – present **Foreign affairs columnist**
Monthly column on international politics for Norwegian daily *Dagsavisen*
- 11/2015 – 3/2017 **Junior Research Fellow (full-time)**
Research Group on Foreign Policy and Diplomacy,
Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)
Research projects/article projects: Same as above, and article projects currently in review on UN and protection of civilians (co-authored), and UNDP and the market for development (co-authored), Policy input for Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defence White Paper on security politics ("Veivalg"). 2 peer-reviewed articles published on Russian uses of history in Ukraine, and the liberal value community in defence, security and foreign policy between US and Norway.
- 09/2014 – 12/2015 **Junior Research Fellow (part-time during studies, full-time summers)**
Russia, Eurasia and Arctic Research Group
Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)

Research on Russia, Ukraine, Central Asia, journal editor, annual conference organization, project administration in Central Asia, Russia and more.

- 08/2012 – 08/2014 **Research Assistant** (part-time during studies, full-time summers)
Russia, Eurasia and Arctic Research Group
Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI)
Research project on Afghanistan and Central Asia and the 2014 withdrawal, research project on national oil companies (NOCs) in authoritarian regimes, editorial work, annual conference organization and project administration in Central Asia.
- 06/2012 – 08/2012 **Research Intern**
Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Dushanbe.
Research on national implementation of regional (SCO/CSTO) counter-terrorism doctrines.
- 07/2010 – 02/2011 **Trainee, political affairs**
The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Royal Norwegian Embassy in Astana, Kazakhstan (with monthly travels to Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan)
Political and economic reporting from Central Asia to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, meetings, regional bi-monthly travels with the Ambassador.
- 07/2009 – 10/2011 **Journalist**
Radio Nova
Weekly art program “NEU” in Oslo, plus work in Kiev (covering Ukrainian presidential elections in 2010) and freelance work in Moscow (2010) for the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK) and Dagens Næringsliv (DN)

Languages

Norwegian, native speaker
English, fluent
Russian, strong command
Arabic, basic communication skills (writing, reading, speaking) in the Egyptian dialect from AUC in Cairo 2012, language courses Modern Standard Arabic at Folkeuniversitetet, Oslo in 2016

Editorial experience, other

Co-editor, *Internasjonal Politikk – Skandinavisk tidsskrift for internasjonale studier*, January 2017 – present (Scandinavian peer-reviewed IR journal)
Book review editor for the *Internasjonal Politikk*, June 2015 – present
Member of the editorial board for *Millennium Journal of International Studies* 2013-2014
Book review editor and peer-reviewer for *Nordisk Østforum*, Nordic Post-Soviet area studies journal, 2012 - 2015
Research assistance for Neumann, Pouliot and Sending (eds.) *Diplomacy: The Making of World Politics* (2015), Neumann, *Russia and the idea of Europe* (2016).
Co-editor of Central Asia Data Gathering Analysis Team (CADGAT) reports, <http://www.osce-academy.net/en/research/cadgat/>

External examiner (MA thesis) for MA Russia studies, University of Oslo, 2018
External examiner (MA thesis) for MA Political Science, University of Oslo, 2018
External examiner (MA thesis) for MA Russia studies, University of Oslo, 2016

Scholarships, grants

Nordic researcher exchange programme, awarded in fall 2017 and fall 2018
Norwegian Ministry of Defence, 3-year research funding, New right and World order (project leader)
Velux Foundation, “World of the Right”, 3-year PhD funding 2018-2021
Fellowship for outstanding academic achievements, George Washington University (not used)
U.S.-Norway Fulbright Foundation, full scholarship, 2014 – 2015
Norwegian Media Authority full work and travel grant for radio project on political art in Russia 2010
United World College of the Atlantic, full scholarship tuition and board, 2005-2007

Academic publications, book reviews, policy briefs, conferences

Peer-reviewed articles and book chapters

- Holm, Minda (2019) 'Mutual Lack of Introspection and the 'Russia Factor' in the Liberal West', Forum article in *New Perspectives* (forthcoming)
- Holm, Minda (2019) 'Liberale verdifelleskap og moral i praksis: Hvordan Norge gikk til krig og hva vi kan lære' i Rune Ottosen, Terje Tvedt, Tormod Heier (ed.) *Bombingen av Libya: Et norsk traume*, Cappelen Damm (forthcoming)
- Holm, Minda (2019) "What Liberalism? Russia's Conservative Turn and the Liberal Order", book chapter in "Geopolitical Amnesia: Visions of the Right", *McGill-Queens University Press* (forthcoming)
- Holm, Minda (2019) "Lives first, values second? Double Exceptionalism in European Security politics", book chapter in "Freedom of Speech in the University Sector", *Scandinavian Academic Press* (forthcoming)
- Holm, Minda (2019) "Protecting your Own: The Politics of Diasporas and the Duty of Care", book chapter in "The Duty of Care in International Relations", *Routledge* (forthcoming)
- Holm, Minda & Ole Jacob Sending (2018) "States before Relations: Misrecognition and the bifurcated symbolic structure of sovereignty", *Review of International Studies*, 44(5) (2018)
- Holm, Minda (2018) '[What, When, and Where, Then, is the Concept of Sovereignty?](#)', in *International Studies Review*, First View (pre-print) (2018)
- Holm, Minda (2017) '[Å hoppe etter Refleks: Brendes Veivalg](#)', in *Internasjonal Politikk*, 75 (3/4), 212-219 (2018)
- Holm, Minda (2017) '[Norge, USA og det liberale verdifelleskapet](#)', in *Internasjonal Politikk*, 75 (1), 1-12 (2017)
- Holm, Minda (2017) '«[Innanfor og utanfor: Tryggingpolitikksett frå Tyrkia og Russland](#)»', in *Syn og Segn*, 123 (2), 39-45 (2017). Reprinted with permission by *Morgenbladet*.
- Holm, Minda (2016) '[Legitimering gjennom \(selektiv\) felles fortid: russisk bruk av historie i Ukraina-konflikten](#)', in *Nordisk Østforum*, 30 (4), 214-237 (2016)

Op-eds

- 'Farlige forbindelser?', *Dagsavisen* 12. mars 2019.
- 'Den forstemmende enigheten om Libya', *Dagsavisen* 8. januar 2019.
- 'Hatet mot George Soros' (also in Danish), *Dagsavisen* 21. november 2018. Reprinted and translated with permission by *DIIS*.
- '[Norge, USA og folkeretten](#)', *Dagsavisen* 11. september 2018.
- '[Ideologenes kamp](#)' (also in Danish), *Dagsavisen*, 7. august 2018. Reprinted with permission by *DIIS*.
- '[Familien i internasjonal politikk](#)' (also in Danish), *Dagsavisen*, 4. juli 2018. Reprinted with permission by *DIIS*.
- '[Kampen om suverenitet](#)', *Dagsavisen*, 2. juni 2018.
- '[Israel og moralsk balansegang](#)', *Dagsavisen*, 24. april 2018.
- '[Forskning vs. synsing](#)', *Dagsavisen*, 28. mars 2018.
- '[Vår fiende Russland?](#)' (also in Danish and English), *Dagsavisen*, 13. mars 2018. Re-printed with permission by *DIIS (DK)*, *Magasinet Røst (DK)* and *High North News (NO/EN)*.
- '[Frykten for populismen](#)', *Dagsavisen*, 6. februar 2018.
- '[Ytre høyre, foren eder!](#)' (also in Danish), *Dagsavisen*, 21. november 2017. Reprinted with permission by *DIIS*.
- '[Russlands nye maktposisjon](#)', *Dagsavisen*, 17. oktober 2017.
- '[Hvem utgjør en terrorist?](#)', *Dagsavisen*, 12. september 2017.
- '[Det illiberale Europa](#)' (also in Danish), *Dagsavisen*, 8. august 2017. Reprinted with permission by *DIIS*.
- '[Tøffe kår for samarbeid](#)', *Dagsavisen*, 6. juli 2017.
- '[Demonstrasjoner og terror i Russland - hvor støtt står makten?](#)', *NRK Ytring* 4. april 2017.

Book-reviews

- '[Revolusjonsåret 1917 minutt for minutt](#)', *Aftenposten*, 5. november 2017.
- '[Beyond Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Thinking about Women's Violence in Global Politics](#)', *Internasjonal Politikk*, 74 (2), 1-3 (2016)
- '[Sovjetistan](#)', *Nordisk Østforum*, 28 (2), 239-241 (2016)

Policy briefs

- Holm, Minda and Vibeke Schou Tjalve (2018) 'Visions of an Illiberal World Order? The National Right in Europe, Russia and the US', NUPI Working paper (2018/1, 1-17).
- 7 non-disclosed policy input papers for the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' "Veivalg"-project (white paper on security politics), on topics ranging from fragile states, EU's global strategy to international order and international law.
- NUPI publication, "Ukraine: *Where will it end?*" (HHD-report, NUPI, February 2015)

Conferences

- Invited to present on papers dealing with misrecognition, political realism, social theory, global governance, UNDP, terrorism/securitization and political dialogue and Russian Foreign Policy respectively at the *Midwestern Political Science Association* (MPSA) in Chicago, April 2015, *International Studies Association* (ISA) in Atlanta, March 2016 (co-authored with Kristin Fjæstad), *European International Studies Association* (EISA), September 2016 (2 papers, conference cancelled), *ISA Northeast* Baltimore November 2016 (co-authored with Ole Jacob Sending), *ISA* in Baltimore, February 2017 (3 papers and one roundtable), *EISA* in Barcelona in September 2017 (1 paper), *BISA* in Bath in June 2018 (1 paper co-authored with Ole Jacob Sending).

Organizational experience (selected)

- Board member, European International Studies Association (EISA) Early Career Development Group, 2018 - present
- Board member, Human Rights House Foundation, February 2018 – present
- Board member, Fulbright Alumni Association Norway, June 2015 – present
- Main organizer, "Today's Russia – and where to next?", NUPI's annual international Russia conference in Oslo with scholars from Norway, Russia, UK, US, November 2015
- Main organizer, "Russia and global (dis)order", NUPI's annual Russia conference in Oslo December 2014, with scholars from Russia, US, Finland, Norway & UK
- Main organizer, "Radio in and from border zones", December 2012 international conference on independent and critical radio in Oslo, with funding from *Fritt Ord*
- Leader, Amnesty International's Russia and Eurasia group, University of Oslo, 2009-2012
- Leader, Amnesty International's Middle East group, University of Oslo, 2009-2010

Study-related travels Afghanistan, Central Asia, Egypt, Georgia, Iran, Russia, Ukraine
 Lived in Russia (4 years), Wales (2 years, United World Colleges of the Atlantic),
 Kazakhstan, Egypt, Tajikistan, England, US (see page 1)

Date of birth 12 April 1989