

## Minda Holm

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### Education

- 2018 – 2021 **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*  
Supervisor: Ole Wæver, due 1/11/2021
- 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.*
- 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 (re)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 **American University in Cairo (exchange)**  
*Arabic (intensive daily language class), International Law, Comparative Democratization, History of American Foreign Policy in the Middle East (research class).*
- 09/2005 – 09/2007 **United World Colleges of the Atlantic, Wales**  
*International Baccalaureate (IB), funded through scholarship*

### Main work experience

- 5/2020 - **Foreign Affairs columnist**  
Monthly column on international politics for Norwegian daily *Klassekampen*
- 7/2017 – 6/2020 **Foreign Affairs columnist**  
Monthly column on international politics for Norwegian daily *Dagsavisen*
- 12/2017 - **PhD Fellow**  
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 (full-time)**  
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"
- 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

Associate editor, *New Perspectives*, SAGE journal, August 2020 - present

Co-editor, *Internasjonal Politikk – Skandinavisk tidsskrift for internasjonale studier*, January 2017 – January 2021 (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/>

Peer reviewer for Political Geography, Review of International Studies, International Relations, Nordisk Østforum.

Master supervision, MA thesis, Political Science, University of Oslo 2019-2020

External examiner, bachelor theses, Bjørknes Høyskole, 2019 - 2020

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, fall 2018, spring 2019  
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, essays, book reviews, policy briefs, conferences

### Articles and book chapters (peer reviewed, published or accepted for publication)

1. Holm, Minda (2020) 'Hvor radikale er de egentlig? Om det populistiske radikale høyres ambisjoner', *Agora – Tidsskrift for metafysisk spekulasjon*, 1-2.
2. Holm, Minda (2020) 'What Liberalism? Russia's Conservative Turn and the Liberal Order', book chapter in Vibeke Schou Tjalve (ed.), *Geopolitical Amnesia: Visions of the Right*, McGill-Queens University Press (forthcoming)
3. Holm, Minda (2020) "Lives first, values second? Double Exceptionalism in European Security politics", book chapter in "Freedom of Speech in the University Sector", *Scandinavian Academic Press* (forthcoming)
4. 'Ethnic Diversity in the Recruitment of Diplomats: Why MFAs Take the Issue Seriously', *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* (co-authored with Christian Lequesne, Gabriel Castillo, Walid Jumblatt Abdullah, Halvard Leira, Kamna Tiwaryd and Reuben Wong), 15: 1-23 (2019).
5. Holm, Minda (2019) 'Mutual Lack of Introspection and the 'Russia Factor' in the Liberal West', Forum article in *New Perspectives* (forthcoming)
6. 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.
7. 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*.
8. Holm, Minda & Ole Jacob Sending (2018) "States before Relations: Misrecognition and the bifurcated symbolic structure of sovereignty", *Review of International Studies*, 44(5) (2018)
9. Holm, Minda (2018) 'What, When, and Where, Then, is the Concept of Sovereignty?', in *International Studies Review*.
10. Holm, Minda (2017) 'Å hoppe etter Refleks: Brendes Veivalg', in *Internasjonal Politikk*, 75 (3/4), 212-219 (2018)
11. Holm, Minda (2017) 'Norge, USA og det liberale verdifelleskapet', in *Internasjonal Politikk*, 75 (1), 1-12 (2017)
12. Holm, Minda (2016) 'Legitimering gjennom (selektiv) felles fortid: russisk bruk av historie i Ukraina-konflikten', in *Nordisk Østforum*, 30 (4), 214-237 (2016)

### Long essays (non-peer reviewed)

- Holm, Minda (2020), 'Hvilken liberal orden?', 8. mai 2020, Morgenbladet. As podcast [here](#). [What liberal order?]
- Holm, Minda (2019), 'Om å være kvinne i akademien', 3.12.2019 Klassekampen. Printed in longer version by NUPI, Forskerforum, Agenda Magasin og Khrono in December 2019. Several follow-up essays, including in [Khrono](#). [On being a woman in Academia]
- Holm, Minda (2017) 'Innanfor og utanfor: Tryggingsspolitikksett frå Tyrkia og Russland', in *Syn og Segn*, 123 (2), 39-45 (2017). Reprinted with permission by *Morgenbladet*. [On Russian and Turkish relationship to security politics in Europe]

### Op-eds (column + other)

- 30 op-eds, some translated to Danish, English and Russian. All available at [www.mindaholm.com/column](http://www.mindaholm.com/column)

### Book-reviews

- 'Hardt skyts', review of Jon Hellesnes 'NATO-komplekset', Klassekampen 13. april 2019.
- '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 (2020) '[Brothers in Arms and Faith? The Emerging US-Central and Eastern Europe 'Special Relationship'](#)', NUPI Policy note 1/2020.
- 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 (selection)

- 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 Bcelona in September 2017 (1 paper), *BISA* in Bath in June 2018 (1 paper co-authored with Ole Jacob Sending), *ISA 2020*, *EWIS 2020*.

#### Organizational experience (selected)

- Associate editor, *New Perspectives* (Sage), August 2020 -
- Deputy leader, Norwegian Academic Researcher’s Association at NUPI (Forskerforbundet, trade union), member of Medbestemmelsesutvalget, October 2019 -
- 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 – June 2019
- 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