

## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

(Antto Vihma, November 2017)

### I International peer-reviewed academic publications

1. Antto Vihma (2017), “First as Tragedy: Mistakes, blaming and learning at the Copenhagen climate conference”, in: *Political Mistakes and Policy Failures in International Relations* (Palgrave, 2017).  
<https://www.palgrave.com/la/book/9783319681726>
2. Antto Vihma (2017), “Rejoinder: Geoeconomics Defined and Redefined”, *Geopolitics* 22 (4), XX.  
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14650045.2017.1379010?scroll=top&needAccess=true>
3. Antto Vihma (2017), “Geoeconomic Analysis and the Limits of Critical Geopolitics”, *Geopolitics* 22 (4), XX.  
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14650045.2017.1302928>
4. Michael Mehling & Antto Vihma (2017), “Mourning for America: Donald Trump’s Climate Change Policy”, *FIIA Analysis* 8, pp. 1–28.  
<https://www.fiia.fi/julkaisu/mourning-for-america>
5. Timo Pankakoski & Antto Vihma (2017), “Fragmentation in International Law and Global Governance: A Conceptual Inquiry”, *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 12 (1), pp. 24–50.  
<https://www.berghahnjournals.com/view/journals/contributions/12/1/choc120103.xml>
6. Antto Vihma & Mikael Wigell (2016), “Unclear and Present Danger: Nord Stream II pipeline and Russia’s geoeconomic power projection”, *Global Affairs* 2 (4), pp. 376–386.  
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/23340460.2016.1251073>
7. Mikael Wigell & Antto Vihma (2016), “Geopolitics versus Geoeconomics: The Case of Russia's Geostrategy and Its Effects on the EU”, *International Affairs* 92 (3), pp. 605–627.  
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-2346.12600/abstract>

8. Antto Vihma & Umut Turksen (2016), "The Geoeconomics of the South Stream Pipeline Project", *The Journal of International Affairs* 69 (1), pp. 34–52.  
<https://jia.sipa.columbia.edu/geoeconomics-south-stream-pipeline-project>
9. Michele Betsill, Navroz Dubash, Matthew Paterson, Harro van Asselt, Antto Vihma & Harald Winkler (2015), "Building Productive Links between the UNFCCC and the Broader Climate Governance Landscape", *Global Environmental Politics* 15 (2), pp. 1–10.  
[http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/abs/10.1162/GLEP\\_a\\_00294](http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/abs/10.1162/GLEP_a_00294)
10. Antto Vihma (2015), "Climate of Consensus: Managing decision-making in the UN climate negotiations", *Review of European, Comparative & International Environmental Law* 24 (1), pp. 120–142.  
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/reel.12093/abstract>
11. Antto Vihma (2013), "Analyzing Hard Law and Soft Law in Climate Change", in E Hollo, K Kulovesi & M Mehling (eds) *Climate Change and the Law* (Berlin: Springer), pp. 143–165.  
<http://www.springer.com/la/book/9789400754393>
12. Antto Vihma & Kati Kulovesi (2013), "Can Attention to the Process Improve the Efficiency of the UNFCCC negotiations?", *Carbon & Climate Law Review* 7 (4), pp. 242–251.  
<https://cclr.lexxion.eu/issue/CCLR/2013/4>
13. Antto Vihma, Yacob Mulugetta & Sylvia Karlsson-Vinkhuyzen (2011), "Negotiating Solidarity? The G77 through the Prism of Climate Change Negotiations", *Global Change, Peace & Security* 23 (3), pp. 315–334.  
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14781158.2011.601853>
14. Antto Vihma (2011), "India and the Global Climate Governance: Between Principles and Pragmatism", *Journal of Environment & Development* 20 (1), pp. 69–94.  
<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1070496510394325>
15. Sylvia Karlsson-Vinkhuyzen & Antto Vihma (2009), "Comparing the Effectiveness and Legitimacy of Global Hard and Soft Law: An Analytical Framework", *Regulation & Governance* 3 (4), pp. 400–420.  
<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1748-5991.2009.01062.x/abstract>

16. Antto Vihma (2009), "Friendly Neighbor or Trojan Horse? Assessing the Interaction of Soft Law Initiatives and the UN Climate Regime", *International Environmental Agreements* 9 (3), pp. 239–260.

<https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10784-009-9100-3>

17. Juha Helenius, Esa Aro-Heinilä, Reija Hietala, Minna Mikkola, Helmi Risku-Norja, Laura Seppänen, Marko Sinkkonen & Antto Vihma (2007), "Systems Frame for Multidisciplinary Study on Sustainability of Localising Food", *Progress in Industrial Ecology – An International Journal* 4 (5), pp. 328–347.

<https://www.inderscienceonline.com/doi/abs/10.1504/PIE.2007.015615?journalCode=pie>

## **II Published research reports, working papers, briefing papers, and other academic writing**

18. Toivo Martikainen & Antto Vihma (2016), "Dividing the EU with Energy? Unpacking Russia's energy geoeconomics", FIIA Briefing Paper 191, pp. 1–8, available at

[http://www.fia.fi/fi/publication/571/dividing\\_the\\_eu\\_with\\_energy/](http://www.fia.fi/fi/publication/571/dividing_the_eu_with_energy/)

19. Kati Kuloovesi, Antto Vihma, Anna Laine, Majella Clarke, Karl Upston-Hooper, Roland Magnusson & Mika Sulkinoja (2016), "Results of the Paris COP 21 Climate Negotiations", Report for the Ministry of Environment, pp. 1–80, available at: <http://www.ym.fi/pariisi2015>

20. Antto Vihma (2015), "Paris Stress Test: Can the UN climate talks deliver?", FIIA Briefing Paper 184, pp. 1–8, available at: [http://www.fia.fi/fi/publication/538/paris\\_stress\\_test/](http://www.fia.fi/fi/publication/538/paris_stress_test/)

21. Johannes Urpelainen & Antto Vihma (2015), "Soft Cooperation in the Shadow of Distributional Conflict?", CEEPR Working Paper 1/2015, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2015, pp. 1–40, available at: <http://ceepr.mit.edu/working-papers/>

22. Antto Vihma & Umut Turksen (2015), "The Geoeconomics of Russian-EU Gas Trade: Drawing Lessons from the South Stream Pipeline Project", CEEPR Working Paper 14/2015, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, pp. 1–26, available at: <http://ceepr.mit.edu/working-papers/>

23. Antto Vihma & Harro Van Asselt (2014), "The Conflict over Aviation Emissions: A case of retreating EU leadership?", FIIA Briefing Paper 150, pp. 1–8, available at:

<http://www.fiia.fi/fi/publication/404/>

24. Antto Vihma (2014), "How to Reform the UN Climate Negotiations? Perspectives from the past, present and neighbour negotiations", FIIA Working Paper 82, pp. 1–19, available at: [http://www.fiia.fi/en/publication/451/how\\_to\\_reform\\_the\\_un\\_climate\\_negotiations/](http://www.fiia.fi/en/publication/451/how_to_reform_the_un_climate_negotiations/)
25. Mikko Halonen, Erkki Ryynänen, Antto Vihma, Markku Kanninen & Heikki Sorasahi (2013), "Global Emission Reduction Potential of Additional Mitigation Measures", Report for the Ministry of Environment, pp. 1–99, available at: <http://www.ymp.fi/download/noname/%7B4D52D710-FBCB-4C76-91F4-D852E1C91FEA%7D/92993>
26. Sanna Syri, Antto Vihma, Markku Ollikainen, Ilkka Savolainen, Sampo Soimakallio, Aira Hast, Marja Järvelä, Jyri Seppälä & Miimu Airaksinen (2013), "Current Themes in International and European Climate Policy" (in Finnish), Report for Ministry of the Economy and Employment, pp. 1–45, available at: [http://www.ilmastopaneeli.fi/uploads/selvitykset\\_lausunnot/ilmastopaneelin\\_raportti6.pdf](http://www.ilmastopaneeli.fi/uploads/selvitykset_lausunnot/ilmastopaneelin_raportti6.pdf)
27. Antto Vihma (2013), "The Shale Gas Boom: The global implications of the rise of unconventional fossil energy", FIIA Briefing Paper 122, pp. 1–9, available at: [http://www.fiia.fi/fi/publication/319/the\\_shale\\_gas\\_boom/](http://www.fiia.fi/fi/publication/319/the_shale_gas_boom/)
28. Antto Vihma & Kati Kulovesi, "Strengthening the Global Climate Negotiations: Improving the efficiency of the UNFCCC Process", Nordic Council of Ministers Working Paper, August 2012, pp. 1–27, available at: <http://www.norden.org/en/publications/publikationer/2012-902>
29. Antto Vihma & Harro van Asselt (2012), "Great Expectations: Understanding why the UN climate talks seem to fail", FIIA Briefing Paper 109, pp. 1–8, available at: <http://www.fiia.fi/en/publication/270/>
30. Karl Hallding, Marie Olsson, Aaron Atteridge, Antto Vihma, Marcus Carson & Mikael Roman (2011), "Together Alone: The BASIC countries and the Climate Change Conundrum" (Copenhagen: Nordic Council of Ministers), pp. 1–123, available at: <http://www.norden.org/en/publications/publikationer/2011-530>

31. Antto Vihma (2011) "A Climate of Consensus: The UNFCCC faces challenges of legitimacy and effectiveness", FIIA Briefing Paper 75, pp. 1–8, available at: <http://www.fiaa.fi/en/publication/173/>
32. Anna Korppoo & Antto Vihma (2010), "Cancún Climate Meeting: Some hope, some despair" (in Finnish), FIIA Briefing Paper 69, pp. 1–9, available at: <http://www.fiaa.fi/en/publication/153/>
33. Antto Vihma (2010), "Elephant in the Room: The new G77 and China dynamics in climate talks", FIIA Briefing Paper 62, pp. 1–8, available at: <http://www.upi-fiaa.fi/en/publication/118/>
34. Anna Korppoo, Linda Jakobson, Johannes Urpelainen, Antto Vihma & Alex Luta (2009), "Towards a New Climate Regime? Views of China, India, Japan, Russia and the United States in the road to Copenhagen", (Helsinki: The Finnish Institute of International Affairs), pp. 1–132, available at: <http://www.fiaa.fi/en/publication/72/>
35. Antto Vihma, Esa Aro-Heinilä & Marko Sinkkonen (2006), "Cost-effectiveness of Farm-Size Biodiesel Production" (in Finnish), MTT Agrifood Research Report 115, pp. 1–41, available at: <http://www.mtt.fi/mtts/pdf/mtts115.pdf>
36. Antto Vihma (2006), "Measuring the Effects of Local Food on a Regional Economy", Ekologiskt Lantbruk 43, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, available at: <http://orgprints.org/6164/1/eko43.pdf>

### **III Newspaper articles and commentary**

37. Antto Vihma (2017), "Nostalgian voittokulku", Poliitikasta.fi, 12.9.2017.
38. Antto Vihma (2017), "Nostalgia on mahtava poliittinen voima", Yle kolumni, 28.8.2017.
39. Antto Vihma & Mikael Wigell (2016), "The Strategic Case against Nord Stream II", Baltic Rim Economies 6/2016, 19.12.2016.
40. Antto Vihma & Laura Solanko (2016), "Yritysten vai valtioiden ehdoilla?", Ulkopoliitiikka/ Finnish Journal of Foreign Affairs 4/2016, 4.12.2016.
41. Antto Vihma (2016), "Geoekonomian paluu", Poliitikasta.fi, 15.11.2016.

42. Oras Tynkkynen & Antto Vihma (2015), "Maailma sai Pariisista uutta toivoa", Helsingin Sanomat, 16/12/2015.
43. Antto Vihma (2015), "Kolmiodraamaa Euroopan putkipolitiikassa", Ulkopolitiikka / The Finnish Journal of International Affairs 2/2015, 12.5.2015.
44. Antto Vihma (2015), "Soft Cooperation in the Shadow of Distributional Conflict? Insights from the Climate Regime", CEEPR Autumn 2015 Newsletter, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 10.10.2015.
45. Michael Haltzel, Antto Vihma & Michael Mehling (2015), "Putin's Pipeline Predicament", Huffington Post, 18/3/2015.
46. Antto Vihma (2015), "The Geoeconomics of the South Stream Pipeline", CEEPR Spring 2015 Newsletter, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 15.4.2015.
47. Antto Vihma (2013), "Eurooppa lämpenee liuskekaasulle", Ulkopolitiikka / The Finnish Journal of International Affairs 2/2013, 10.5.2013.
48. Antto Vihma (2013), "Energiatehokkuus on kestävin keino parantaa kilpailukykyä", Talouselämä 34/2013.
49. Antto Vihma (2013), "Liuskekaasubuumi saapuu Eurooppaan", Suomi-USA -lehti, 1/2013.
50. Antto Vihma (2012), "Ovatko ilmastoneuvottelut epäonnistuneet?", Ulkopolitiikka / The Finnish Journal of International Affairs 2/2012, 10.5.2012.
51. Mikael Mattlin, Antto Vihma, Mikael Wigell & Charly Salenius-Pasternak (2012), "Löydä sisäinen viikinkisi", Talouselämä 42/2012.
52. Mikael Mattlin, Jyrki Kallio, Charly Salenius-Pasternak, Mikael Wigell & Antto Vihma (2012), "Haussa ulkopoliittinen identiteetti: Luoko Suomi itse oman linjansa vai syntykö linja muiden tahdosta?", FIIA Comment 12/2012.
53. Antto Vihma (2011), "Arrested Development: UN climate talks have lost the momentum of Cancún", FIIA Comment 8/2011.
54. Antto Vihma (2010), "Kööpenhaminan pesänjakajat", Ulkopolitiikka / The Finnish Journal of International Affairs 1/2010, 20.1.2010.

55. Antto Vihma (2010), ”Ilmastoneuvotteluja on jatkettava eri foorumeilla”, Helsingin Sanomat, 21/1/2010.

#### **IV Expert interviews on national radio and television**

- A. RADIO: Ykkösaamu ja Yle uutiset (8.11.2017; 7.3.2016; 10.2.2016, 31.11.2015, 4.8.2015, 1.7.2015, 28.3.2014, 25.11.2013, 11.11.2013, 24.6.2013, 22.2.2013, 26.11.2012, 11.12.2012); Ajankohtainen ykkönen (7.6.2014); Poliittikkaradio (10.5.2016; 27.10.2015; 26.6.2014); Ajantasa (18.12.2015; 22.2.2013); Maailmanpolitiikan arkipäivää (4.11.2017).
- B. TV: Yle:n aamu-tv (6.11.2017; 12.12.2015; 1.4.2015); A-Studio (17.9.2014); MTV3 uutiset (12.12.2015; 9.12.2015; 30.11.2015; 31.8.2015, 1.2.2014, 23.11.2013, 20.11.2013, 13.11.2013, 7.3.2013, 8.12.2012, 7.12.2012, 5.12.2012, 12.6.2012, 10.12.2011, 9.12.2011, 25.11.2011); Yle uutiset (12.12.2015; 4.3.2014, 22.11.2013, 8.6.2012, 11.12.2010, 2.8.2012, 30.1.2010); Huomenta Suomi (21.4.2016; 3.9.2015, 2.7.2012, 2.5.2011); Svenska Yle nyheter (21.5.2013); Prisma Studio (2.12.2015).