

1 Introduction

Benjamin Beuerle , Anna Mazanik , Andreas Renner

From the time Russians first settled along the North Pacific, their experience of colonisation and their interactions with Indigenous peoples and neighbouring countries have been shaped by the exploitation of and competition for the region's rich natural resources. These encounters were central to the often very violent construction of one of the world's largest empires, but they also helped create a complex web of connections, including trade, cultural exchange, and the development of material and social infrastructures. As in many other parts of the world, the shared environment and its natural wealth served as links and junctures or as points of contention and sources of conflict and violence.

The relationship between resources, environments, and infrastructures has long been a major topic of scholarly inquiry. Ecological constraints and incessant resource demands have profoundly shaped political and economic history and driven European expansion across the globe. Transforming ecosystems to extract natural wealth; appropriating land for allegedly “more productive” use; creating complicated infrastructures to exploit natural resources—from plantations, mines, and ports to railways and oil pipelines—facilitating massive circulation of people, plants, animals, knowledge, commodities, and diseases; and restructuring environmental relations through deforestation, pollution, targeted extermination, and accidental habitat destruction have been integral parts of modern imperialism and have had a huge impact on how our world looks today.¹

In the last two decades, historical studies of the human–nature relations, infrastructures, and political ecologies of Northeast Asia have experienced a certain boom, linked both to the renewed interest in the Pacific and specifically North Pacific history² and a dramatic increase in Russian and Soviet

1 Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*; Arnold and Guha, *Nature, Culture, Imperialism*; Griffiths and Robin, *Ecology and Empire*; Richards, *Unending Frontier*; Ross, *Ecology and Power*; Edwards, *Infrastructure and Modernity*.

2 Armitage and Bashford, *Pacific Histories*; Beattie, Jones and Melillo, *Migrant Ecologies*; Vinkovetsky, *Russian America*; Grinëv, *Russian Colonization of Alaska*; Winkler, *Das*

environmental history scholarship.³ In light of the parallel trends in the Chinese and American historiography, borderland spaces and environments have turned to be a particularly productive field of study for historians and researchers in the environmental humanities.⁴ Scholars of the region have underscored the crucial role that natural resources played in Russia's expansion into the East and exposed the devastating effects that this expansion had on the ecosystems of the North Pacific. Throughout imperial times, it was commodified animal bodies, culled for their valuable pelts and tusks but also for meat and fat, that were the main object of desire in that distant Eastern frontier. Fur was then joined by timber, fisheries, gold, iron, tin, copper, wolfram and other metals, diamonds, coal, oil, and gas.⁵ At the same time, the highly biodiverse and very dynamic environments of the Pacific region were not just mere backgrounds to human action but, instead, powerful historical actors in themselves that had a clear impact on the directions and forms of colonisation, defying easy attempts at categorisation, the establishment of settled agriculture, and the extraction of nature's wealth.⁶

Since the eighteenth century, trans-Asian connections, military, diplomatic, or commercial, were essential to shaping resource policies in the region. In the Northeast Asia of the early modern period, fur was what oil is today, and the main market for many of the East Siberian and North Pacific furs was in China. The treaties of Nerchinsk (1689) and Kiachta (1727) and the creation of the infrastructure for frontier trade at the Kiachta/Mai-Mai-Cheng crossing allowed Russia to establish a huge commercial hub in Asia, where furs and hides, Russia's major export resource, were exchanged for cotton, rhubarb, silk (and other luxury goods), and, later, tea. Despite the strong British competitors, this trade was so profitable that Russia sold not only Siberian and Alaskan furs but even imported additional pelts from Canada. Some of the pelts sold in Kiachta were, in fact, not precious enough to be transported

Imperium und die Seeotter; Beuerle, Dahlke, and Renner, *Russia's North Pacific*; Renner, *Nordostpassage*.

3 Jones, *Empires of Extinction*; Breyfogle, *Eurasian Environments*; Chu, *The Life of Permafrost*; Kindler, *Robbenreich*; Jones, *Red Leviathan*, to cite but a few.

4 Bockstoce, *Furs and Frontiers of the Far North*; Bello, *Across Forest, Steppe and Mountain*; Demuth, *Floating Coast*; Urbansky, *Beyond the Steppe Frontier*; Rogaski, *Knowing Manchuria*.

5 Sokolsky, *Between Predation and Protection*; Kindler, *Troubled Waters*; Eisuke, *International Fisheries Conflicts*; Litvinenko and Murota, "The Spatial Transformation"; Makliukov, *Elektrifikatsiia*; Antonova et al., *Resursnye otrasli Dal'nego Vostoka*.

6 Demuth, *Floating Coast*; Jones, *Empires of Extinction*; Sokolsky, "Making the Land Russian."

all the long way to Europe. The existence of the demand in China and the possibility of selling the pelts at huge profits was crucial for the exploration of the fur reserves in the Far East, driving both imperial territorialisation and the continuous overhunting that would eventually bring many of the animal populations to collapse.⁷ At the same time, imported Chinese commodities, particularly tobacco, were an important object of Russian barter with the Indigenous communities of Kamchatka, Alaska, and the Aleut islands.⁸

The history of the Russian colonisation of the Pacific coast was not only a story of the radical depletion of the animal world but also that of the suppression of the Indigenous cultures. Recent scholarship has not just reconstructed the complex experiences of the Indigenous societies of the North Pacific but also reclaimed their agency in naming, categorising, using, and shaping the environments of the region, although that agency was performed in a situation of dramatic power asymmetries. Indigenous communities were essential to the commercial networks of the imperial period: they not only hunted but also actively participated in the fur trade; sought and altered it; protested and cooperated with the colonisers, facilitating the imperial expansion and the harvesting of the resources that would destroy the ecosystems with which their own communities were intricately bound.⁹

The rapacious exploitation of natural resources, including one of the first examples of modern megafaunal extinction in the case of the Steller's sea cow, also led to early reflections on the ecological consequences of imperialism in this part of the planet and, from the nineteenth century onwards, to conservation efforts, which acknowledged the fragility of animals and their worlds in the face of human action. This trend grew stronger in the twentieth century, and, although conservation efforts had primarily anthropocentric utilitarian goals and aimed to preserve precious resources in order to use them in the future for the benefit of the empire and the Soviet state, they did allow the populations of some of the nearly extinct species to recover.¹⁰

The current volume contributes to these vibrant debates by bringing together interdisciplinary studies of the environments, resource policies, and infrastructures in the North Pacific from the eighteenth century until today.

7 Bockstoe, *Furs and Frontiers of the Far North*, 103–105.

8 Romaniello, “‘Tobacco!’”; Grinëv, “Spetsifika tovaroobmena.”

9 Grinëv, *The Tlingit Indians*; Bockstoe, *Furs and Frontiers of the Far North*; Jones, *Empires of Extinction*; Grinëv, “Spetsifika tovaroobmena”; Grinëv and Bland, “Social Protest in Russian America.”

10 Jones, *Empires of Extinction*; Kindler, *Robbenreich*; Sokolsky, “Between Predation and Protection.”

The broad time frame of three centuries and the diversity of the authors' perspectives in the volume helps trace historical phenomena—social, material, and ecological—over the *longue durée* and explore the links and continuities between different periods and thematic fields that have hardly been connected by researchers until now. The volume emerged from the international conference “Resources, Environment, and Infrastructures between Russia and the Asia–Pacific: Cooperation and Conflicts,” organised in February 2019 at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Seoul, South Korea, by its Institute of Russian Studies in cooperation with the “Russia’s North Pacific” project of the Max Weber Network Eastern Europe and the Chair for Russian–Asian Studies at Ludwig Maximilians University Munich.

After the first, deliberately broad and heterogeneous, workshop of the “Russia’s North Pacific” project in 2018, which resulted in the first volume of the “Russia and the Asia–Pacific” book series,¹¹ the editors and organisers suggested zooming in on the material links between Russia and its neighbours, the environment they found and created between them, and the resources they have coveted, traded, or disputed. Several members of the book series’ scientific advisory board took part in conceptualising the conference and in the conference’s discussions, paving the way for the current volume, without figuring visibly among its editors or authors: David Wolff (Hokkaido University), Frank Grüner (Bielefeld University), and last but not least, Joonseo Song (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Seoul). Song and his colleagues at the Institute of Russian Studies played a pivotal role in making the realisation of the conference possible and contributed much to its constructive discussions.

The Seoul conference was structured into five panels: “Russia’s Asia–Pacific in Film and Literature: Representations and Images” (featuring Ryan Jones), “Human Resources and Goods between Russia, China, and America” (including a paper by Ivan Zuenko), “Grand Strategies for Russia’s Asia–Pacific” (with a presentation by Andreas Renner), “Fossil and Renewable Energy Sources in Russia’s Asia–Pacific” (with papers by Nikolai Fedorov, Hongjin Liu, and Benjamin Beuerle), and “Polar Partnerships? Russia and its Pacific Neighbours in the Arctic” (including a contribution by Martin Kossa). Though the current volume is organised differently and counts among its authors only a fraction of the Seoul conference’s participants, this list indicates to which extent the volume has been moulded by the conference.

Environment, resources, and infrastructures are intertwined concepts that are at the same time culturally loaded and tightly linked to social processes.

11 Beuerle, Dahlke, and Renner (eds.), *Russia’s North Pacific*.

The environment encompasses the complex of natural, cultural, and technological elements that shape human experiences and is being increasingly reimagined to emphasise the interconnectedness and interdependence of various species and agencies.¹² As environments are co-created by humans and are infused with profound cultural meanings, the human perceptions of and relations to the environment are culturally specific.¹³ In the North Pacific, Indigenous communities, Chinese or Korean settlers, Russian peasants, imperial or Soviet officials often understood and interacted with the same environment in dramatically different ways. For all of them, however, the environment was an essential repository of resources that they harvested, used, and managed to support their way of life.

Resources, whether material or non-material, are entities valued by those who possess or strive to possess them. As such, they are culturally constructed, meaning that what is considered a resource is shaped by human knowledge, practices, needs and beliefs; yet their extraction can have a very tangible and often devastating impact on the environments in which they are embedded.¹⁴ The exploitation of natural resources, such as animal pelts, fisheries, precious metals, oil, and gas played a major role in the history of the North Pacific. However, the discussions during the conference underlined that human knowledge and labour, for example, that of the Indigenous people, were also an important resource for the Russian colonisers. This is why, in this volume, we opted for a broader concept of “resources,” not confined to the material world but also comprising human resources.

Infrastructures are material and social networks that allow human societies to function. They are essential for accessing, extracting, distributing, and consuming resources and form a crucial element of the environment while simultaneously depending on both. Meant to serve human needs, infrastructures inescapably reflect human understandings of the more-than-human world around them.¹⁵ Similarly to other colonial contexts, the development of infrastructure in Northeast Asia was tightly linked to imperialism. The early imperial infrastructures in the North Pacific, such as *ostrogs* (fortified settlements) and ports, were infrastructures of conquest, created to harvest

12 Haraway, *When Species Meet*; Van Dooren et al., “Multispecies Studies”; Ogden et al., “Animals, Plants, People, and Things.”

13 This culturally contingent and relational meaning of “environment” is stressed (among others) by Descola: Descola, *Une écologie*.

14 Schubert and Knecht, *Ressourcen*; H-Soz-Kult, “H-Soz-u-Kult Debatte.”

15 Larkin, *Politics and Poetics*; Van Laak, *Alles im Fluss*; Marklund and Mogens, *Historicising Infrastructure*.

and control resources and suppress Indigenous people. Later on, they became interwoven with the more complex structures of the modern state and turned into important tools of imperial “civilising mission” and symbols of power and modernity or arenas of international collaboration, helping to coin political alliances.

These subjects connect to the broader themes of conflict and cooperation. One focal point of the conference discussions was the (post-)colonial nature of the resource exploitation and trade in and through the borderlands between Russia and its Pacific neighbours and the effects they had on the Indigenous peoples in the region. As in other parts of the world, it was *their* immediate environments and life practices that were transformed or destroyed by the empire’s thirst for resources, while their knowledge and labour were often used to promote imperial goals. In light of this, the first part of the volume is dedicated to the predominantly colonial triangle relationship between imperial Russians or Soviets, the Indigenous people and the environment in the Pacific region.

Another major topic of the conference discussions was transnational collaboration in the field of resource extraction and infrastructure development. Although much of the existing scholarship on resources in transnational relations focuses on conflict,¹⁶ during the Seoul conference many of the speakers working on recent history and current developments emphasised the importance of cooperation. They studied collaborative projects between the Soviet Union or post-Soviet Russia and its Pacific neighbours, above all with China, but also with Vietnam, Japan, and the Korean states—though cooperation almost never appeared tension-free. This focus on cooperation is mirrored in the second part of the present volume.

The first part of the volume opens with a chapter by Spencer Abbe examining the historical significance of tsunamis in the North Pacific, one of the Earth’s most seismically active regions (Chapter 2). The study of natural disasters such as earthquakes, mudslides, and floods and their multifaceted relations with colonialism, political conflict, and infrastructural change has

16 See for example Bolton, “Water Wars”; Brunschweiler and Bolte, “Natural Resources”; Heffernan, “Conflict”; Kaminaga, “International Fisheries”; Koubi et al., “Do natural Resources Matter”; Lee and Mitchell, “Energy Resources”; Reuveny and Maxwell, “Conflict”; Rustad and Binningsbø, “A Price”; Strüver, “Too Many Resources”; Strüver and Wegenast, “The Hard Power.” For some studies of (factual and possible) cooperation on common resources, cf. Makim, “Resources”; Wang, “Management”; Wouters, “Implementing.”

recently found a productive field in Russian imperial and Soviet history,¹⁷ but the early modern period and Pacific region remain little explored. Abbe argues that the tsunamis had a dramatic impact on Indigenous communities, especially as their resilience had been drastically undermined by the imperial restructuring of settlements, migration restrictions, and the decades of colonial violence and exploitation. Nonetheless, they turned out to be of little concern to Russian colonisers.

In the third chapter, Luise Fast provides a fresh perspective on a well-known source on the Russian colonisation of Alaska—the journal of the expedition by Lavrentii Zagoskin, whose primary task was to explore the condition of fur-bearing animals in the Yukon basin and the prospects of fur trade. As Russian hunting parties brought the population of Alaskan sea otters, whose pelts were a major object of fur trade and as such a crucial resource of the North Pacific, to the verge of extinction, the Russian American Company moved to the inner regions of Alaska to procure more furs from the local animal species, primarily land otter and beaver. One could not, however, reach the precious animal resources without adequate human resources, that is, the knowledge and the skills of local intermediaries. By analysing Zagoskin's network and communication with local guides and translators, Fast reveals the pivotal role played by the Native and Creole intermediaries in aiding Russian colonial expansion, which would eventually lead to the near destruction of their world. Their multilingualism; their knowledge of the environment, routes, and cultural realities; their ability to mediate and build trust with the local communities were in themselves important, if overlooked, resources that Russian colonisers urgently needed and actively used in order to explore and claim the natural wealth of the distant frontier.

Mark Sokolsky, in Chapter 4, delves into the intricate relationship between colonisation and environmental change in Primor'e from its annexation by Russia in 1860 until the Second World War. While the imperial quest for space and resources drove profound environmental change in Primor'e, above all overhunting and deforestation, it also catalysed the emergence of unprecedented conservation initiatives. Already at the end of the nineteenth century, the ecological degradation in Primor'e had sparked widespread concern among Russian officials and scientists who, crucially, did not ascribe it to colonisation but instead to the perceived "backwardness" and "uncivilised" habits of the Chinese and, to some extent, Russian peasant settlers. Tsarist

17 Elie, "Late Soviet Responses to Disasters"; Raab, *All Shook Up*; Zajcek, "The Seismic Colony."

elites viewed environmental stewardship as the responsibility of the empire and responded with what Sokolsky calls a “green civilising mission,” advocating for the protection of nature in the interest of Russian colonisation and the “rational” management of natural resources, that is, orderly, planned, informed by European science, and often industrial. This attitude remained remarkably consistent throughout the late imperial and Soviet periods, highlighting the crucial role that cultural biases played in shaping the approaches to the environment and resource use.

The complex and often contradictory relationship between ruthless exploitation and conservation, as well as the continuities between the late imperial and the Soviet period, are also discussed in the chapter by Ryan Jones, who examines the role of Vladimir Arsen'ev in shaping Soviet whaling policy. Arsen'ev, Russian geographer and writer, is best known for the eloquent descriptions of his expeditions to the Far East in the 1900s and 1910s, and particularly his autobiographical novel *Dersu Uzala*, but Jones reveals the part that Arsen'ev played in the environmental history of the North Pacific as the employee of the Department of Far Eastern Fisheries and Hunting in Vladivostok at the time when the new Soviet state was trying to gain control over its eastern peripheries and find a way to efficiently exploit its marine resources while simultaneously protecting them from overuse and foreign predation. Thanks to Arsen'ev, Soviet whaling in its early stages was imbued with some of the most progressive late imperial conservation practices, which privileged smaller marine mammals, reflecting the historical experience of their devastating overhunting in the imperial period. Arsen'ev also advocated for the rights of the Indigenous peoples to hunt whales and emphasised their vulnerability in the face of expanding commercial whaling—concerns that influenced Soviet policy at least until the 1940s, although they failed to prevent the catastrophic excesses of the whaling industry in the later period.

The second part of the volume moves to the late Soviet and post-Soviet period to examine transnational entanglements, cooperation, and rivalries in resource use and infrastructure construction in Northeast Asia. This subject has attracted considerable interdisciplinary attention, triggered by Russia's attempts to “turn to the East” and increased cooperation with partners in the Asia–Pacific as well as the launching of China's Belt and Road Initiative and its intensive infrastructure diplomacy, with scholars underscoring infrastructure's crucial role in changing environments, societies, and geopolitics.¹⁸ The chapters in this

18 Jia and Bennet, “Chinese Infrastructure Diplomacy in Russia”; Lukin, *The “Roads” and “Belts” in Eurasia*; Hirsh and Mostowlansky, *Infrastructure and the Remaking of Asia*.

part of the volume discuss the evolving dynamics of cooperation and conflict in infrastructure development and resource extraction between Russia and other actors in the Asia–Pacific in recent decades and outline possible future trajectories in light of the radical transformation of the geopolitical realities.

In Chapter 6, Ivan Zuenko and Ilya Chubarov provide a historical overview of the development of the cross-border infrastructure between Russia and China from the late Soviet period until the present day. They focus on one of the most important cases of early Russian–Chinese cooperation, when the two countries re-approached each other after the Sino-Soviet split: the cross-border economic zones, which were supposed to transform former peripheries and military buffer zones into booming hubs of economic growth. Although initially successful, profiting from the decentralisation in Russia and the strong agency of regional actors, the project lost the momentum in the 2000s, when the tide of Russian politics changed in favour of re-centralisation. Zuenko and Chubarov also highlight the role of cultural factors in shaping attitudes toward infrastructure development and resource use, echoing the chapter by Mark Sokolsky, as Sinophobic discourse in the media and the fear of Chinese immigration undermined the support base for the cross-border economic zones.

Nikolai Fedorov, in Chapter 7, examines Russian engagement in oil and gas exploitation in Vietnam, which also makes Russia indirectly involved in the territorial disputes of the South China Sea, one of the most serious problems of international relations in Pacific Asia, where China, Taiwan, Malaysia, Brunei, Vietnam, and the Philippines compete for the exclusive right to control and utilise rich marine resources, particularly hydrocarbons and fisheries. Cooperation in the sphere of energy resources, together with the Soviet export of weapons, has been an essential part of Soviet–Vietnamese relations since the 1970s, when Soviet geologists identified the oilfields in the shelf along the Vietnamese coast. In 1981, Soviet Zarubezhneft and Petrovietnam established a joint company that would lead the exploration and exploitation of oil and gas in the shelf of Vietnam, preparing the ground for the post-Soviet cooperation, when new players, such as Gazprom, TNK-BP (Tiumenskaia Neftianaia Kompaniia–British Petroleum), Lukoil, and Rosneft came to the stage. As Fedorov reveals, despite many advantages, particularly partnerships with both Vietnam and China, Russian actors now face many challenges in the competition for the natural resources of the South China Sea, including the increased presence of foreign energy companies, pressure from China, and broader confrontation with the West.

The eighth chapter, by Martin Kossa, analyses Sino-Russian resource and infrastructure engagement in the Arctic over the last decade. As the

environment of the Arctic transforms, with sea ice, glaciers and permafrost retreating due to climate change, new expectations and opportunities for the commercial exploitation of the region arise. These include, in particular, the extraction of Russia's rich oil and gas reserves and the development of infrastructure and shipping through the Northern Sea Route, a transportation lane that runs along the northern coast of Russia. Despite past animosities and sometimes contradictory foreign policy priorities, Kossa argues, Sino-Russian cooperation in the Arctic develops rapidly because the two sides have complementary interests regarding the region. Rich Arctic resources are considered a crucial source of economic growth by Russia's leadership, and, to fuel Arctic development, especially post-2014, Russia looks to China for investment to tackle financial, technological, and infrastructural challenges while securing a foothold in China's energy market. China views the Arctic as a lucrative frontier for energy supply diversification and shortened trade routes between the Asian and the European markets, as highlighted by the incorporation of the Northern Sea Route into China's Belt and Road Initiative in 2017 and Beijing's Arctic Strategy in 2018.¹⁹ Furthermore, projects in the Russian North are crucial for enhancing China's expertise in resource exploration, logistics, and production under extreme polar conditions that would be essential for its future economic expansion into the Arctic.

In this volume, we have also introduced a separate section titled "Sources and Discussion," which provides a forum for contributions other than peer-reviewed research articles that, nevertheless, present interesting perspectives, reflections, and sources on the relations between Russia and the Asia-Pacific in the past and present. This section includes a paper by Hongjin Liu on an unrealised cooperation project in the field of gas infrastructure in Northeast Asia. In the 1990s, the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs initiated a research programme, "Transportation and Utilisation of Natural Gas in Northeast Asia," that studied possible gas pipeline routes to connect Russia, China, Mongolia, North Korea, South Korea, and Japan. The survey for this project was led by a team of Chinese scientists who managed to propose five potential routes and a cooperation plan extending until 2020. The paper provides an overview of this project based on documents from the Archive of Modern Chinese Scientists in Beijing and interviews with two of the Chinese project participants. Hongjin Liu highlights the effects that economic growth and changing environmental views and regulations in the Asia-Pacific had on the demand for Russian gas and, similarly to the other

19 See also Renner, *Nordostpassage*.

papers in this volume, underscores the significant role that transnational entanglements played in the policies on the natural resources of Siberia and the Far East.

Many of the topics analysed in this volume are bound to become more relevant in the near future. Climate change, which has been progressing at an accelerated pace since the early 2000s, is a game changer that will greatly affect environments, the migration of species, and the availability of natural resources as well as opportunities to extract and trade them, for example, along the Northern Sea Route. At the same time, given the binding targets of the Paris Agreement and their implications, and China's credible promise to peak its emissions by 2030 and become carbon neutral by 2060, at some point in the coming decades the demand for Russia's fossil resources in the Asia-Pacific will most likely decline, while European demand has already drastically declined since February 2022.²⁰ This raises major questions regarding the rentability of the development of Arctic extraction sites and the future viability of Russia's current socio-economic model as a whole.

Meanwhile, climate change results not only in additional trouble spots but also in new options and even necessities for cooperation. One example is PICES, the North Pacific Marine Science Organisation. Since the early 1990s, Russian, US-American, Chinese, Japanese, South Korean, and Canadian scientists have closely cooperated within this framework, notably in researching the effects of climate change on the North Pacific's biosphere.²¹

Less predictable, but undoubtedly of fundamental significance, will be the geopolitical development of the region, especially in view of the growing relevance of the North Pacific for the Sino-Russian partnership, which has been strengthened by the war in Ukraine. Cooperation is visible in the sphere of energy, with the region becoming more important for Russia against the background of rapidly decreased energy imports to Europe. At the same time, there is a persistently high level of geopolitical strain in the North Pacific. The most important case concerns the ever-rising tensions between China and Taiwan, which bear the risk of a major military conflict involving China and the US. China's territorial disputes with other neighbours, like the Philippines and Vietnam—as seen in Fedorov's chapter—are also conflict-ridden. In addition, tensions are visible between Russia and Japan, the US, and Canada; and (against obvious appearances) also between Russia and

20 Hare et al., *Implications*; Fujimori et al., “Implications”; International Energy Agency, *An Energy Sector*; Reuters, “China's Carbon Emissions.”

21 Tjossem, *Journey to PICES*; Tjossem, *Fostering Science*.

China. The Russian arms build-up in the Far East, in apparent preparation for a possible escalation, was also a subject discussed at the Seoul conference. It will be worthwhile to observe how these developments play out in the future.

For now, however, the ongoing conflict and increasing economic disentanglement between Russia and Europe since 2022, as well as the complementarity between the resource-rich eastern part of Russia and its economically ambitious and resource-hungry East Asian neighbours, will almost certainly ensure that the Asia–Pacific will continue to grow in significance for Russia both economically and politically. This will add new chapters to the long history of cooperation and conflict between Russia, its neighbouring countries, and non-state actors in this region in relation to resources, infrastructures, and environments, some key aspects and stages of which the present volume seeks to illuminate.

ORCID®

Benjamin Beuerle  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2075-0832>

Anna Mazanik  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3100-7278>

Bibliography

Antonova, N. E., L. V. Volkov, N. V.

Lomakina, and G. V. Sukhomirov. *Resursnye otrasli Dal'nego Vostoka: dinamika razvitiia i vneshnii vzaimodeistviia*. Khabarovsk: IEI DVO RAN, 2017.

Armitage, David, and Alison Bashford.

Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Arnold, David, and Ramachandra Guha, eds. *Nature, Culture, Imperialism: Essays on the Environmental History of South Asia*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Beattie, James, Ryan Tucker Jones, and Edward Dallam Melillo, eds. *Migrant Ecologies: Environmental Histories of the Pacific World*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2023.

Bello, David Anthony. *Across Forest, Steppe and Mountain: Environment,*

Identity and Empire in Qing China's Borderlands. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Beuerle, Benjamin, Sandra Dahlke, and Andreas Renner, eds. *Russia's North Pacific: Centres and Peripheries*. Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing, 2023.

Bockstoe, John R. *Furs and Frontiers in the Far North: The Contest among Native and Foreign Nations for the Bering Strait Fur Trade*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

Bolton, Kerry Raimond. "Water Wars: Rivalry over Water Resources: A Potential Cause of Conflict in Asia and its Geopolitical Implications." *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues* 14, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 52–83.

Breyfogle, Nicholas, ed. *Eurasian Environments: Nature and*

- Ecology in Imperial Russian and Soviet History*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018.
- Brunnschweiler, Christa N., and Erwin H. Bolte.** “Natural Resources and Violent Conflict: Resource Abundance, Dependence, and the Onset of Civil Wars.” *Oxford Economic Papers*, New Series 61, no. 4 (Oct. 2009): 651–674.
- Chu, Pey-Yi.** *The Life of Permafrost: A History of Frozen Earth in Russian and Soviet Science*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020.
- Crosby, Alfred W.** *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Demuth, Bathsheba.** *Floating Coast: An Environmental History of the Bering Strait*. New York: Norton, 2019.
- Descola, Philippe.** *Une écologie des relations*. Paris: CNRS, 2019.
- Edwards, Paul N.** “Infrastructure and Modernity: Force, Time, and Social Organization in the History of Socio-technical Systems.” In *Modernity and Technology*, edited by Andrew Feenberg, Philip Brey, and Thomas J. Misa, 185–225. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Elie, Marc.** “Late Soviet Responses to Disasters, 1989–1991: A New Approach to Crisis Management or the Acme of Soviet Technocratic Thinking.” *The Soviet and Post-Soviet Review* 40, no. 2 (2013), 214–238.
- Fujimori, Shinichiro, Xuanming Su, Jing-Yu Liu, Tomoko Hasegawa, Kiyoshi Takahashi, Toshihiko Masui, and Maho Takimi.** “Implications of Paris Agreement in the Context of Long-Term Climate Mitigation Goals.” *SpringerPlus* 5, no. 1620 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40064-016-3235-9>.
- Griffits, Tom, and Libby Robin, eds.** *Ecology and Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies*. Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1997.
- Grinëv, Andrei.** *The Tlingit Indians in Russian America, 1741–1867*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.
- Grinëv, Andrei.** *Russian Colonization of Alaska: Preconditions, Discovery and Initial Development, 1741–1799*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2018.
- Grinëv, Andrei, and Richard Bland.** “Social Protest in Russian America.” *Sibirica* 20, no. 3 (2021): 75–99.
- H-Soz-Kult.** “H-Soz-u-Kult Debatte zu ‚Ressourcen‘ in den Geschichtswissenschaften.” Parts 1–4. *H-Soz-Kult*, September 20–24, 2012. <https://www.hsozkult.de/debate/id/fddebate-132255> and <https://www.hsozkult.de/debate/id/fddebate-132258>.
- Haraway, Donna.** *When Species Meet*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.
- Hare, Bill, Niklas Røming, Michiel Schaeffer, and Carl-Friedrich Schleussner.** “Implications of the 1.5°C Limit in the Paris Agreement for Climate Policy and Decarbonisation.” August 2016. https://climateanalytics.org/media/ip5_australia_report_ci.pdf.
- Heffernan, Patrick H.** “Conflict over Marine Resources.” *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science* 84, no. 1, *Mexico–United States Relations* (1981): 168–180.
- Hirsh, Max, and Till Mostowlansky, eds.** *Infrastructure and the Remaking of Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2023.
- International Energy Agency.** “An Energy Sector Roadmap to Carbon Neutrality in China.” September 2021. <https://iea.blob.core.windows>.

- net/assets/9448bd6e-670e-4cfd-953c-32e822a80f77/Anenergysectorroad-maptocarbon
neutralityinChina.pdf.
- Jia, Fanqi, and Mia Bennett.** "Chinese Infrastructure Diplomacy in Russia: The Geopolitics of Project Type, Location, and Scale." *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 59, no. 3–4 (2018): 340–377.
- Jones, Ryan Tucker.** *Empire of Extinction: Russians and the North Pacific's Strange Beasts of the Sea, 1741–1867*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Jones, Ryan Tucker.** *Red Leviathan: The Secret History of Soviet Whaling*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022.
- Kaminaga, Eisuke.** "International Fisheries Conflicts in the Bering Sea in the First Half of the Twentieth Century: Soviet–US–Japan Triangle Relationship." In *Russia's North Pacific: Centres and Peripheries*, edited by Benjamin Beuerle, Sandra Dahlke, and Andreas Renner. Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing, 2023: 43–64.
- Kindler, Robert.** *Robbenreich: Russland und die Grenzen der Macht am Nordpazifik*. Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2022.
- Kindler, Robert.** "Troubled Waters: Russo-Japanese Resource Conflicts as a Challenge for Imperial Rule in the Northern Pacific, 1900–1945." In *Russia's North Pacific: Centres and Peripheries*, edited by Benjamin Beuerle, Sandra Dahlke, and Andreas Renner. Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing, 2023: 23–42.
- Koubi, Valli, Gabriele Spilker, Tobias Böhmelt, and Thomas Bernauer.** "Do natural resources matter for interstate and infrastate armed conflict?" *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 2 (March 2014): 227–243.
- Larkin, Brian.** "The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 42 (2013): 327–343.
- Lee, Sojeong, and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell.** "Energy Resources and the Risk of Conflict in Shared River Basins." *Journal of Peace Research* 56, no. 3 (May 2019): 336–351.
- Litvinenko, Tamara V., and Takeshi Murota.** "The Spatial Transformation of Natural Resource Utilization and Associated Social and Ecological Problems: A Field Study on Eastern Siberia and the Russian Far East." *Sibirica* 8, no. 3 (2009): 22–52.
- Lukin, Alexander, ed.** *The "Roads" and "Belts" of Eurasia*. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.
- Makim, Abigail.** "Resources for Security and Stability? The Politics of Regional Cooperation on the Mekong, 1957–2001." *The Journal of Environment and Development* 11, no. 1 (March 2002): 5–52.
- Makliukov, A. V.** *Elektrifikatsiia Rossiiskogo Dal'nego Vostoka (konets XIX–seredina XX vv.)*. Vladivostok: Izdatelstvo DVFU, 2018.
- Marklund, Andreas, and Mogens Rüdiger.** "Historicising Infrastructure: After the Material Turn." In *Historicizing Infrastructure*, edited by Andreas Marklund and Mogens Rüdiger, 5–21. Aalborg: Aalborg University Press, 2017.
- Ogden, Laura A., Billy Hall, and Kimiko Tanita.** "Animals, Plants, People, and Things: A Review of Multispecies Ethnography." *Environment and Society* 4, no. 1 (2013): 5–24.
- Raab, Nigel.** *All Shook Up: The Shifting Soviet Response to Catastrophes, 1917–1991*. Montreal: McGill–Queen's University Press, 2017.

- Renner, Andreas.** *Nordostpassage: Geschichte eines Seewegs*. Hamburg: mare-Verlag, 2024.
- Reuters.** “China’s Carbon Emissions Set to Peak before 2030 – Expert Poll.” *Reuters.com*, November 21, 2023. <https://www.reuters.com/world/china/chinas-carbon-emissions-set-peak-before-2030-expert-poll-2023-11-21/>.
- Reuveny, Rafael, and John W. Maxwell.** “Conflict and Renewable Resources.” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45, no. 6 (December 2001): 719–742.
- Richards, John F.** *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Rogaski, Ruth.** *Knowing Manchuria: Environments, the Senses, and Natural Knowledge on an Asian Borderland*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2022.
- Romaniello, Matthew.** “‘Tobacco! Tobacco!’: Exporting New Habits to Siberia and Russian America.” *Sibirica* 16, no. 2 (2017): 1–26.
- Ross, Corey.** *Ecology and Power in the Age of Empire: Europe and the Transformation of the Tropical World*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Rustad, Siri Aas, and Helga Malmin Binningsbø.** “A Price Worth Fighting For? Natural Resources and Conflict Recurrence.” *Journal of Peace Research* 49, no. 4 (July 2012): 531–546.
- Schubert, Franz-Christian, and Knecht, Alban.** *Ressourcen – Merkmale, Theorien und Konzeptionen im Überblick: eine Übersicht über Ressourcenansätze in Soziologie, Psychologie und Sozialpolitik*. 2015. <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.30527.71849>.
- Sokolsky, Mark.** “Between Predation and Protection: Forests and Forestry in Late Tsarist Primor’e.” *Sibirica* 13, no. 2, 2014, 28–61.
- Sokolsky, Mark.** “Making the Land Russian: Migration, Settlement and Environment in the Russian Far East, 1860–1914.” In *Environmental History of Modern Migration*, edited by Marco Armiero and Richard Tucker. New York and London: Routledge, 2017.
- Strüver, Georg.** “Too Many Resources or Too Few? What Drives International Conflicts?” *German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA) Working Papers*, no. 147 (Oct. 2010). https://www.giga-hamburg.de/assets/tracked/pure/21245394/wp147_struever.pdf.
- Strüver, Georg, and Tim Wegenast.** “The Hard Power of Natural Resources: Oil and the Outbreak of Militarized Interstate Disputes.” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 14, no. 1 (January 2018): 86–106.
- Tjossem, Sara.** *The Journey to PICES: Scientific Cooperation in the North Pacific*. Fairbanks: Alaska Sea Grant, 2005.
- Tjossem, Sara.** *Fostering Marine Science and Internationalism: The Journey with PICES*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017.
- Urbansky, Soeren.** *Beyond the Steppe Frontier: A History of the Sino-Russian Border*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020.
- Van Dooren, Thom, Eben Kirksey, and Ursula Münster.** “Multispecies Studies.” *Environmental Humanities* 8, no. 1 (2016): 1–23.
- Van Laak, Dirk.** *Alles im Fluss. Die Lebensadern unserer Gesellschaft. Geschichte und Zukunft der Infrastruktur*. Frankfurt: S.-Fischer-Verlag, 2018.
- Vinkovetsky, Ilya.** *Russian America: An Overseas Colony of a Continental Empire, 1804–1867*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Wang, Kuan-Hsiung. “Management of Fishery Resources: A Starting Point of Cooperation in the East China Sea.” *Asian Yearbook of International Law* 22 (2016): 69–85.

Winkler, Martina. *Das Imperium und die Seeotter. Die Expansion Russlands in den nordpazifischen Raum, 1700–1867.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2016.

Wouters, Patrica, Viktor Dukhovny, and Andrew Allan. *Implementing Integrated Water Resources Management in Central Asia.* New York: Springer, 2007.

Zajicek, Taylor C. “The Seismic Colony: Earthquakes, Empire and Technology in Russian-Ruled Turkestan, 1887–1911.” *Central Asian Survey* 41, no. 2 (2022): 322–346.