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Certainly, Moscow and Beijing's "axis of convenience" predates the sanctions imposed by the West on Russia in 2014: the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (a forum for military cooperation and intelligence sharing originally focused on counter-terrorism) was founded in 2002; Russian President Vladimir Putin announced Russia's own "pivot to the East", before the outbreak of the Ukraine crisis, in 2013.

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Yes, to balance China, let's bring Russia in from the cold

position in relations with Beijing and Moscow. 3. The imperative to monitor changing Russian-Chinese relations declined with the end of . . . Axis of Convenience: Moscow, Beijing, and the New Geopolitics (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). 2

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alliance and the complacent assumption that past animosities and competing agendas must always divide the two nations.

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