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" Axis of Convenience provides fascinating and compelling insights into the complicated relationship between Moscow and Beijing, which has often been touted in recent years as a burgeoning alliance of growing concern to traditional centers of power."

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as the very model of international cooperation: Moscow and Beijing claim that ties are closer and warmer than at any time in history.

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Geopolitics Bobo Lo, ed. Axis of Convenience: Moscow, Beijing and the New Geopolitics Fallon, Theresa 2010-12-07 00:00:00 J OF CHIN POLIT SCI (2011) 16:119 – 120 DOI 10.1007/s11366-010-9137-8 BOOK REVIEW Bobo Lo, ed. Axis of Convenience: Moscow, Beijing and the New Geopolitics Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2008 ...

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2 Executive summary This report updates and expands on the work of Yong Deng, Bobo Lo, and others who since the mid-2000s have been struggling to understand the character, scope a

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Few relationships have been as misunderstood as the "strategic partnership" between Russia and China. Official rhetoric portrays it as the very model of international cooperation: Moscow and Beijing claim that ties are closer and warmer than at any time in history. In reality, however, the picture is highly ambiguous. While both sides

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are committed to multifaceted engagement, cooperation is complicated by historical suspicions, cultural prejudices, geopolitical rivalries, and competing priorities. For Russia, China is at once the focus of a genuine convergence of interests and the greatest long-term threat to its national security. For China, Russia is a key supplier of energy and weapons, but is frequently dismissed as a self-important power whose rhetoric far outstrips its real influence. An axis of Convenience cuts through the mythmaking and examines the Sino-Russian partnership on its own merits. It steers between the overblown interpretation of an anti-Western (particularly, anti-American) alliance and the complacent assumption that past animosities and competing agendas must always divide the two nations. Their relationship reflects a new geopolitics, one that eschews formal alliances in favor of more flexible and opportunistic arrangements. Ultimately, it is an axis of convenience driven by cold-eyed perceptions of the national interest. In evaluating the current state and future prospects of the relationship, Bobo Lo assesses its impact on the evolving strategic environments in Central and East Asia. He also analyzes the global implications of rapprochement between Moscow and Beijing, focusing in particular on the geopolitics of energy and Russia-China-U.S. triangularism.

Led by the seemingly indomitable Vladimir Putin, Russia has strongly reasserted itself on the international stage. In the worldview of Putin and the Kremlin, the inevitable decline of the West and rise of the rest provides an opportunity for Russia to fulfill its mission as an independent center of global power. What are the origins of this increasingly aggressive stance? What are the geopolitical ramifications? And what will be the likely outcomes? In this timely and accessible work, former diplomat and renowned Russia analyst Bobo Lo examines the interplay between contemporary Russian foreign policy and a global environment that has rarely been more fluid and uncertain. *Russia and the New World Disorder* delves into Russian policy and geopolitics via three questions: • How do

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Russia's domestic politics and external operating environment influence the Kremlin's foreign policy? • How have policymakers in Moscow responded to that environment, and with what ramifications? • What are the prospects for change, continuity, or regression in Russian foreign policy over the next decade and beyond? Lo argues that Moscow's approach to regional and global affairs reflects the tension between two very different worlds. The Kremlin's belief in a weakened West and resurgent Russia is based on the reaffirmation of traditional principles of international politics: collective leadership by the major powers, the dominance of hard power, and the existence of spheres of influence. This idealized view, however, is the antithesis of the actual world that Russia faces today. It is defined by a new disorder that challenges many core assumptions. Its principal message is that only those states that embrace change will prosper. In this world, Russia is no longer able to rest on tradition and a sense of entitlement but must instead adapt to fluid international realities and redefine itself as a modern power. Which of these two diametrically opposed worlds will Russia ultimately choose? This book makes clear that the next ten to fifteen years will be critical in determining whether Russia plays a leading role in twenty-first-century politics, or ends up as one of the principal casualties of global transformation. Copublished with Chatham House

This book depicts the sophisticated relationship between Russia and China as a pragmatic one, a political “ marriage of convenience ” . Yet at the same time the relationship is stable, and will remain so. After all, bilateral relations are usually based on pragmatic interests and the pursuit of these interests is the very essence of foreign policy. And, as often happens in life, the most long-lasting marriages are those based on convenience. The highly complex, complicated, ambiguous and yet, indeed, successful relationship between Russia and China throughout the past 25 years is difficult to grasp theoretically. Russian and Chinese elites are hard-core realists in

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their foreign policies, and the neorealist school in international relations seems to be the most adequate one to research Sino-Russian relations. Realistically, throughout this period China achieved a multidimensional advantage over Russia. Yet, simultaneously Russia-China relations do not follow the patterns of power politics. Beijing knows its limits and does not go into extremes. Rather, China successfully seeks to build a longterm, stable relationship based on Chinese terms, where both sides gain, albeit China gains a little more. Russia in this agenda does not necessary lose; just gains a little less out of this asymmetric deal. Thus, a new model of bilateral relations emerges, which may be called – by paraphrasing the slogan of Chinese diplomacy – as “ asymmetric win-win ” formula. This model is a kind of “ back to the past “ – a contemporary equivalent of the first model of Russia-China relations: the modus vivendi from the 17th century, achieved after the Nerchinsk treaty.

The book explores developments in Russia-China relations in the aftermath of the global economic crisis, arguing that the crisis transformed their bilateral affairs, regional liaisons and, crucially, altered the roles both states play on the international arena. Discussing how Russo-Chinese cooperation has accelerated in energy trade, arms sales and in the Russian Far East, the focus is on how the still mutually advantageous relationship has become more asymmetric than ever, reflecting China ’ s meteoric rise and Russia ’ s decline. These dynamics are explored through three perspectives: domestic, regional and global. Domestically, the book traces the role of political coalitions and key interest groups involved in how the two states shape their reciprocal policies. Changes in the regional dimension are examined with particular reference to a new status quo emerging in Central Asia. The book concludes by explaining how the changing relationship is affecting the international order, including the balance of power vis-à-vis the United States as well as Russia and China ’ s changing attitudes

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This book sheds new light on the complex EU-Russia relationship, by providing the first comprehensive account of the EU-Russia Energy Dialogue. The author examines why Moscow and Brussels have failed to cooperate in this crucial area of interdependence. By invoking constructivism and Mikhail Bakhtin ' s concept of dialogue, and drawing on dozens of interviews with Russian and European officials, Talseth argues that the Energy Dialogue was unsuccessful because its interlocutors failed to come up with a common narrative for cooperation. Evidence suggests that the collapse of the Energy Dialogue was not pre-determined and initially there was a great deal of optimism and goodwill. Ultimately,

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the outcome of the Energy Dialogue was shaped by the unfolding time-space of Russo-European relations.

While the “ decline of the West ” is now almost taken for granted, China ’ s impressive economic performance and the political influence of an assertive Russia in the international arena are combining to make Eurasia a key hub of political and economic power. That, certainly, is the story which Beijing and Moscow have been telling for years. Are the times ripe for a “ Eurasian world order ” ? What exactly does the supposed Sino-Russian challenge to the liberal world entail? Are the two countries ’ worsening clashes with the West drawing them closer together? This ISPI Report tackles every aspect of the apparently solidifying alliance between Moscow and Beijing, but also points out its growing asymmetries. It also recommends some policies that could help the EU to deal with this “ Eurasian shift ” , a long-term and multi-faceted power readjustment that may lead to the end of the world as we have known it.

China is rightly considered an emerging power in world affairs as Chinese leaders, backed by growing economic and military strength, engage in innovative diplomatic approaches that pave the way for China's international role. But this is only part of the story of China ’ s rise. As Robert G. Sutter shows in this meticulous and balanced assessment, the record of twists and turns in Chinese foreign relations since the end of the Cold War highlights a very different perspective. Domestic problems, nationalism, and security concerns continue to preoccupy Beijing, complicating China's influence and innovations in foreign affairs. On the international front, the actions of other powerful nations and growing dependence on the world economy complicate as well as enhance China ’ s advance to international prominence. Newly revised, this edition features more extensive treatment of China ’ s role in the international economy and greater discussion of its relations with

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the developing world. Providing a comprehensive introduction to Chinese foreign relations, Sutter shows Chinese leaders exerting growing influence in world affairs but remaining far from dominant. Facing numerous contradictions and trade-offs, they move cautiously to avoid major confrontations, costly commitments, or mistakes that could undermine their one-party rule as they deal with an international environment posing numerous challenges as well as opportunities for Chinese interests.

This volume examines the Chinese foreign policy framework today and traces its evolution since the post-Mao era. Through the consideration of China's relations with the major powers and its management of various challenges ranging from territorial disputes to energy security, it investigates China's pursuit of major power status and influence in peaceful international scenarios. The author critically analyzes China's foreign policy from Chinese leaders' evolving worldview of the changing international environment. As China emerges as a major power and the second largest economy in the world, anyone interested in international politics and scenarios as well as China's foreign policy needs a basic, insightful reference book like this. Contents: China's Foreign Policy: Coping with the Challenge of Power Overall Framework: The Evolution of China's Foreign Policy in the Post-Mao Era: From Anti-Hegemony to Modernization Diplomacy China's Foreign Policy in the Mid – 1990s China's Foreign Policy Since the Seventeenth Party Congress Convincing the World of China's Tradition to Pursue Universal Harmony China's Significant Bilateral Relations: China's Peaceful Rise and the .U.S — Mutual Perceptions, Mutual Trust and Planning for Future Scenarios Chinese Perceptions of Russian Foreign Policy During the Two Putin Administration: U.S. – Russia Relations and "Strategic Triangle" Considerations China's Japan Policy: Seeking Stability and Improvement in Uncertainties and Conflicts China's India Policy: Balancing Global and Bilateral Issues Sino – Vietnamese Relations in the Early Twenty-first

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