

The BRICS Organization as a New International Pole: Studying the Location of the Bloc within the Outputs of the Russian-Ukrainian War

منظمة البريكس كقطب دولي جديد: دراسة موقع التكتل ضمن مخرجات الحرب الروسية الأوكرانية

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Abstract:

Abstract; This article examines the emergence of the "BRICS" bloc since the beginning of its stages as an idea, which was formed from the BRICS group and included (Brazil, Russia, India, and China), and later turned into BRICS after the accession of South Africa. On the other hand, it showed the extent of the BRICS countries' ability to Presence in the international system as a new pole that can contribute to the presence on the international map, limit the absolute American unilateralism in most international decisions, and Western hegemony over international institutions at other times. BRICS of the Russian-Ukrainian war and the change of the international system.

The study aims to know the nature of the rise mainly in the BRICS countries, and the elements that this group enjoys, and put the reader in a clear picture before the nature of this distinguished international alliance, and its differences in many matters, and analyze the mechanisms of the Russian-Ukrainian war and its connections to this bloc. The study concluded that the success of the BRICS gathering in building a new global economic order, in which Western countries and their various institutions do not dominate economic policies, depends on overcoming its main challenges. The bloc also succeeded in forming an alliance that acted as a wall blocking Russia, enabling it to avoid the repercussions of Western sanctions and minimize their effects.

Key words: economy, BRICS countries, western hegemony, Albrect group, international system

الملخص:

يفحص هذا المقال نشأة تكتل "دول البريكس" منذ بداية مراحلها كفكرة، والتي تكونت من مجموعة البريك وضممت (البرازيل، وروسيا، والهند، والصين)، وتحولت فيما بعد إلى بريكس بعد انضمام دولة جنوب أفريقيا، من جهة أخرى بينت مدى قدرة دول البريكس على التواجد في المنظومة الدولية كقطب جديد يستطيع أن يساهم في التواجد على الخارطة الدولية، والحد من الانفراد الأمريكي المطلق في أغلب القرارات الدولية، والهيمنة الغربية على المؤسسات الدولية أحياناً أخرى، وبينت المميزات التي تتمتع بها دول البريكس بما يؤهلها للعب دور حاسم دولياً، ودراسة موقع تكتل بريكس من الحرب الروسية الأوكرانية وتغير النظام الدولي. وتهدف الدراسة إلى معرفة طبيعة الصعود الحاصل في دول البريكس بشكل رئيسي، والمقومات التي تتمتع بها هذه المجموعة، ووضع القارئ في صورة واضحة أمام طبيعة هذا التحالف الدولي المتميز، واختلافاته في كثير من الأمور، وتحليل ميكانيزمات الحرب الروسية الأوكرانية وارتباطها بهذا التكتل.

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وخلصت الدراسة إلى أن نجاح تجمع البريكس في بناء نظام اقتصادي عالمي جديد، لا تهيمن فيه الدول الغربية بمؤسساتها المختلفة على السياسات الاقتصادية، مرهوناً بتجاوز تحدياتها الرئيسية.
كما نجح التكتل في تكوين تحالف كان بمثابة جدار صد لروسيا مكنها من تجنب تداعيات العقوبات الغربية والتقليل من أثارها.
الكلمات المفتاحية: الاقتصاد؛ دول البريكس؛ الهيمنة الغربية؛ مجموعة البريك؛ النظام الدولي

Introduction:

In the year 2009, a summit was held that included a group of countries characterized by enormous human resources, energies, and economic capabilities, and it quickly turned into an annual summit, occupying a privileged position on the strategic map in the world. The world of politics, but rather the nature of creatures on earth, whether fixed or moving, everyone is subject to change, and this happens in varying proportions. Therefore, we find that change is one of the laws of the universe, and humanity is distinguished in it more than others because it is linked to an important element, which is the future vision, through which it is possible to work according to multiple strategies.

In light of American unipolarity, the world began to witness the birth of countries that possess huge energies and resources, whose agreement and agreement would have authorized the new birth of a multipolar world, and ambitious countries that had capabilities that qualified them to play new roles on the international scene. This study will discuss a new actor on the international scene, namely the Russian-Ukrainian war, and its impact and repercussions on Russia, or how the latter took refuge in it in avoiding Western sanctions, and the position of the bloc in general from the war.

1.2 Study problem:

The research problem stems from the fact that the study discussed the emergence of the "BRICS" bloc from the beginning of its stages as an idea, which consisted of the BRICS group and included (Brazil, Russia, India, and China), and later turned into BRICS after the accession of South Africa. On the other hand, it showed the extent The ability of the BRICS countries to be present in the international system as a new pole that can contribute to its presence on the international map, and to limit the absolute American unilateralism in most international decisions, and Western hegemony over international institutions at other times, and showed the advantages enjoyed by the BRICS countries that qualify them to play a decisive role internationally And the study of the position of the BRICS bloc from the Russian-Ukrainian war and the change of the international system. Therefore, the focus of this study will be the answer to the following central problem: What is the extent of the BRICS group's influence on the international system in light of the outcomes of the Russian-Ukrainian war?

A group of sub-questions branch out from the problem as follows:

- What is the content of the BRICS bloc?
- What are the advantages and characteristics of the BRICS group?

- How did the Russian-Ukrainian war affect the BRICS bloc in light of the change in the international system?

1.3 Hypotheses of the study:

In order to answer the problem with its ramifications, the following hypotheses were formulated

- The more the international system proceeds in a system of blocs, the more it ends with a non-unipolar system.
- The bloc contributed to reducing the severity of the repercussions of Western sanctions on Russia.

1.4 Objectives of the study:

1- Knowing the nature of the rise mainly in the BRICS countries, and the elements that this group enjoys, and putting the reader in a clear picture of the nature of this distinguished international alliance, and its differences in many matters.

2- To identify the extent of this group's ability to exist in the international arena so that it has an impact commensurate with its size and capabilities, and to identify the capabilities that distinguish this group and make it an effective force on the international arena.

3- The study aims to link the mechanisms of the Russian-Ukrainian war and its connection to this bloc.

1.5 Study Methodology:

It is the nature of the subject studied that dictates the type of methodological approaches that this study will adopt, namely:

Descriptive method:

The descriptive approach was relied on because it is commensurate with the study and helps to dismantle the content of the bloc and the objectives for which it was established, and to diagnose the location of the bloc in light of the repercussions of the Russian-Ukrainian war. Algerian national security in its African dimension.

Historical method:

It is defined as the approach concerned with accurately monitoring the events that occurred in the past, discussing and interpreting them, and relying on them to identify the current reality. Its effectiveness and continuity in achieving its objectives and adherence to its principles and alliances.

1.6 Structuring the study:

The study was divided into two main axes, starting with the general framework of the BRICS organization, and then moving on to studying the BRICS bloc in light of the Russian-Ukrainian war and the change of the international system.

The second topic: The general framework of BRICS:

At a time when the countries of the group are already seeking to include new members, in order to become more effective in the international arena, and then work to restore balance in the hierarchy of the international system, reform the international multilateral institutions, and amend the mechanisms and rules of globalization, to take into account the interests of all the international community, In this context, this analysis deals with the origin, importance and objectives of the group as well as the characteristics and advantages. Why are some countries seeking to join this bloc now, and what are the most important challenges facing the group?

1. Trinity of origin, importance and objectives:

The BRICS group was established under the name “BRICS”, i.e. the initials of its constituent countries, which are Brazil, Russia, India and China, and held its first summit in 2009, then South Africa joined it in 2010, to become its name “BRICS” and despite the aspirations With its large members building a bipolar world, the group did not turn into a powerful economic and political bloc competing with the West and its allies¹. And it was Russia that initiated its creation. On September 20, 2006, the first ministerial meeting of the group was held at the invitation of Russian President Vladimir Putin, on the sidelines of the United Nations General Assembly. As it was decided during the BRICS summit in Brazil on July 15-16, 2014, to establish a development bank and adopt a treaty to set an emergency reserve for the group, which now possesses a total of \$200 billion².

The BRICS group encourages trade, political and cultural cooperation among its member states³. All five BRICS countries are industrialized countries, and are characterized by the size of their economies. All member states, except perhaps Russia, have achieved sustained growth, more than most other countries, except for the period of the Covid-19 crisis. Perhaps the most important indication of the importance of the “BRICS” to the global economy is its share of foreign currency reserves. There are four members of the group among the top ten countries with reserves amounting to about 40% of the world's total reserves. China alone has \$2.4 trillion and is the second largest creditor after Japan. The BRICS group also represents the largest economies outside the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, and is the club of the rich for emerging economies⁴. In addition to the economic importance of the group, there is the demographic importance, as half of the world's population lives in the five countries, and the combined gross domestic product of the countries equals that of the United States (\$13.6 trillion), and the total foreign exchange reserves of the OIC countries reach four trillion dollars.

It is worth noting that BRICS does not have a secretariat or charter. Since its inception, the country that heads the group has organized the summit it will host, and coordination takes place on choosing the country that will hold the next summit after the end of each summit, as summits are held annually. The BRICS group is also very different from the rest of the forms of groupings, alliances, and organizations that the international arena witnessed before. These five countries have an important cultural link, which is that they do not belong to the “circle of Western civilization.” Rather, they constitute a distinct mixture of different civilizations, where the ancient Eastern civilization is the pinnacle. Hinduism in India and Buddhism in China, the Slavic-Orthodox

civilization distinct from both East and West in Russia, the Western Latin civilization in Brazil, whose people have a culture and arts so distinct, even from the surrounding countries, and the African civilization in South Africa. But what is certain is that the political link that binds these five countries, and on the basis of which this group arose, is the rejection of Western hegemony over the global economy and politics, this hegemony that has plunged the global economy into crises, from which many suffer to get out.

It is not bound by geographic or regional scope. Therefore, we can give it the term transcontinental organization, or rather the flexible organization⁵.

In sum, the BRICS bloc aims to provide financial assistance to member and non-member states, achieve development and cooperation, support projects and infrastructure, and achieve economic integration for member states. The real objectives of BRICS are, inter alia, the following⁶:

1- Establishing a multipolar system:

the competition of the Group of Seven, which represents 60% of the global wealth, while the BRICS countries represent 40% of the world's area, as it includes the five largest countries in the world in terms of area. The idea of establishing the BRICS group was also based on achieving international balance and getting out of the economic control of the West, which is led by the United States of America in all fields. to join the group. The "BRICS" took more attention than before after the Ukrainian war, the dispersion in the global system, and the trend towards geo-political and geo-economic or geo-strategic blocs. The importance of BRICS emerged, especially after the penultimate meeting, which included nearly twenty countries. This group became comparable and parallel to organizations, such as my group of twenty-seven.

2- Supporting peace and achieving development: The group aims to cooperate with each other and support peace, security and economic development in the world, especially as it includes among them China, which is the largest economy in the world, and India, which is the third economy in the world, then Russia, which is the largest source of energy in the world. The countries of the group also aspire to create another economic pole in the world instead of a single pole, and to create a state of global balance in front of the dominance of the US economy and the dollar over the global economy. This reinforces that this group, in terms of industries, is perhaps stronger than the Group of Seven, in addition to the strength of The economies of those countries in terms of GDP are among the ten largest in the world. This group also plays a role in neutralizing or reducing the impact of economic sanctions on Russia recently, after it refused to join the economic sanctions, and continued to deal with Moscow, especially India and China, in the field of oil and gas⁷.

3- Amending the rules of globalization: imposed by the United States of America, and the countries of the group see the need to work to amend the rules of globalization so that all countries in the world can benefit from them, not just the United States and its allies. What helps the countries of the group achieve this goal is that the world is heading towards a kind of fragmentation in the global system, and dispersion in light of the end of globalization and its transformation into a new type that crystallizes through regional blocs, such as the South Asian bloc, the European bloc, North America, and the African Union.

4- Achieving geostrategic interests: the countries of the group contribute 23% of the global economy, 18% of commodity trade, and 25% of foreign investment, and are an important force that cannot be ignored in the world⁸. In this context, the BRICS countries are trying, especially after the Ukrainian crisis, to activate and exchange local currencies between their countries in order to break the dollar's thorn or outperform it, and in doing so they rely on the price of oil and oil sales in an attempt to achieve their dreams. In fact, attempts by the BRICS group to have a single currency, to get rid of the dominance of the US dollar, will affect the global economic path⁹. There are projections that the BRICS countries will produce 50% of the world's GDP by 2030, although the BRICS group of countries is not a common market for free trade. The topic of a possible "free trade area" within the BRICS group has been discussed at the highest levels at least since 2015, when Russia's then-Deputy Minister for Economic Development stated that such an agreement could be possible within 5 years, but this has not happened so far. It can be said that BRICS adopts preferential trade as a precursor to achieving the goals of economic integration, by working to reduce customs duties among member states¹⁰.

2. Advantages and characteristics of the BRICS countries:

A- Characteristics of the BRICS countries:

Multiple civilizations and continents: The BRICS group consists of five countries and its source is four different continents that are considered significantly different from the rest of the forms of groupings, alliances and organizations that the international arena witnessed before. There is no specific link common between the five countries, whether political, economic or otherwise. It is not linked to a geographical or regional scope, and there is a clear variation in the degrees of economic growth and levels of productivity, and even the positions

Political parties are relatively different, as they are a completely neutral group with regard to global political balances, because they include countries that are largely different in their political orientations and economic systems, and they represent different global trends¹¹.

Here the question arises, how did this group arise and what links it to each other? These five countries have an important link that brings them together, which is that they do not belong to the circle of Western civilization. In Brazil, whose people are distinguished by a very distinct culture and arts even from the surrounding countries, and the African civilization in South Africa¹².

As for the most important link that brought these five countries together, it is the political link, on the basis of which this group was born, represented in the rejection of Western hegemony over the global economy and politics, which caused the global financial crises, from which many countries of the world suffer to get out. Common factors is the rapid economic growth of these countries. As for the third link that unites the BRICS countries, it is their will to reach their natural position in the world, and their realization that the currently dominant countries will not allow a new country to replace them or take their advantages. Without a large framework of multiple states defending it will keep it as it is¹³.

Economic integration: The levels and capabilities of the five "BRICS" countries differ, whether economic, political or military...etc. Each country has something that distinguishes it from the other.

When examining Russia, for example, it appears clearly that it is the least in terms of economic growth compared to the other four, but it is considered to be the most powerful politically, militarily, and influential in the world. That Russia is the one that dominates this group and directs it according to its interests, aspirations, and aspirations on the international arena, and these beliefs may definitely be exaggerations that have nothing to do with reality, and they are perhaps legacies of the Cold War¹⁴, and perhaps South Africa's recent accession to this group confirms the invalidity of these expectations and exaggerations, considering that South Africa

A country completely linked to the West in its political orientations, and it supported the Western alliance in Libya, while the other four countries abstained from voting on the Security Council resolution. The BRICS alliance has a political content first and foremost, and Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov declared this explicitly, saying that this is a geopolitical gathering first and foremost¹⁵.

The researcher believes that it has become known to the whole world that the economy is the backbone of states and that states can measure their political weight according to their economic weight, and that they always need to raise their economic level in all fields to have influence and decision. As previously mentioned, however, the BRICS was basically built on economic foundations and political specifications, and economic agreements with various economic benefits are still applied in all its meetings that benefit all member states. What can be said is that these countries have been able to build their economic and trade relations among themselves in a complementary manner in a way that benefits the member states in accordance with agreements signed among them, after the completion of successive summits in which many facilities were approved so that the economic interests of all member states are on the top of their priorities.

Despite the problems it is facing from flooding the Brazilian market with Chinese shoes, South Africa with Chinese clothes, India imposing duties on some Chinese goods, and the existence of differences between Moscow and Beijing over the pricing of Russian oil, there is optimism about the expansion of trade between developing countries. South-South trade rose to 17% of total world trade in 2009 from only 7% in 1990. The Asian Development Fund expects that percentage to double within two decades. Asian countries represent 75% of trade among all developing countries, while China alone represents 40%. Especially when looking at the BRICS trade relationship with the countries of the south¹⁶.

Developing countries face a challenge to divide the trade pie between them more fairly, and the share of Latin America and Africa in trade between developing countries is growing rapidly, because of China's need for oil and raw materials that it buys in exchange for consumer goods. Africa is accepting of the growing trade with China despite some problems, having faced the textile industries of South Africa and Botswana

A big blow to the Chinese textile industry. The volume of trade exchange between Africa and China increased in 2014 to more than 200 billion dollars, according to BBC Arabic and Report 2014. From 93 billion in 2009 and about 125 billion in 2010¹⁷. It amounted to \$38.8 billion in the first quarter of 2017, an increase of 16.8 percent, and the volume of direct Chinese investment in the continent increased by 64 percent¹⁸.

Politics and economics in the BRICS accounts: The BRICS group was able to take a place among the international accounts after South Africa joined the "BRICS" group in early 2011, as Jim O'Neill remarked in which he said: "When I put the term "BRIC" I did not expect that a "cluster" would form. political" of the four countries as a result." It seems that O'Neill was confident that BRIC would not even develop into a mere economic or trade bloc similar to the European Union comprising 28 countries or the ASEAN grouping of 10 countries. But with the expansion of "BRIC" to become five countries, the group may be on its way to forming a "political bloc" in the same style as the European Union and bringing together "ASEAN" as a side step for "trade and economic cooperation between the five countries"¹⁹. Politics follows trade wherever it goes." The process of annexing South Africa For example, it was subjected to political and geopolitical considerations rather than economic or commercial considerations. South Korea, Mexico and Turkey are classified as emerging economies, and they had more legitimacy to join BRIC than South Africa. The three countries each contribute 1% of the global economy - Mexico's GDP is \$875 billion, South Korea's \$830 billion and Turkey's \$615 billion. However, China saw the need to include an important African country in the group, given that China is South Africa's first trading partner and that Pretoria is the BRIC gateway to the African continent in light of the frantic US-Chinese race for influence and trade in the continent. This is in addition to the fact that South Africa enjoys great strategic importance, as it overlooks the two oceans: the Atlantic to the west and the Indian to the east from the south through the Cape of Good Hope²⁰.

The principle of refusing dependency: the researcher believes that the BRICS group differs from other groupings, alliances and organizations that the international arena witnessed before, especially since there is no specific link linking the five countries, whether on the political, economic or cultural level.

It is also not bound by a geographical or regional scope, but rather comes from four different continents. There is also a divergence in economic growth and productivity levels among the five countries.

These five countries are linked by an important link, on the basis of which this group was established, that is, Western domination of the economy and global politics. the international financial and monetary system. Here we see that the BRICS countries generally enjoy their belonging to countries that respect the sovereignty of independent states without regard to their size or strength²¹.

The cooperation mechanism between these countries has witnessed continuous improvement in the past few years, and a cooperation structure was initially formed in the areas of political security, economic development, and practical cooperation. This structure has now evolved into an important platform for emerging markets and developing countries in conducting exchanges and

dialogue in the fields of economy, finance, and development. Thus, the BRICS countries have become a vital force in maintaining peace and stability, activating economic growth, promoting pluralism and revitalizing democracy in international relations.

The researcher finds that the countries of this group reject the policy of military pressure and diminishing the sovereignty of other countries, and adopt similar positions on urgent international issues, especially the Syrian crisis, the Iranian file, and the settlement in the Middle East. The countries of the group abstained from voting in the UN Security Council regarding the resolutions related to Libya, as well as regarding some resolutions related to Syria.

B- Characteristics of the BRICS countries:

Economic characteristics of the BRICS countries:

The total gross domestic product of the countries combined is equivalent to that of the United States, amounting to 13.6 trillion dollars, and the total foreign exchange reserves of the OIC countries amount to 4 trillion dollars²². On the economic level, the BRICS countries are replete with important geographical and human resources. These countries occupy more than 29.5% of the world's area and more than 41.6% of the world's population in 2016 implementation, and lead the economic progress by achieving nearly 25% of the global national income, amounting to \$ 7 trillion, and owning For half of the global reserves of foreign currencies and gold, in addition to its control over a third of world trade and bringing in half of the foreign direct investments all over the globe. Thus, the BRICS countries have become incubators for capital looking for a favorable business climate, inexpensive hand and competitive economies²³.

The researcher believes that despite the divergence of the economic paths and choices of the BRICS countries, they provide successful experiences characterized by diversity and self-reliance through the adoption of independent and sustainable policies that liberate the country from restrictions and exploit the various potentials of human financial resources and energy for economic progress.

According to economic statistics, the Chinese economy is an effective engine for growth, as its size exceeds 10% of the global economy, by adopting export-based economic activities. China was able to transfer the economic surplus to be an effective influence on development by raising the domestic saving rate from 20% to 30% and the investment rate to 35% in a short period. It is noteworthy here that the Chinese decisions to enable manpower to contribute to production by strengthening investment facilities²⁴, and China is still using appropriate economic methods to reach its markets to all parts of the world.

Russia is ranked sixth in the ranking of global economic powers, and its economy depends on industry, which is linked to energy as the nucleus of economic prosperity. The state controls more than half of the Russian economy, adopting the model of the state participating in the management of the economy with the aim of heading towards active sectors and exploiting its geopolitical weight in the world. On the contrary, administrative and financial corruption is rampant in the components of the Russian economy due to bureaucratic inflation, and the rate of human development is

considered weak, as it is not commensurate with the global position of Russia as it is ranked 55 in the world²⁵.

Brazil is classified as the seventh global economic power, and its crude domestic product in 2013 reached nearly three trillion dollars, despite weak domestic demand and the decline in fiscal policy. It also managed to expand the middle class, which was no more than 24 in 2000, to 35% in 2013. Due The success of the development project in Brazil led to the consolidation of citizens' participation in public policies and steadily meeting their needs, while working on discipline and selection.

Economic relations abroad so as not to destroy local industries, while India succeeded in reducing the poverty rate from 40% in 1990 to 24% in 2013 through the approach of the policy of economic openness and liberalization of trade exchanges, in addition to strengthening the foundations of the knowledge economy by exporting \$ 400 billion annually from related activities. this economic activity²⁶.

In the same way, South Africa is an advanced development model, as it overcame the years of racial discrimination with comprehensive planning and remarkable progress in the service sectors and benefiting from mineral resources for reform and progress, which resulted in a remarkable development in economic indicators, so the national income of South Africa represented 40% of the total income of the African continent the whole²⁷.

On this basis, expectations indicate that the BRICS countries will continue to grow until they contribute 50% of the total global economic growth by the year 2030, in addition to improving consultation mechanisms and firm commitment to sustainable development and generalizing common economic prosperity.

Here, the researcher believes that despite the obvious disparity between the BRICS countries, the outcome remains complementary. Russia is the strongest in politics and armaments, but its growth is limited compared to that which penetrates the whole world with its various commodities, and Brazil, which surrounds social constraints with comprehensive development. As for India, it engages in scientific and technological research to enhance its industrial capabilities, while South Africa is characterized by economic dynamism and high attractiveness to compete in new markets²⁸. It also attracts half of the world's foreign investment. It is noteworthy that the idea of uniting the four countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China) in one phrase was, in and of itself, a creative and far-sighted idea, despite the historical geographical, cultural, religious, and linguistic differences, as well as the world view of the aforementioned countries, but they are linked to being countries with Rapid economic development, and a common view of a more just world order Paradoxically, in Chinese, the phrase means "a country built of gold bars." Interestingly, the Goldman Sachs report says that Brazil is the world's base for raw materials, Russia is the "world's gas station," and India World Stationery Office, and China "Fabrication of the World" In October 2003, Jim O'Neill and his team issued a scientific research titled "The Dream" of Albreak: The Road To 2050, in which the courageous hypothesis was stated that by 2050, Brazil, Russia, India and China will turn into a locomotive for the entire global economy. Based on this study It can be confirmed that in terms of the size of the existing GDP, Brazil will overtake Italy in 2025.

France in 2031. Russia will overtake Britain in 2027, Germany in 2028, and India will overtake Japan in 2032. In conclusion, it is very likely that China will overtake the United States of America in 2041 and become the largest economic country in the world.

This study also includes the prediction that in the year 2050, these four countries will include 41.6% of the world's population and the existing GDP, which will reach \$14 trillion²⁹. In 2005, Goldman Sachs published a global report entitled "How strong are the BRIC countries?" There is a revision and rearrangement of the ideas presented in the 2003 report. It states that China will overtake the United States in 2040, a year earlier than the previous forecast, while India will overtake Japan, not in 2032 but in 2033³⁰.

In the face of these researches, reports and data, is the world on the threshold of a new and exciting economic transformation in which the features of Western hegemony, which lasted for nearly five decades, will change? Perhaps this is indeed the case, especially after the very important summit of the BRICS countries in the resort of Fortaleza in northeastern Brazil in June 2014, which included the presidents of Russia, China, India, South Africa and Brazil. It is noteworthy that before the start of the summit, the Russian political analyst, Denis Tyurin, director of the Business Forum in the Shanghai Organization, stated that it is a summit of an economic organization of a purely political nature, and this is what happened. As a result of Western economic sanctions, the BRICS summit in Brazil raised important forward-looking questions. For example, the BRICS countries intend to establish the new bank, and will it be a match for the World Bank, then what is the world waiting for from the BRICS countries? Perhaps this question is one of the vital general questions, but the most dangerous and important question remains, will the economic conflict turn into a political one?³¹

Political characteristics:

The BRICS countries possess several capabilities that form the building blocks that support a strong and interdependent entity, which qualifies them to play major roles in central issues. Within this assembly, we find two permanent members of the Security Council, Russia and China, whose political influence has recently been evident in many issues such as the Syrian crisis and its Ukrainian counterpart. It also has a huge military capacity, as we find that three BRICS countries are ranked among the top ten armies in the world in terms of numbers and expenditures³².

As the bloc turned from an economic idea to something bigger than that, after South Africa was included in the group because it became a political bloc in the face of unilateral hegemony in the world by the United States and its Western allies, and therefore, the bloc tried to create a new vision for a new world order, And that is by bringing together countries of strategic importance in different continents of the world, and the BRICS countries also share a negative stock regarding what is happening on the margins of the existing international system. Therefore, the group was established in order to present a common vision and unified position on various international issues³³.

The second topic: The BRICS bloc in light of the Russian-Ukrainian war and the change of the international system:

Recently, the BRICS group has gained more momentum. In July 2022, the fourteenth summit of the “BRICS” group consisting of (Russia, China, India, Brazil and South Africa) was held. This is in light of the extremely dangerous repercussions the world is witnessing as a result of the Ukrainian war. As this grouping enjoys a collective economic power that cannot be overlooked, especially since it includes in its membership five countries that control about 41% of the world’s population, and the area of the member states covers about 40 million square kilometers. Which is equivalent to approximately 26% of the total area of the world, while the countries of the assembly account for about 26% of the global gross product, according to estimates in 2021. This percentage is expected to reach 33% by 2030, in addition to that, the total joint foreign exchange reserves For the countries of the assembly, it is estimated at 4 trillion dollars; Therefore, the last summit of the assembly received great international momentum. Because of the importance and impact of the decisions and policies of the assembly countries; Not only within the assembly, but those potential repercussions may extend to the assembly's decision to influence the future of the global economic system.

I)- Dynamic Dimensions:

In the midst of the negative repercussions of the Russian-Ukrainian crisis on the global economy, there are persistent efforts by the “BRICS” countries to increase their role in the global system during the recent period, with the aim of attracting developing countries to get out from under the cloak of Western countries’ tendencies, and join the

The policies of this rising assembly are based on several axes. The most prominent current dynamics of the grouping can be summarized as follows:

1. Betting on economic aid: BRICS members are taking the Ukrainian war as an opportunity to convince the world that the bloc can be a viable economic option vis-à-vis Western-led institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, without setting mandatory or arbitrary conditions for their aid, especially Its ability to provide financial aid and more investment, through the umbrella of the New Development Bank led by the bloc since its inception in 2014, which is a strong trend for the BRICS countries towards increasing its influence as an influential global player, and trying to attract more developing countries that are hungry for continuous funding for their projects. developmental, at reasonable interest rates.

2. A lobby to defend the member states of international institutions: the formation of “BRICS” as a bloc is reflected in the electoral behavior of its constituent states within the United Nations General Assembly; There were noticeably no public statements of condemnation by Brazil, South Africa, India and China for the Ukrainian war, and although Brazil voted in favor of the United Nations resolution condemning the war, it objected to passages that explicitly stated "Russian aggression", and criticized Western sanctions imposed on Russia, as well The rest of the assembly countries abstained from voting, criticizing the harsh tone of the UN resolution. Rather, they confirmed that Russian President Vladimir Putin's security concerns are legitimate, especially with regard to expanding the borders of NATO.

3. Rhetoric rejecting Western perceptions: While attending the 14th BRICS summit, Chinese President Xi Jinping praised the positions of emerging market countries and other relevant developing countries, which he described as more flexible and energetic, and even urged them to resist the Cold War mentality and abandon on the concepts of Western hegemony, just as the messages of his Russian counterpart were more anti-Western; Where he accused the United States and its allies from the West of wanting to build a new global economic order, especially creating a global food crisis that affected developing countries and the poorest through their sanctions.

4. Increased reliance on Chinese capabilities: China plays a pioneering role in the field of industrial revolution, and competes with its American counterpart for leadership in this field. So you are working on exploiting this

The gathering in order to attract countries to benefit and cooperate jointly in areas including (fifth generation technologies, artificial intelligence, and smart manufacturing), as well as its aspiration to build industrial partnerships, and enhance capabilities in the areas of developing communications and information technologies, as well as presenting a series of technological projects to the “BRICS” countries. “Through the new National Development Bank, which aims to provide \$30 billion to the Community and other developing countries; In order to implement joint investment projects, especially in the field of the new industrial revolution³⁴.

The third topic: Attracting countries to join BRICS:

To begin with, there are many countries, from different continents of the world, now seeking to join the "BRICS", including Algeria, the United Arab Emirates, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Iran, Argentina and others, and each country has strengths and weaknesses, but it appears that the BRICS leaders are looking On strengthening the group regardless of the strategic strength of the new members in order to achieve a large conglomerate of economic polarity.

In fact, countries seeking to join BRICS aim to achieve a number of goals, including³⁵:

Obtaining financing and attracting investment opportunities: For example, Argentina, which is awaiting the announcement of its accession to the group during the August 2023 summit, is seeking more financing to stop the economic crisis it is suffering from. Perhaps the same thing that Egypt, Iran and Algeria are seeking to achieve. A number of countries, including Arab countries, expressed their desire to join BRICS; Desiring to find a new space that gives it investment opportunities, economic prospects and new partnerships, especially since among the structures of this bloc are the Reserve Fund and the New Development Bank, which allows financing infrastructure projects and establishing joint ventures away from the Western model that always sets conditions and reforms that serve the worldview and interests. western. In this context, “BRICS” began to present itself as an alternative to the current international financial and political entities, after it began as a symbol of the fastest growing economies around the world, and it seems that the matter may soon become a reality, after it surpassed the group’s total output over the G7 group. Among what BRICS offers as an alternative to international institutions, such as:

The World Bank and the Monetary Fund, the group established the “New Development Bank” with an initial capital of 50 billion dollars, with emergency cash reserves that support countries

working to pay off their debts, and experts consider that this step may increase the influence of “BRICS” globally, as countries resort to it. Which suffers from the policies of the international financial institutions, which became evident when countries, such as Egypt and Bangladesh, began to subscribe to the bank for billions of dollars.

In this context, the Egyptian Foreign Minister stressed, in his speech to the meeting, the importance of diversifying economic opportunities, trade partners and funding sources, and commitment to action and multilateral cooperation based on national sovereignty, mutual respect, common benefits, and solidarity. He also addressed the current development financing gap in the world, which requires engaging in discussions about reforming multilateral development institutions, in addition to establishing new financing mechanisms, noting that Egypt's accession to both the Development Bank of the BRICS grouping in 2021, and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank Infrastructure in 2016 demonstrates Egypt's support for the two banks' efforts to strengthen their presence in developing countries, especially in Africa, thus expanding the development financing options available for infrastructure on the continent.

Confronting global crises: Countries that seek to join the group are willing to confront international crises, represented by food, energy, debt and climate.

The era of major conglomerates: Most countries are now working to join major conglomerates in order to benefit from the advantages and facilities offered by such conglomerates. Here, a number of countries seeking to join the group face many problems and crises, whether food, security or political, so they seek to decipher those crises by joining the BRICS group. And that there is a change that this group crystallizes globally, as it gathers with the most dynamic emerging economies, and it presents itself as a decisive factor in the structure of global governance, and it has become the de facto voice of the (working south), which calls for an economic and political alternative to Western domination of the current system. Many observers view BRICS as a strongly emerging entity that can redraw economic maps in the world, especially with the expected expansion of the bloc in the next stage, and the inclusion of new countries that enjoy various advantages that increase the group's weight as an active card.

And influential in the international economy, despite the challenges it faces in the next stage. By 2050, the economies of these countries are expected to rival those of the richest countries in the world today, according to Goldman Sachs.

Balance and diversity in relations: In light of the slow transformation at the top of the international system and the resulting challenges and threats facing many countries, they seek to achieve balance and diversity in their foreign relations, in order to work and address those threats and risks that cross borders, especially with the decline of the American global role.

II)- Clumping Incentives:

There are multiple goals that may explain the motives of the five member states to strengthen joint frameworks of cooperation between them, especially in light of the repercussions imposed by the Ukrainian war on the world. The most prominent reasons explaining these escalating movements can be mentioned as follows:

Circumventing Western sanctions: Russian President Putin announced that his country is about to change the course of intra-regional trade and oil exports to BRICS countries and other emerging markets as a result of Western sanctions imposed on Russia, in an attempt to replace those markets with their Western counterparts, which was reflected in The noticeable increase in Russian oil exports to China and India during the past months, in reference to Moscow's efforts to circumvent Western sanctions.

Although some may see that this cooperation may come in light of an eastern alliance between the three countries, in addition to North Korea, it cannot be overlooked that this may be in the interest of the grouping. It proves its effectiveness as an alternative system offered by Russia in partnership with the rest of the member states, especially since Russia is also working on developing alternative mechanisms for international financial settlements, in partnership with its BRICS partners, such as expanding the scope of the Russian payment system MIR, and examining the possibility of creating an international reserve currency on Basis of the pool's basket of currencies.

Confronting the food crisis:

Concerns about threats to global food security prompted BRICS members to exchange strategic crops that each country enjoys great abundance in producing, the most important of which is cereals; Such exchange could later include the export of agricultural products

to other emerging markets wishing to join the bloc; This represents an additional attractive source for other countries that encourages them to join the assembly, or to intensify cooperation with it as a minimum.

Moscow's international support: in reference to the possibility of the assembly forming a defensive wall for Moscow against world public opinion; The statement of the last summit held last June was limited to expressing the group's concern about the humanitarian situation in Ukraine, as well as its support for all humanitarian assistance to Ukraine, including the contributions of the International Committee of the Red Cross and United Nations agencies, but at the same time it also expressed the concern of countries The gathering regarding the dangerous impact of unilateral sanctions on the Russian ally, due to their negative impact on the recovery of the global economy, the stability of industrial and supply chains, and securing energy supplies and achieving food security.

Asserting the bloc's place in the international system: The BRICS countries have expressed, on more than one occasion, their frustration with their lack of tools to influence Western-dominated international institutions; Brazil, India and South Africa are currently seeking to raise their status in the international system by lobbying for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council, but so far without success. In addition, BRICS members want to be seen as a safe haven for developing countries to overcome the negative economic effects of the Ukrainian crisis, relying on their collective demographic and economic influence, and their ability to help middle-income and poor countries adopt a balance policy to deal with these effects.

III)- Possible challenges

The success of the BRICS role in building a new global economic order, in which Western

countries and their various institutions do not dominate economic policies, depends on overcoming several major challenges, the most prominent of which are:

Non-uniform foreign policy: Beijing and Moscow may agree to take a tougher stance against the West, but New Delhi is unwilling to criticize the West openly; Where it is proud of its strategic independence and non-alignment policy; For example, Moscow and Beijing criticized the "Ocos" and "Quartet" alliances as an extension of NATO in Asia, but this did not prevent New Delhi from pledging to support the two groups' initiatives in the Indian and Pacific oceans, unless their interests conflict with those of the two groups.

Its goals are in the region, especially since it is a member of the Quartet, and therefore it is difficult for the BRICS goals to succeed, in light of the contradictory views among its members on many global issues, especially those related to the influence of Russia and China.

The adverse effect of internal conflicts: The BRICS countries are facing internal conflicts and disputes among themselves, including the plan to expand the membership of the bloc; As New Delhi may hinder Beijing's efforts to include new members in the assembly, as a result of its unwillingness to see more members in a group in which China plays a dominant role; Because it fears more Chinese influence on the global level, and the success of this bloc will depend on the extent to which the two countries are able to manage their differences over this issue and other issues, including their ongoing border disputes. This is commensurate with their common interests, and similar to their partnership within the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, as well as their cooperation during the United Nations Climate Conference Summit (COP26) to respond to the acceptance of difficult targets for reducing emissions.

The ability of emerging markets to join the bloc: Although some expect that the bloc will witness more momentum in light of the real desire of several countries to join it, the success of this depends on two things. The first is the degree of American pressure on those countries to force them not to join a grouping that is not allied with Western economic systems, especially since the countries wishing to join are still in great need of the assistance of Western economic institutions. The second is the degree of consistency of the political and economic positions of the member states, especially Turkey, which enjoys membership in NATO; Which may increase the complications about the extent of the convergence of views between them.

The dilemma of agreeing to remove the dollar: Russia and China are leading an initiative to de-dollarization within the "BRICS" countries, and India, Brazil and South Africa have supported this initiative. The success of the performance of this bloc will depend on its ability to reduce dependence on the dollar in its international exchanges, at least between them, especially since the countries of the bloc, with the exception of Russia, still enjoy close economic relations with Western countries, and therefore it will be difficult for them to abandon the idea of It is completely about using the dollar and relying on the "BRICS" basket of currencies only. What will complicate matters more is the possibility of other countries joining the organization, and the extent of their ability to abandon the dollar and replace it with other currencies.

Conclusion:

The most important findings of the study:

- The BRICS countries are considered an economic power, and a global bloc in which five rapidly growing economic powers from four continents of the world meet, which were able to form its various economic, political and cultural references, to form a significant international force,
- The BRICS countries tend to have political weight in all international bodies, and stand with their available capabilities against the unipolar idea of controlling international issues,
- The BRICS group frames a new international order, based on the multipolar system, and in any case, the BRICS train has started and proceeded towards achieving the goals of the group of BRICS member states, which have prepared themselves to accept challenges with their keenness to work in accordance with the principle of complementarity with international institutions.
- The success of the role of the BRICS bloc in building a new global economic order, in which Western countries, with their various institutions, do not dominate economic policies, depends on overcoming several major challenges that the bloc suffers from.
- The bloc succeeded in forming an alliance that acted as a wall blocking Russia, enabling it to avoid the repercussions of Western sanctions and minimize their effects.

Among the most important recommendations proposed are the following:

The BRICS countries should give up a sixth of their reserves to establish a fund the size of international financial institutions, similar to the International Monetary Fund.

- The BRICS bloc countries must overcome strategic conflicts, similar to what is happening between India and China, which in turn leads to a crack in the bloc from within.
- The bloc's endeavor to include and mobilize a large number of developing countries may lead to the bloc's liquefaction, the loss of its international strategic weight, and it finds itself confronting economies between medium and deteriorating.

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