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Национальные интересы БРИКС+ в формирующемся многополярном мире

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Аннотация. В представленной статье системный подход позволил проанализировать объединение «БРИКС+» как систему взаимоотношений между странами-участницами, которые занимают ведущее место в своих регионах, и активно поддерживают инициативы усиления региональной интеграции. Благодаря сравнительно-политологическому анализу удалось определить место и роль государств-участников БРИКС в мировой политике, проанализировать их потенциал, представления и позиции по международным вопросам, рассмотреть многосторонние отношения в контексте исторической эволюции внешней политики этих государств, их экономический потенциал, имеющий все шансы перерасти в политическое влияние, что позволит более активно формировать новый многополярный миропорядок.

Ключевые слова: страны БРИКС+, многополярный миропорядок, экономический потенциал, интеграция

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Research article

BRICS+ national interests in the emerging multipolar world

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Abstract. In the presented article, a systematic approach made it possible to analyze the BRICS+ association as a system of relations between the participating countries, which occupy a leading place in their regions and actively support initiatives to strengthen regional integration. Thanks to comparative political analysis, it was possible to determine the place and role of the BRICS member states in world politics, analyze their potential, views and positions on international issues, consider multilateral relations in the context of the historical evolution of the foreign policy of these states, their economic potential, which has every chance of developing into political influence, which will allow more actively forming a new multipolar the world order.

Keywords: BRICS+ countries, multipolar world order, economic potential, integration

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Introduction. The end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century saw a systemic change in international relations and the political world structure. This was largely due to the growing role

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of emerging powers (e.g., the BRICS countries) in world affairs. The rapid economic development of states with alternative development strategies, in particular, the countries that created BRICS, served as an impetus for understanding the new process of establishing a multipolar world order. In political science, polarity issues began to be discussed more frequently based on the fact that they began to occupy an important place in the modern agenda of international relations.

The similarity of national interests led to the creation of an intercontinental union of equal states. It is not for nothing that many politicians of the participating countries wrote about this, and

as Russian President V. V. Putin has repeatedly emphasized, no one is driving anyone into the community, everything is happening naturally, because "all participants in this process feel an objective need for cooperation, especially regarding the creation of more democratic principles for building the world economy." Participation in BRICS is becoming, on the one hand, a sign of the quality of national sovereignty - only those who act in their own national interests and do not accept illegal sanctions against anyone at someone else's behest get here, and on the other hand - a pass to a new world order that will be formed precisely in the context of a dialogue of truly independent and self-sufficient sovereign participants in international relations.

Materials and research methods. The leaders of the BRICS member countries have repeatedly stated their commitment to the formation of a multipolar world. This thesis is often mentioned in various official documents of the member states of the group, as well as in the reports of the BRICS summits. For example, in paragraph 6 of the Brazil Declaration of the eleventh BRICS summit, which took place on November 14, 2019, the BRICS leaders reaffirmed their commitment to the formation of a more honest, fair, equal and representative multipolar world order³. An analysis of the positions of great thinkers such as J. Locke, Immanuel Kant and others allows us to confirm that issues of international relations should be resolved from the standpoint of maintaining international peace and protecting the interests and rights of peoples. For example, J. Locke notes that it is the interests of the people as the supreme sovereign that should be at the center of relations between peoples. At the same time, these interests should be based on compliance with the principle of equality.⁴ The unconditional fact that the leading role in international organizations should be played by member states, and the organizations themselves should take into account the interests of all participants. It is national interests that are objectively significant goals and objectives of a national state as a holistic sovereign entity. When discussing the international agenda, the BRICS countries often refer to the norms of international law. For the BRICS member states, it is international law that should serve as a guideline for the actions of each participant in international relations. This position of the BRICS countries is reflected in the official documents of the Association.

The BRICS strategy is not to be friends against anyone or to confront anyone, but to form and develop its own agenda. At the same time, interest in participating in BRICS+ is logical both given the independent agenda promoted by the group at various levels and in the context of various crises that stimulate the desire of many countries, if not for an alternative and sometimes purely anti-Western solidarity, then at least for the diversification of foreign policy aspirations. Given the consensus approach to the decision-making process in BRICS+, the issue of "purity" from outside interference will likely become a significant element of the subjectivity of the future world order. In these conditions, more and more countries will at least strive to distance themselves as much as possible from the public influence of Western countries and the United States.

³ Declaration of Brasilia of the Eleventh BRICS Summit. <https://initiative.leader-ea.su/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/%D0%94%D0%B5%D0%BA%D0%BB%D0%B0%D1%80%D0%B0%D1%86%D0%B8%D1%8F-%D0%91%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B7%D0%B8%D0%BB%D0%B8%D0%B0.pdf>

⁴ John Locke, *Philosophie des relations internationales*. 2e edition revue et augmentée, sous la direction de Ramel Frédéric. Presses de Sciences Po, 2011, p. 176-185.

The BRICS+ organization is beginning to take its place in the world and influence the world order, transforming it in its interests. The role of the BRICS association in the modern world will undoubtedly increase, or rather, has already increased. However, it seems that today it is too early to talk about a serious change in the world order. Still, at the present time, the countries of the collective Western world are quite strong and their economies as a whole are leading. BRICS+ will have to balance between economics and politics - this is natural. At the same time, political risks in a multilateral format still arise when there is dominance or even hegemony of some player - this is not the case in BRICS, so there are all the prerequisites for further progressive development of the association.

Research results and their discussion. The main goal of the BRICS+ association at present is to ensure the independence of the member countries from global financial institutions, as well as the gradual development of BRICS and its transformation into a full-scale mechanism for current and long-term coordination on a wide range of major issues in world politics and economics. This intergovernmental organization is a platform for dialogue and cooperation in a multipolar world.

The BRICS organization is attractive because it offers an alternative to the Western-centric order and because it is built on principles different from those of today's West - equality, multilateralism, aspiration for inclusion of new members, a bid to consolidate non-Western centers of power ("Global South", "Global Majority"). There are contradictions between the BRICS countries, which will apparently have to be taken into account when deepening cooperation - first of all, these are relations between China and India, Saudi Arabia and Iran. The collective West will certainly try to exploit these and other rifts, as it did during Narendra Modi's visit to the United States. The West is still strong and attractive as a model, primarily for the elites. Only a deep crisis in the United States and the European Union can shake this power, but the prospects for the development of such a situation are unclear and could become a blow to the entire world system.

At the same time, the very fact of new states joining BRICS speaks of the growing popularity of the association and the potential for its influence on changing the world order. The expansion of BRICS is a kind of reflection of the position of countries (currently included in it, those that joined the association on January 1, 2024, and those that could potentially join in the future) to the existing world order in general and the existing financial system in particular.

The tasks of developing a common policy line for the BRICS countries and filling the agenda in the BRICS+ format will most likely be among the central ones during Russia's chairmanship of the organization, which began on January 1, 2024. In the coming years, one of the key lines in Russian foreign policy, which has extremely important practical significance, will be the construction of a new financial architecture of the world. BRICS will be one of the important tools for solving this problem. De-dollarization in mutual settlements between the BRICS countries and with those countries that share a similar vision, the transition to settlements in national currencies and even the introduction of a common (non-cash) currency will be actively promoted by Russia in the context of sanctions against it (as well as against Iran and increased sanctions pressure on China). Russia will strive to develop a solidarity position of the BRICS+ countries in such institutions as the IMF and the World Bank, which it views as instruments for implementing a neoliberal version of globalization. The goal is to transform these global financial institutions in favor of non-Western countries. Of course, Russia will promote the idea of reforming the global governance system. BRICS will be used here as a tool to promote the idea of building a world order based on genuine multipolarity and the principles of the UN Charter, as opposed to "agenda-pushing" and a Western-centric "rules-based order." Relations within BRICS, which are built on the principles of multilateralism and mutual respect for interests, will be presented as an alternative to the political, economic and moral decline in America and Europe.

BRICS+ acts as a new forum dealing with global issues and influencing the rules of the game. BRICS+ member countries seek to revise the system of economic integration and

international trade, without raising the question of their destruction. They advocate for a certain control of the economy based on liberal principles. The theory of functionalism allows us to evaluate interstate cooperation within the BRICS through the prism of the creation of specialized institutions. An example of this approach is the BRICS New Development Bank (NDB), which was created in 2015.⁵ It was the creation of the NDB that became a special phenomenon in the global financial and economic system. The emergence of the New Development Bank demonstrated the high potential for cooperation among the BRICS states. In this context, the agreement to create the bank provided for a number of agreements: the leadership was divided between the members of the group. China "received" the headquarters, India - the first president, Russia - the chairman of the Board of Governors, Brazil - the chairman of the Board of Directors, and South Africa - a branch. The creation of the NDB became a key moment in the institutionalization of the BRICS group, which, through the bank, increases the financing of various infrastructure projects in the regions of the member countries. The NDB is built on the logic that increased infrastructure investment can catalyze more sustainable and inclusive economic development, which in turn can lead to poverty reduction.

However, the existence of common monetary and financial goals does not lead to an unconditional conjugation of national interests and geopolitical strategies of the BRICS member countries, which for the most part are at different levels and do not intersect. The BRICS+ countries have their own geopolitical interests, which today have not been reduced to a single idea and a single perception of reality. The states also have different views on the development of the association. For Russia, the expansion of BRICS, the possible directions of the organization's development and its role in the modern world order are undoubtedly important. Even if indirectly, this speaks of the significance of the association, in which the Russian Federation plays one of the fundamental roles. As a new force, BRICS should take its place in the modern world order. More importantly, the interests of the participants, located on different continents and mostly not having common land borders and developed land communications, are quite multidirectional. Synchronization of interests and development of a joint political course will be among the key tasks of the Russian chairmanship of BRICS in 2024.

Conclusion. The anti-Western trend is expressed differently in the ideological attitudes and practical policies of the BRICS countries. A tough confrontation with the West, acceptable to the elites of Russia and Iran, is unlikely to suit the ruling groups of Saudi Arabia, the UAE and, most importantly, the leaders of the key BRICS economy - the People's Republic of China.

The BRICS countries intend to seek reform of the global decision-making structure. The countries of the Association, located on three continents, exert significant influence both in their regions and in the world. BRICS unites the most dynamically developing countries of the planet. In terms of the balance of power, it is important to note that three of these states (Russia, China, India) possess nuclear weapons. Another advantage is the permanent membership of Russia and China in the UN Security Council. The key goal of BRICS is to facilitate the transition from a unipolar to a multipolar model of the world order. To achieve this goal, the countries of the group intend to increase their authority at the regional and global levels. As a political and moral force, BRICS+ is primarily aimed at implementing the necessary changes to improve relations in the world arena. For BRICS members, the world must become representative.

On foreign policy issues, the BRICS countries advocate for strengthening the global system, in which various actors in the international arena can play a certain role in solving global problems. Based on this, the ideological component of BRICS activities can be attributed to the ideas of the neoliberal school of international relations. BRICS has yet to become a significant actor in modern international relations⁶. Despite the expansion of the organization, its structure

⁵ The idea of establishing a BRICS Development Bank was first put forward by Indian Prime Minister M. Singh at the BRICS Summit in Delhi in 2012. The eThekweni Declaration of 2013 noted the solidarity of all BRICS member countries on the importance of establishing the Bank.

⁶ Kosachev K. The final declaration of the BRICS Summit is a kind of manifesto of the non-Western world. 2023 <https://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/comments/itogovaya-deklaratsiya-sammita-briks-svoego-roda-manifest-nezapadnogo-mira/>

seems insufficiently clear and developed. But at the same time BRICS+ will be able to play a decisive role in strengthening the influence of developing countries on the changing global political, economic and financial architecture, as stated by the head of the South African Foreign Ministry. - Because it is called upon to become more fair and balanced. As for international relations, at the moment, specific steps are being taken towards the development of economic bilateral and multilateral cooperation between the participating countries. Many factors illustrate the prospects for developing cooperation within BRICS. Among them are the factor of economic growth, the factor of mutually beneficial cooperation in various spheres of the economy, the factor of healthcare and cultural development, and, of course, the ideological factor. As a new force, BRICS should take its place in the world and influence the world order, transforming it in its interests, but this is a matter for the future. For now, we are talking about the economy, medicine, space.

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