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"Essentially, the subject is always between 2 points"

Weekly Political and Geopolitical Developments

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GLOBAL SOUTH, BRICS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE GLOBAL ORDER: A STRATEGIC ANALYSIS



Entrance

The 17th BRICS Leaders' Summit, **held in Rio de Janeiro in July 2025**, was convened with the theme of **"Strengthening Global Southern Cooperation for a More Inclusive and Sustainable Governance"**. The summit, which was held under the term presidency of Brazil, demonstrated the ability of **10 countries from 3 continents** and many different civilizations to make and implement joint decisions in harmony. The **31-page, 126-article Rio de Janeiro Declaration issued at the end of the summit** contains comprehensive resolutions highlighting the growing role of the Global South and the need for global governance reform in a multipolar world. BRICS members and partners; **reform of global governance, vision of a fairer and more multipolar international order, promotion of trade in local currencies, peaceful resolution of regional and global conflicts, fair financing in the fight against climate change, development of alternative payment systems and artificial intelligence governance**. He pledged to deepen cooperation on critical issues such as.

This summit coincided with a period that contrasted with the current policy preferences of the United States. U.S. President Donald Trump's administration continues its long-standing trade war with China and is preparing to impose high tariffs against the European Union starting August 1, 2025. As a matter of fact, Trump reacted harshly to the moves of the Global South countries to undermine the dominance of the dollar, threatening to impose 100% tariffs on the countries of the BRICS group if they create a new common currency or attempt to disable the dollar. The Trump administration's unilateral push for the global trade order with its "America First" approach has weakened multilateral cooperation mechanisms and become a factor that increases the motivation of the Global South to act collectively. In this report, in line with the outputs produced by the BRICS mechanism to date and the recent Rio Summit decisions, **the place of the Global South in the changing balances and its role in the global power transition process** are comprehensively analyzed. In the analysis, focusing on the interests of BRICS, **the potential of BRICS to be an alternative pole to US hegemony under the leadership of China, common currency discussions, the search for global governance reform, and the possibility of filling power vacuums** by BRICS were evaluated.

The Enlargement of BRICS and the Rise of Global South Cooperation

Since its inception, the BRICS platform (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) has been one of the main mechanisms aimed at making the voice of developing countries heard in the global arena. Recently, BRICS has sought to **expand the representation power of the Global South by increasing the number of its members**. BRICS, which increased the number of members to 9 with the participation of Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran and the United Arab Emirates in 2024, reached 10 members in 2025 with the inclusion of Indonesia. In addition, 10 countries such as Belarus, Bolivia, Kazakhstan, Cuba, Nigeria, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam, Uganda and Uzbekistan have been defined as "BRICS partner countries" and included in the cooperation network. These enlargement moves **are an important step towards BRICS evolving into a true Global South alliance encompassing Asia, Africa and Latin**

America. As a matter of fact, at the Rio Summit hosted by Brazil, Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, while emphasizing BRICS' effort to find a collective solution to the world's problems, summarized the **situation with the words** "While the former leaders of the global system are retreating, the strongest political alliance of the Global South is coming together to find solutions to world problems together."

The expanding BRICS now **represents approximately 40% of the world's population and 40% of the global economy**. The total economic power of the BRICS countries surpasses traditional Northern alliances such as the G7 in some indicators. For example, the 11 BRICS member countries (on a PPP basis) produce more than 35% of global GDP and provide 30% of world oil production. These figures show that BRICS **has become a significant** geoeconomic power on paper. According to a report by **the Boston Consulting Group (BCG)**, the Western-led order is showing signs of unraveling, while the countries of the Global South are rising to chart their own economic and diplomatic paths in the multipolar world. These countries are seen as the main engines of future economic growth thanks to their young populations, growing domestic markets, and rich natural resources. By 2029, it is predicted that India will rise to 3rd, Brazil to 8th and Indonesia to 16th place in the ranking of the world's largest economies. Therefore, **while the economic weight of the Global South is inexorably increasing**, this rise **also leads to the reshaping** of the global balance of power.

BRICS' 2025 Rio Summit is critical in terms of demonstrating that Global South solidarity can produce concrete results. Many initiatives and principles in the summit declaration have revealed how effective global governance can be when developing countries are united around their common interests. The fact that BRICS countries can meet on common denominators despite coming from different continents, different cultures and civilizations **points to a potential for harmony that draws its strength from diversity**. **Russia's ambassador to BRICS said, "Contrary to what some people think, BRICS is not being established against anyone; on the contrary, it works for the sustainable development of its members and the reform of global governance institutions."** The motto of **"Strengthening Global South Cooperation"**, which Brazil has determined as the summit theme, reflects the **determination of developing countries to act together and make their voices heard in the face of both historical colonialism/north-south inequalities and current geopolitical tensions**.



The Need for Reform in Global Governance and the Vision of a Multipolar World

One of the most prominent emphases of the BRICS Rio Declaration is the call for **the elimination of the injustices of the current international system and the establishment of a multipolar, inclusive world order**. The leaders stated **that the United Nations (UN)-centered multilateral order reflects the distribution of power 80 years ago**, whereas the countries of the Global South, which constitute the vast majority of the world's population and economy, are underrepresented. As a matter of fact, Indonesia's Permanent Representative to the UN said, **"The Global South currently represents 85% of the world's population and 39% of global GDP; However, multilateral institutions do not reflect this reality,"** he said, adding that it is time to update the system. The BRICS countries have openly declared their support for comprehensive reforms to make the UN and its affiliated

institutions more **democratic, representative and effective**. The declaration emphasized the need to expand the UN Security Council and increase the representation of developing countries in the council; In this context, reference was made to the demands (Ezulwini Agreement) that African countries have been expressing for a long time. China and Russia, which are currently permanent members of the Council, have expressed **support for India and Brazil to play a greater role in the UN Security Council**. This is important in terms of showing that the two great powers within the BRICS approve of the other members' aspirations to rise in global governance.

The reform vision of BRICS is not limited to the UN. It has been stated that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, known as Bretton Woods institutions, should also be transformed to adapt to today's realities. Developing countries want to gain a say in the global financial architecture and **end the historical privileges of these institutions that operate in favor of Western countries**. For example, the issues underlined in the summit text are that quotas and vote distribution should be fair in the IMF, and that the World Bank and IMF presidential election processes should be transparent and in a way that all members compete with equal opportunities. BRICS leaders called for **"reforming institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank to reflect the transformation that has taken place in the world economy since their inception, and to have a voice commensurate with the weight of emerging economies."** In this context, 16 in the IMF. The Quota Review was disappointing, 17. In the Review, it was emphasized that a serious regulation should be made to increase the share of developing countries. Again, referring to the fact that the presidencies of the World Bank and the IMF have been left to the monopoly of the USA and Europe for years, it has been stated that **no country or group of countries should establish a monopolistic dominance in the senior positions of international institutions, including the UN secretariat**, and that appointments based on merit and geographical representation are important. These demands underscore the Global South's **desire to rise to the position of "the rule-maker, not the rule-maker."**

The vision of a multipolar order is at the heart of the BRICS discourse. According to this vision, **instead of a hegemonic order dictated by a single superpower, a system of equilibrium in which different power centers are in harmony and competition** is envisaged. The BRICS countries position themselves as *the "stabilizing elements" of this balance system*. Brazilian diplomats state that the Trump administration's "America First" policies and the tendency to withdraw from the alliances of the United States have opened a window of opportunity for the old superpower hegemony to be replaced by a more egalitarian, multilateral system. In other words, the partial withdrawal of the United States from the global stage or the resignation of international cooperation to the background may allow the Global South to fill the void. As a matter of fact, Brazilian officials who spoke to the Guardian newspaper stated that Trump's inward-looking policies *made it possible to "a more just and multipolar global governance system to replace the outdated superpower dominance"*. At this point, the BRICS alliance **is seen as** one of the architects of the new world order.

Leaders within the BRICS also draw attention to the ruptures in the world order. In his opening speech of the summit, President Lula da Silva emphasized that the multilateral system established after World War II has experienced a serious **"collapse of multilateralism"** at this point, and that even the gains made in areas such as combating climate change and free trade are under threat. Lula stated that rich countries have recently avoided their global responsibilities by "retreating to their own bunkers", while BRICS intends to **"revive and reinvent the collective approach to the world's problems"**. BRICS has harshly criticized developed countries for stepping back from their commitments, especially on climate change and trade, and for not keeping their promises on financing and cooperation. These criticisms were also reflected in the summit outcome documents, as will be discussed in detail below.

In summary, the BRICS countries, and the Global South in general, put forward a strong demand for a correction, if not a challenge to the current functioning of the international system. This demand is for **more inclusive representation, fairer rules and cooperation based on the principles of shared sovereignty**. Some analysts argue that the expansion of BRICS and the increase in its sphere of influence **means the "dawn of the post-Western world order"** and that the "global majority" is finally gaining strength. From this point of view, the Global South, which houses most of the world's population and production, will now be the rule-maker in the system where it has been marginal for a long time. However, according to another view, the diversity within the BRICS and the different priorities of its members will make it difficult for this group to act as a strict anti-Western bloc. As a matter of fact, with the new members, the BRICS has become more heterogeneous, and many of the members do not want to be completely cut off from the West, nor do they want a world of rigid alliances. For some of these countries, BRICS is a useful platform for reformist goals, but it is **seen as a multifaceted balancing act rather than burning bridges with the West**. Therefore, the role of BRICS in the global order **will be shaped depending on** the motivations of its members **and** the attitude of global powers.



Trade in Local Currencies and "Common Currency" Debates

In the economic dimension of the BRICS agenda, **reducing dependence on the dollar-centered financial system** has an important place. In particular, the unilateral sanctions imposed by the USA and the use of financial instruments **as an element of political pressure** have pushed the BRICS members to look for alternative ways. At the summit, a determined stance was taken to **increase the use of national currencies** in trade between member countries. Russian Ambassador to Brazil Denis Alipov described BRICS as "a serious platform for seeking joint solutions to major challenges," stressing that **trade in national currencies between member countries has already begun and is yielding tangible results**. Indian Foreign Ministry official and BRICS Sherpa Dammu Ravi said that the idea of **creating a common BRICS currency** is at a "very early stage" and that priority is now given to **"settling trade only in national currencies"**. Ravi drew attention to the difficulty of harmonizing the monetary and fiscal policies of different countries and stated **that the common monetary target is long-term and unrealistic in the short term**. Brazil's ambassador Kenneth da Nóbrega similarly stressed the **importance of focusing on what is feasible for now, saying that "common currency is a long way off, but trade in local currencies is already working."**

Over the past decade, the BRICS countries have been taking various steps to reduce dependence on the dollar in trade. For example, China and Russia have partially switched to the use of Yuan and Ruble in energy trade; India has experimented with mechanisms for carrying out oil purchases from Russia in rupees; Agreements were made between Brazil and China for the exchange of Yuan Real. These initiatives **can be considered as part of the search for a "global post-dollar system"**. However, experts point out that there are **significant political and economic obstacles to such a transformation**. Factors such as confidence in currencies, the depth of financial markets and stability cause the dollar to still maintain its indispensable position. As a matter of fact, before the Rio Summit, it was seen that US President Trump was clearly uncomfortable with the BRICS countries taking steps to challenge the dominance of the dollar. Trump warned against BRICS making plans to "deactivate the dollar"; He even took a threatening stance, saying that these countries **"will pay a heavy price if they attempt to replace the US dollar with another currency"**. In his own words, **"BRICS has no chance to replace the US dollar in international trade, if anyone tries, say goodbye to America"**, his words show the perceived danger of Washington's hegemony to the dollar.

Ironically, Trump's rhetoric has further inflamed the **de-dollarization agenda within the BRICS**. Developing countries have become more willing than ever to create alternative financial channels, as they have experienced the fact that the US can use the dollar as a weapon. Carnegie Endowment experts have determined that one of the common denominators in the orientation of different countries towards BRICS is **"the need to manage the consequences of American financial domination"**. It is stated that even some countries with relatively positive relations with the United States see BRICS as **"an opportunity to achieve greater economic integration in an environment where the Western-centered financial system is fragmenting and to gain power that they could not obtain in traditional institutions."** In summary, **although there is a challenge to the dominant role of the dollar**

within the framework of BRICS, **this should be understood more as an effort to distribute risks and expand its sphere of sovereignty**. As a matter of fact, Yaroslav Lissovolik, one of the experts of Russia's BRICS National Research Committee, commented that "it is *technically possible but takes time*" for attempts to establish an alternative system to the dollar, and pointed out that it has become difficult to achieve consensus with the expanding membership. Indeed, **intra-BRICS heterogeneity** causes caution in radical steps such as the common currency.

It is understood from the careful tone in the final declaration that the leaders at the Rio Summit observed this balance. While evaluating the summit, the Guardian newspaper **reported that although the declaration contained harsh statements on issues such as military issues and tariff threats, it adopted a soothing tone about the global role of the dollar**. According to analyst Oliver Stuenkel, Brazil has been careful to **"keep the BRICS declaration as low a profile as possible"** in order not to provoke Trump further and not to expand the front before the COP30 summit he will host in November 2025. Therefore, **the fact that there is no direct statement of challenge to the importance of the dollar in the** official document reflects the prudence of BRICS. On the other hand, in the diplomatic meetings held before the summit, practical steps to facilitate the use of local currencies in trade were discussed. For example, issues such as the establishment of a **digital payment network** between the central banks of the BRICS countries and the acceleration of swaps in national currencies have come to the fore.

At the 16th BRICS Summit held in Kazan in October 2024, Russia **strongly voiced its proposal for the establishment of a new international payment system**. According to this proposal, under the supervision of the central banks of the BRICS countries, a network will be created that will establish direct links between commercial banks; Using blockchain technology, digital tokens based on each country's own currency would be produced, allowing secure payments to be made without using dollars. The document prepared by the Russian Ministry of Finance states that this system **will be "a secure payment platform, immune to Western sanctions."** In this way, it was aimed to frustrate the trump card of the USA to cut off financial flows through the SWIFT system or to prevent dollar transactions. Putin also said that the BRICS countries should develop **an alternative mechanism to the IMF** and emphasized independence from traditional financial institutions. As a matter of fact, Russia **took the first step on this path with the Contingent Reserve Arrangement (CRA) established by BRICS in 2014** with a reserve of \$100 billion, and started to offer alternative credit facilities to the World Bank with the **New Development Bank (NDB)** established in 2015. In the Rio Declaration, it was stated that the role of the NDB in the development of developing countries as a **"solid and strategic development instrument of the global south"** is increasing, and the financing of the bank in local currency and the expansion of the number of its members were supported. Especially under the leadership of NDB President Dilma Rousseff, the bank is encouraged to admit more countries and expand its project portfolio. The NDB already has members such as Brazil, Russia, India, China, Bangladesh, Egypt, UAE as well as South Africa, and it has the potential to become a permanent element of the global financial architecture in a short time.

Another concrete initiative on alternative payment systems is the effort to integrate the national payment infrastructures of the BRICS countries. For example, working groups have been established to increase the interaction of China's CIPS (Cross-Border Interbank Payment System) and Russia's SPFS systems with digital payment platforms such as India's UPI (Unified Payments Interface) and Brazil's PIX system. In the Rio Declaration, it is stated that technical studies are continuing for the **payment systems of BRICS member countries to become more interoperable**, and that the "BRICS Inter-Country Payments Task Force" has made progress on **low-cost, fast and secure money transfer** solutions. The aim is to be able to build digital bridges directly between national currencies without the need for dollars or euros in international transactions. In addition, the digital payment project called **"BRICS Pay"**, which was brought to the agenda by Russia, is also evaluated in this context. *BRICS Pay* is an initiative that allows citizens and companies of member countries to pay with their own money through a global network, just like Visa/MasterCard. Some member states have already started to accept national payment card systems (such as Russia's Mir, China's UnionPay, India's RuPay) through bilateral agreements. These steps are **part of a strategy** to increase financial sovereignty and reduce dependence on Western-based payment infrastructure.

Of course, BRICS members have to carefully manage these transformations in the financial field. Because the dominance of the dollar in the international system has not only occurred as a result of the pressure of the USA; The confidence of the markets, liquidity and stability also strengthen the dollar's position. Some of the BRICS countries are well aware that the abrupt substitution of the dollar could also be jarring for their own economies. As a matter of fact, countries such as South Africa or Brazil observe the costs of breaking away from the dollar system, as they have intense trade relations with the US and the EU. For this reason, the Rio Summit Declaration, on the one hand, **supported "the effort of emerging economies to expand the international use of their currencies"**, on the other

hand, it also referred **to the importance of global financial stability**. Although the dollar is not explicitly targeted in the conclusion text, it **is emphasized that "joint efforts to make the global financial system fair, sound and sustainable"** and indirectly criticize the current unilateral practices.

In summary, **the monetary and financial agenda of the BRICS** is aimed at **building the economic pillars of a gradual global power shift**. This proceeds with a **risk reduction and option creation approach** rather than a **confrontational approach**. By increasing **multilateralism and diversification in trade and investments**, **BRICS countries aim to create a "financial ecosystem" that can be an alternative to the unipolar financial order**. In this ecosystem, elements such as new development banks, trade in local currency, integration of national payment systems, and the use of digital currency technologies when necessary are evaluated together. The decisions taken at the last summit show that the steps taken in this direction will continue and that **the Global South's strategy to become more self-sufficient in the financial field** continues with determination.



BRICS Attitude in the Face of Regional and Global Conflicts

Another important outcome of the BRICS summit was the **effort to develop a common position on global and regional security issues**. In the section of the Summit Declaration titled "Promoting Peace, Security and International Stability", concern was expressed about the ongoing conflicts in many parts of the world. BRICS leaders expressed concern about **the growing trend of polarization and fragmentation of the international order**, stressing that the critical increase in global military spending has negatively affected development financing, which should be allocated to developing countries. This statement can be read as a criticism of the resources that the Western world has recently allocated to armaments, such as NATO countries' plans to increase their defense budgets from 2% to 5%. The BRICS countries have declared that they adopt **a multilateral approach to diplomacy and dialogue instead of unilateral military solutions** to international security issues. The declaration called for the international community to use political-diplomatic instruments to respond to global security challenges, and to focus on preventive efforts by addressing the root causes of conflicts. In particular, **the peaceful resolution of disputes and the promotion of negotiation and mediation methods were** recorded as the common principle of BRICS. In this context, they declared that they support regional organizations (such as the African Union) to take an active role in the resolution of conflicts and that they are open to any mediation initiative that will act in line with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter.

The Summit Declaration touched upon some important points regarding concrete conflict areas. Among them, the most notable are:

- **Ukraine Crisis:** Although the BRICS countries have had difficulty in determining a univocal stance on the war in Ukraine, the declaration **gözettilerbrics.br a balance by stating that "We remind our national positions on the conflict in Ukraine, as expressed in the UN Security Council and the General Assembly."** This is diplomatic language that shows respect for the different positions in the group (Russia's position as a party and India, Brazil, South Africa's emphasis on neutrality and diplomacy). However, in the continuation of the text, it was stated that **BRICS welcomes all serious initiatives aimed at resolving the crisis through dialogue**, for example, it appreciates proposals such as mediation proposals of African countries. In other words, **although BRICS does not come together around a common vision of peace on Ukraine, it is united in its call for de-escalation and the search for ways of negotiation**.
- **Middle East and Iran:** The declaration devotes special attention to tensions in the Middle East. In particular, **military threats and attacks against Iran** were condemned. As a matter of fact, after some point operations allegedly carried out by the US or Israel against Iran in June 2025, BRICS openly **condemned the "military strikes carried out against the Islamic Republic of Iran since June 13, 2025"**, calling them a violation of

international law and the UN Charter. Brazilian President Lula da Silva also harshly criticized this in his summit speech, saying that **"the United States has launched missile attacks on Iran, a member of the BRICS,"** and in the same speech he also condemned **"Israel's genocide in Gaza."** Lula also criticized NATO's decision to increase defense spending and the war investment of the great powers in general because it takes precedence over peace investments. In the declaration, it was stated that peace and stability in the Middle East would only be possible if all relevant parties comply with international law and a just solution to the Palestinian problem. **On the Palestinian issue,** he emphasized the need for **the establishment of an independent, sovereign and viable Palestinian State with East Jerusalem as its capital on the basis of the BRICS 1967 borders,** and stated that unilateral steps and violence against civilians are unacceptable. It was stated that they were deeply concerned about the humanitarian situation in Gaza, **that the attempts to discipline civilians with hunger (blockade conditions) were inhumane,** and that humanitarian aid should not be hindered.

- **Africa and Other Regions:** The BRICS declaration **also referred to the conflicts in Africa and Latin America,** showing that these are priorities. In particular, it was pointed out that the African Union's peacekeeping efforts will be supported, and crises in Africa and the Middle East (for example, coups and civil wars in Sudan or the Sahel region, or problems in the Middle East such as Syria and Yemen). In his statement before the summit, the representative of Egypt emphasized the special importance of these regions, saying, "The BRICS declaration should reflect the priorities and principles of the group on major international issues in Africa and the Middle East." As a matter of fact, the declaration also included a decision to increase cooperation in the fields of sustainable development, counter-terrorism and conflict resolution for Africa. In addition, it was reminded that the BRICS Foreign Ministers issued a joint statement on the Middle East and North Africa in March 2025, and **it was noted that BRICS took a common stance against the developments in this region.** In this respect, BRICS members **support finding a political solution to crises such as Libya, Syria and Yemen,** and support peace initiatives in Africa (eg. They expressed their support for the agreement between the Ethiopian government and the rebels.

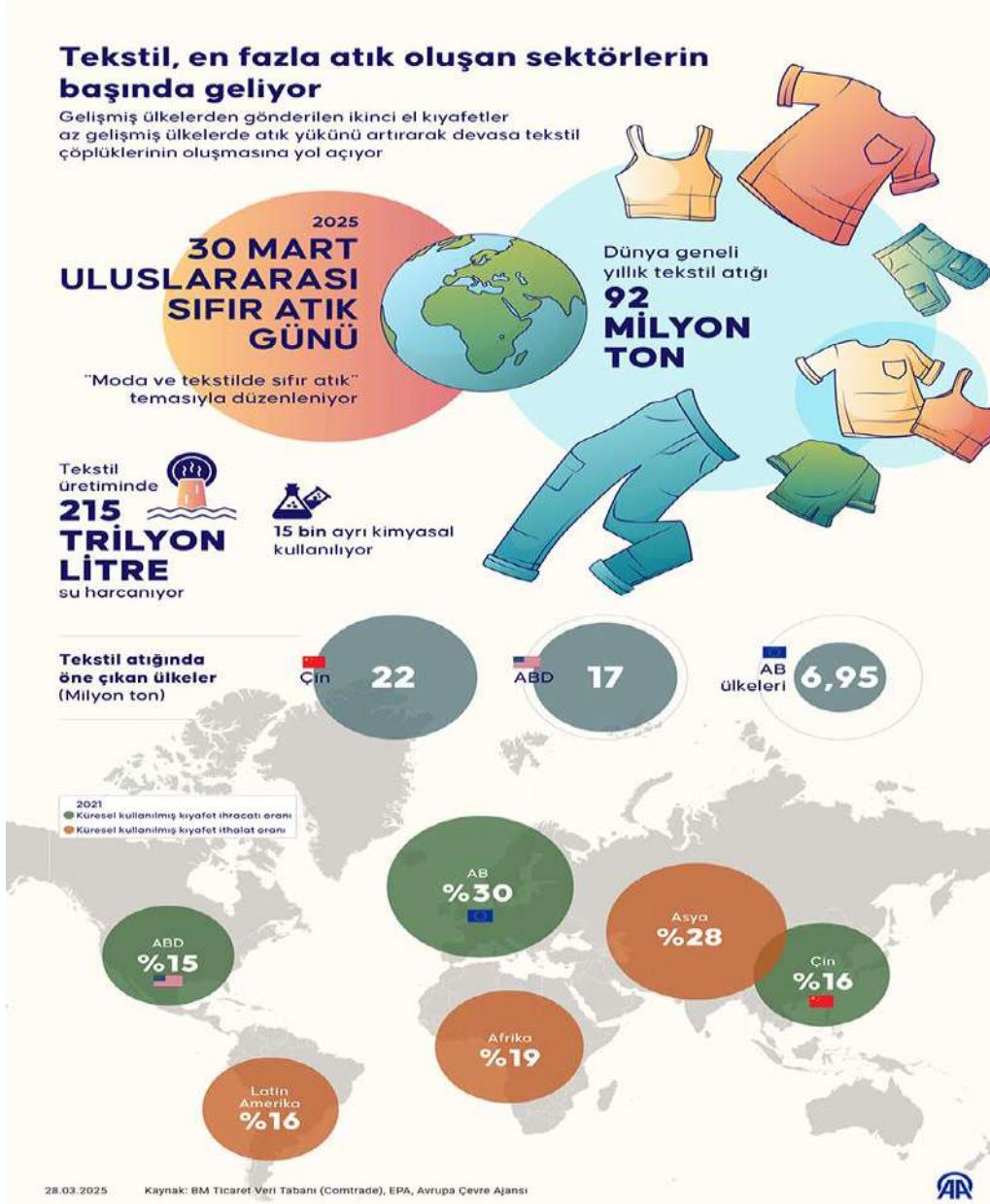
BRICS' stance on security is basically based on the principles of **sovereign equality, non-interference in internal affairs, and non-use of force.** In line with the summit theme, it was stated that the security concerns of developing countries (terrorism, food security, climate-related disasters) should also find their rightful place on the global agenda. As a matter of fact, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi **stated at the summit that double standards in the fight against terrorism are unacceptable** and announced that he was pleased that BRICS was the only voice on this issue. As a matter of fact, BRICS jointly condemned the terrorist attack in the Pahalgam region of India in April 2025 and decided to increase cooperation in the fight against terrorism. This was perceived as BRICS' **effort to find common ground on security issues.**

On the other hand, some tensions within the BRICS have not been ruled out. In particular, issues such as Russia's intervention in Ukraine and the Sino-Indian border disputes are tests for the unity of the group. At the Rio Summit, Chinese President Xi Jinping's last-minute absence from the meeting and only sending a video message led to various speculations. This was noteworthy as it was the first time Xi had not attended a BRICS summit. Although Brazilian observers reported that there were those who interpreted the absence of the Chinese leader as **"Beijing's interest in BRICS may be declining"**, Russian President Vladimir Putin did not attend the summit physically because he had an International Criminal Court decision against him, but instead connected online. The leaders of Egypt and Iran were also unable to attend due to developments in their own countries. These situations were cited by some external commentators as signs of **"internal disharmony and depreciation of BRICS."** However, Brazil, as the host, has tried to close this cracked image; During the meeting, access to the leaders of the press was restricted, protests or civil society events were not allowed, and an attempt was made to give the image of unity. The measured language in the final declaration is also the product of an effort to **reach the broadest common ground** by rasping the issues of intransigence. This actually reflects BRICS' ability to **act together** using the language of multilateral diplomacy despite different interests and views.

As a result, BRICS functions **as a platform for consultation and balancing rather than acting as a single bloc** on global conflicts. Although each of the members has different problems with the West or with each other, they have the opportunity to **maximize their common interests and reflect their own perspectives in the global discourse** thanks to this platform. In particular, **the security approach of the Global South** differs from that of the West in some respects: Distance from foreign interventions aimed at regime change, skepticism of sanctions, criticism of double standards in the fight against terrorism, cautious view of the security-climate connection (because of the concern that presenting the climate agenda in the security format may lead to new restrictions) have come to the

fore in the BRICS discourse. For example, the declaration expressed "deep concern about attempts to link the security and climate change agenda" and distanced itself from the discourse of "climate change is a national security issue" voiced in some Western circles . This is important in terms of showing that while the BRICS countries accept responsibility for the climate, they oppose a security discourse that will ignore the historical responsibility of developed countries.

Finally, BRICS members also object to unilateral sanctions in the security architecture. The declaration clearly belirtmiştirbrics.br that "unilateral sanctions that have not been approved by the UN Security Council and are contrary to international law are not supported." This statement is a criticism of the economic sanctions regimes that the US and the EU have imposed on their own, and a declaration that the Global South considers such practices illegitimate. In particular, Russia and China consider the West's sanctions as a violation of sovereignty; Countries such as India and Brazil also prefer not to participate in sanctions that harm their own economic interests. The BRICS platform provides its members with a collective basis on which they can defend this policy more easily . In the final analysis, the message of BRICS in the geopolitical arena is that world peace will only be possible in an order in which nations participate with equal rights and progress through consensus, not force. In this context, in the current power vacuums, BRICS aspires to contribute to global governance by pushing peaceful mediation and alternative diplomacy channels.



Combating Climate Change, Sustainability, and Leadership of the Global South

The Rio de Janeiro Summit also revealed that BRICS is taking a more active role in combating climate change and sustainable development. Developing countries have long stated that they disproportionately bear the burden of the climate crisis and do not receive the financial support they deserve in global solutions. At this summit, BRICS leaders embodied the discourse of "inclusive and sustainable governance" and adopted a joint declaration of

will called the **BRICS Climate Leadership Agenda**. While acknowledging the urgency of combating climate change, the text emphasized **that it should be addressed together with the goals of sustainable development and poverty eradication**. The BRICS countries they announced that they are committed to **"developing solutions that support their own development needs and priorities, while at the same time accelerating climate action."** In particular, it was stated **that Global South cooperation** can open the door to a more inclusive governance in this area and bring a new breath to multilateral efforts on climate.

In the final declaration of the summit, **clear messages were given** to developed countries on climate finance. **"Providing developing countries with timely, adequate and cost-effective climate finance is critical for just transition pathways,"** it said. At this point, BRICS criticized **the failure of rich countries to fulfill their financing commitments under the Paris Agreement** and reminded that these commitments are actually the responsibility of developed countries. In the declaration, referring to the principle of **"common but differentiated responsibilities and relative capabilities"** of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Paris Agreement, it was requested to adhere to the principle of fair sharing of the climate burden. The BRICS countries **declared their intention to lead a global mobilization on climate finance**, adopting a document called the BRICS Leaders' Framework Statement on Climate Finance **at the Rio summit**. With this document, the goal of **launching a global mobilization was declared to make the international monetary and financial system fair and sustainable**.

Brazil has turned the BRICS meeting into a rehearsal ahead of the UN COP-30 Climate Summit, which it will host in Belém, the heart of the Amazon, in November 2025. The meeting in Rio was both a preparation for the COP and a warning to rich countries: Lula **spoke of an "unprecedented collapse of multilateralism"** and said that gains in climate and trade regimes were at stake. These words were a criticism of steps such as the US withdrawing from the Paris Agreement and returning again, and not contributing enough to global climate funds. In the BRICS communiqué, the leaders **underlined their "commitment and unity to the Paris goals" and that they will work in unity to achieve the goals of the Paris Agreement.** Noting the importance of financing for a just energy transition, they stated that no one should be left behind in the energy transition. Brazil's long-term conservation financing initiative, similar **to the Amazon Fund**, which it plans to launch at COP30, was also welcomed by BRICS. However, uncertainty remains over the fund's origin, and the statement diplomatically stated **that "potential donor countries are invited to make generous contributions."** It wants BRICS members in Brazil, China and the Middle East to provide seed capital to this fund; They make it clear that they expect the lion's share to come from the Nordic countries, which have the highest historical responsibility for the climate crisis.

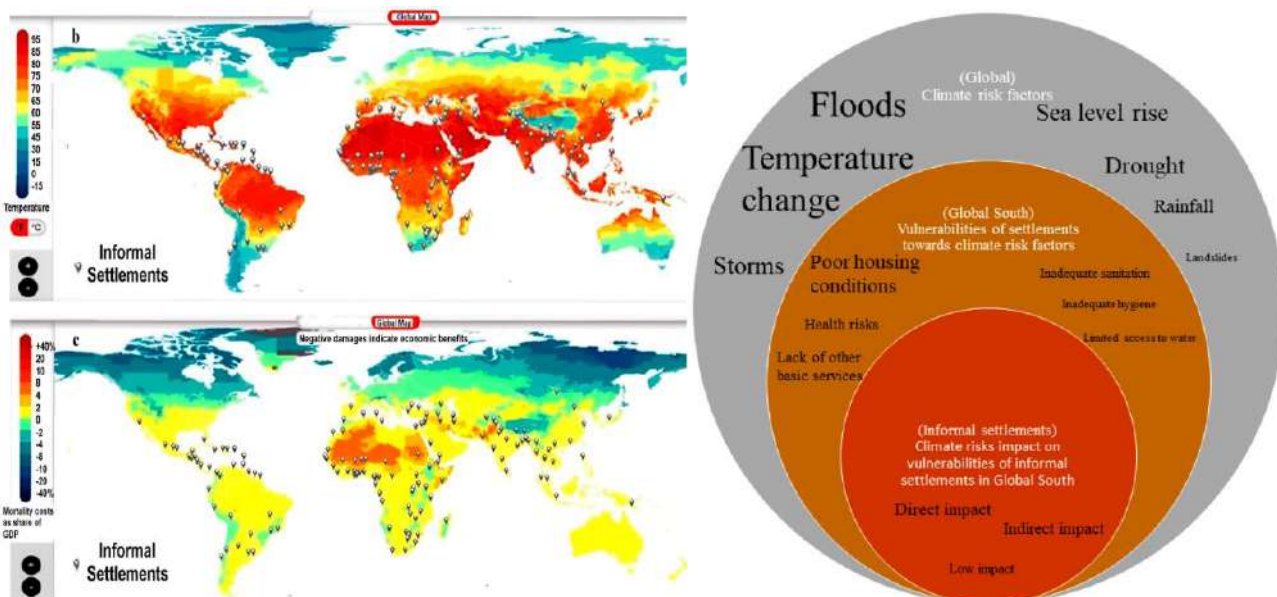
BRICS leaders also took a common stance against **double standards** and **new protectionist tendencies** in climate policies. The statement expressed deep concern about **"discriminatory and protectionist measures implemented under the pretext of environmental concerns."** What was meant by this expression was practices such as **the carbon border tax (CBAM) and deforestation-free supply chains, which were brought to the agenda by the European Union**. The BRICS countries consider such arrangements to create additional trade barriers to developing countries. As a matter of fact, the declaration criticized these policies of the EU with clear reference: the emphasis on *"protectionist measures taken under the guise of environmental concerns"* was recorded as a direct reference to the EU's carbon regulations. In this regard, BRICS **argues that climate diplomacy should not be turned into a sanction or trade tool**. In addition, a striking point about fossil fuels in the declaration was the acknowledgment of the fact **that fossil fuels will still play an important role in the world's energy composition**. Unlike some Western countries, BRICS members have emphasized that resources such as oil, coal and natural gas will be part of energy security for some time. This is the common position of a wide range of consumers, including major producers such as Saudi Arabia and Russia, as well as India and China. Since there are major oil/gas producers (Russia, Iran, Brazil) in the BRICS and a giant producer such as Saudi Arabia is expected to join among the new members, there was no commitment to *an immediate exit* from fossil fuels. On the contrary, **"BRICS now includes several major oil and gas producers,"** he said, noting that the group's energy outlook has also diversified. From this point of view, BRICS adopts a **pragmatic and balanced** stance on climate: On the one hand, it calls for investment in renewable energy and clean technology, and on the other hand, it offers a transition perspective that takes into account energy supply security and economic development.

The Global South contains the geographies most affected by the climate crisis, but developed countries have mostly had a say in global climate negotiations. To address this imbalance, BRICS has given **the message of assuming the climate leadership of the Global South**. Anna Cárcamo, the Brazilian representative of the international environmental organization Greenpeace, said in a pre-summit appeal that the BRICS countries **"must fill the climate leadership vacuum left by the United States,"** adding that **"this is a staggering opportunity for the Global South to demonstrate bold, shared leadership."** Cárcamo recalled that many of the BRICS countries

are the most vulnerable to climate change, urging **them to "take a decisive stance for the sake of people and the planet."** As a matter of fact, at the summit, BRICS leaders **responded to this call by declaring** that they would act in the spirit of multilateralism against the climate threat and that they would strive in unity to achieve the goals of the Paris Agreement.

The declaration also **included steps for** cooperation at the BRICS level on technical issues such as carbon accounting and **technology transfer**. For example, the **"BRICS Principles for Fair, Inclusive and Transparent Carbon Accounting"** were adopted, and an approach that takes into account the conditions of developing countries in carbon footprint calculations was adopted. Rather than the unilateral imposition of standards established in the Western world, this was an effort to create a balanced methodology in which the Global South would also have a say. Again, **a study called "BRICS Report on Intellectual Property Options to Increase Technology Cooperation on Climate Change"** was noted. This report sets out current cooperation arrangements for the development and transfer of climate technologies and offers recommendations on how to make further progress in this area in the future. Since developing countries do not want to be left behind in accessing clean technology due to patent barriers and high costs, they have also put this issue on the agenda. BRICS wants to show **that climate action can be an area of opportunity for development, not an obstacle**. Because, as the Indonesian representative noted, in the last two decades, China, India and ASEAN countries have undertaken a huge economic transformation, bringing a total of **1.5 billion people into the middle class**, and now they face the difficult task of balancing the well-being of these masses with climate sensitivity. A transformation on this scale will only be possible with the financial and technological support of developed countries.

As a result, **BRICS' climate and sustainability agenda** is shaped by an approach that puts the rights and interests of the Global South at the center. This approach is based on **the concept of climate justice**: those with high historical responsibility should make more contribution, while those who develop should receive support to pursue both development and climate goals together. While BRICS is trying to strengthen this solidarity within its own structure, it is also a candidate to be **the "voice of the south"** in global negotiations. In the words of Lula da Silva, **"while the rich are retreating in areas such as climate change and trade, the Global South is acting together to find solutions to common problems"**. This points to perhaps one of the most distinctive aspects of BRICS: the **common response to double standards and the will to find common solutions to common problems**. Because BRICS leaders often emphasize that the fossil fuel lobbies of developed countries block the UN climate process, do not keep their financial promises, and apply double standards on development and security issues. This response, when not only criticized but supported by alternative mechanisms and proposals, has the potential to accelerate the transformation of global governance.



Artificial Intelligence Governance and the Global South's Position in Technological Competition

Artificial intelligence (AI), **one of the shaping elements of the future**, was also on the agenda at the Rio Summit. BRICS leaders noted that artificial intelligence technologies hold enormous opportunities, but they also come with serious risks and uncertainties. **"Artificial intelligence can be a milestone that will accelerate development for a more prosperous future,"** the statement said, emphasizing that in order to achieve this goal, **"global AI governance must mitigate potential risks and take into account the needs of all countries, especially those**

of the **Global South**." BRICS calls for the development of an **inclusive, responsible and collaborative** global governance framework on artificial intelligence. "The **global governance of AI must ensure our shared values, address risks, build trust, and ensure broad and inclusive international cooperation**," the leaders said, pointing to the central role of the United Nations in this regard. In other words, BRICS argues that artificial intelligence regulation should not be shaped by the monopoly of a few advanced technological powers, but should proceed on a multilateral basis where all countries can have a say.

In this context, it is noteworthy that a separate document called **the "BRICS Leaders' Declaration on Global Artificial Intelligence Governance"** was adopted at the Rio Summit. The declaration calls for human-centered and responsible AI development that serves the goals of sustainable development and inclusive growth. The importance of developing and using AI technologies in line with their national regulatory frameworks, respecting the sovereign rights of each country, was emphasized. This approach leaves flexibility to impose a uniform imposition, especially in areas such as data governance, algorithmic transparency, and ethical standards. Developing countries do not want to fall into what they call **"digital colonialism"** in the age of artificial intelligence. That is, they are united against the risk of losing control of their data, becoming dependent on big tech monopolies, or having AI standards set in a way that excludes their needs. At this point, BRICS demands **a global dialogue under the umbrella of the UN**. As a matter of fact, in the declaration, it was stated that "a collective effort is necessary for the global governance of AI, the UN should be at the center of this" and referred to a possible **Artificial Intelligence Convention** or international norm set negotiations within the UN.

China has taken an important initiative in this field and implemented the **BRICS Artificial Intelligence Cooperation** mechanism. In the statement, it was noted that the **"BRICS High Level Forum on Artificial Intelligence" hosted by China** was held and organized by the China-BRICS Center for Artificial Intelligence Cooperation and Development. This development reflects China's intention to share its experience in the field of AI with BRICS members and develop joint R&D projects. Because in the artificial intelligence race, the USA and China are far ahead; however, countries such as India, Russia and Brazil are also trying to increase their own capacities. BRICS **wants to create a unity of power in the field of technology** by cooperating on issues such as **know-how transfer, researcher exchange, and data sharing** among members. The joint development of artificial intelligence solutions, especially in priority development areas such as health, agriculture and education, was expressed at the summit. For example, **a new initiative called the BRICS Partnership to Eradicate Social Determinant Diseases** will lay the groundwork for cooperation on the use of AI and big data analytics in health policies.

BRICS countries are also focusing on the effects of artificial intelligence on labor markets and social structure. In the statement, there are evaluations that note **that "Artificial intelligence is transforming business relationships, creating new employment opportunities and bringing challenges such as job losses."** This is a call to jointly seek solutions to the economic-social problems that automation and the AI wave may cause in the Global South. As a matter of fact, countries such as India and South Africa are trying to increase their capacity to prepare their young and large populations for the digital age. Forums held within the BRICS **focused on topics such as digital skills training, work on AI ethics, and the sharing of regulatory experiences**. For example, in a BRICS seminar held in the first half of 2025, it was stated that Brazil brought up the priorities of **quantum computing and industry 4.0**, and it was announced that these areas would also be a priority with India's term presidency in 2026.

The fact that the Global South has a say in AI governance **is seen as critical for a fair transition of power in the field of technology**. Today, data and technology giants are concentrated in the Northern Hemisphere, and there is concern about a scenario in which the Global South is a data provider but a small share of value generation. For this reason, BRICS also advocates the concept of **"data sovereignty"**. The voices that developing countries should have control over the data of their citizens and get a fair share in the digital economy are heard louder on the BRICS platform. For example, India is promoting its own model (Aadhaar, UPI, etc.) in digital public infrastructure and data management and proposes to roll it out in the Global South. Dammu Ravi stated that India presents its achievements in digital public infrastructure and financial inclusion as development templates that can be applied to the BRICS countries as a whole. This reflects the claim to be not only a consumer of technology, but also a rule-maker and producer in the age of artificial intelligence.

As a result, the decisions and statements at the Rio Summit showed that BRICS seeks **to create** a collective vision in technology and artificial intelligence management. **Global power vacuums** are not limited to the political-economic sphere; there is also a period of uncertainty in the field of technology management and ethical standards. While the U.S. and the European Union are drafting their own regulations (e.g., the EU's AI Act initiative), China is implementing their own approach. The Global South, on the other hand, does not want to be left out in these standardization processes. BRICS **can play the role of a tool for "the developing world to put its own stamp on**

the age of technology." This stamp will perhaps be a **more human-centered, participatory, and inclusive** model of technology governance.



The U.S. Tariff War, the Global Power Transition, and the Role of BRICS

The recent trade and foreign policy pursued by the US administration led by Donald Trump, on the one hand, **has challenged the system of global alliances and** emphasized unilateral moves, on the other hand, it has prepared **a ground that increases the importance of formations such as BRICS**. The Trump administration has increased protectionism in global trade by imposing tariffs on hundreds of billions of dollars of Chinese products as part of the **trade war against China** that has been going on since 2018. By 2025, Trump has threatened sweeping tariffs targeting not only China but even its close allies. In particular, the announcement that it will impose **additional customs duties of 30% against the European Union as of August 1, 2025** has come to the fore as an expected but effective development in the world economy. With this decision, Trump gave only three weeks to major trading partners such as the EU and Mexico, and announced that he would impose heavy tariffs if he did not get the concessions he wanted. White House Economic Advisor Kevin Hassett stated that "the proposals so far have not satisfied Trump, and these tariffs are real." This attitude shows that the US has entered into an economic confrontation even with its traditional allies and **indicates that the global trade war will escalate**.

Trump's trade aggression undermines the unity between the US and the EU and **weakens the global multilateral trading system**. EU Commission President Ursula von der Leyen stated that they will not retaliate against the US until the beginning of August and that they will seek a negotiated solution; French President Emmanuel Macron said the EU must resolutely defend its interests **and use anti-bullying instruments** if necessary. While these developments create fissures within the Atlantic Alliance, they pave the way **for the Global South to develop alternative partnerships**. As a matter of fact, in the BCG analysis, it is stated that factors such as *"the dramatic tariff increases of the USA and the wear and tear of decades-long alliances"* have shaken the Western-centered order, while the Global South, known as the "third front" with more than 130 countries, has started to draw its own path. This "third front" is not fully located on either the axis of the West or China; It has been defined as a community of actors who take care of their multifaceted interests. In particular, **the economic state coercion** (sanctions, tariffs, technology embargoes) imposed by the USA against its trading partners has strengthened the search for **an independent policy space in developing countries**. Carnegie experts emphasize that an important dimension of the motivation for participation in formations such as BRICS is *"the search for a safe haven against US diplomatic coercion and economic state management."* In other words, countries are both trying to open up space for themselves in BRICS and trying to gain a balancing card in their relations with the USA.

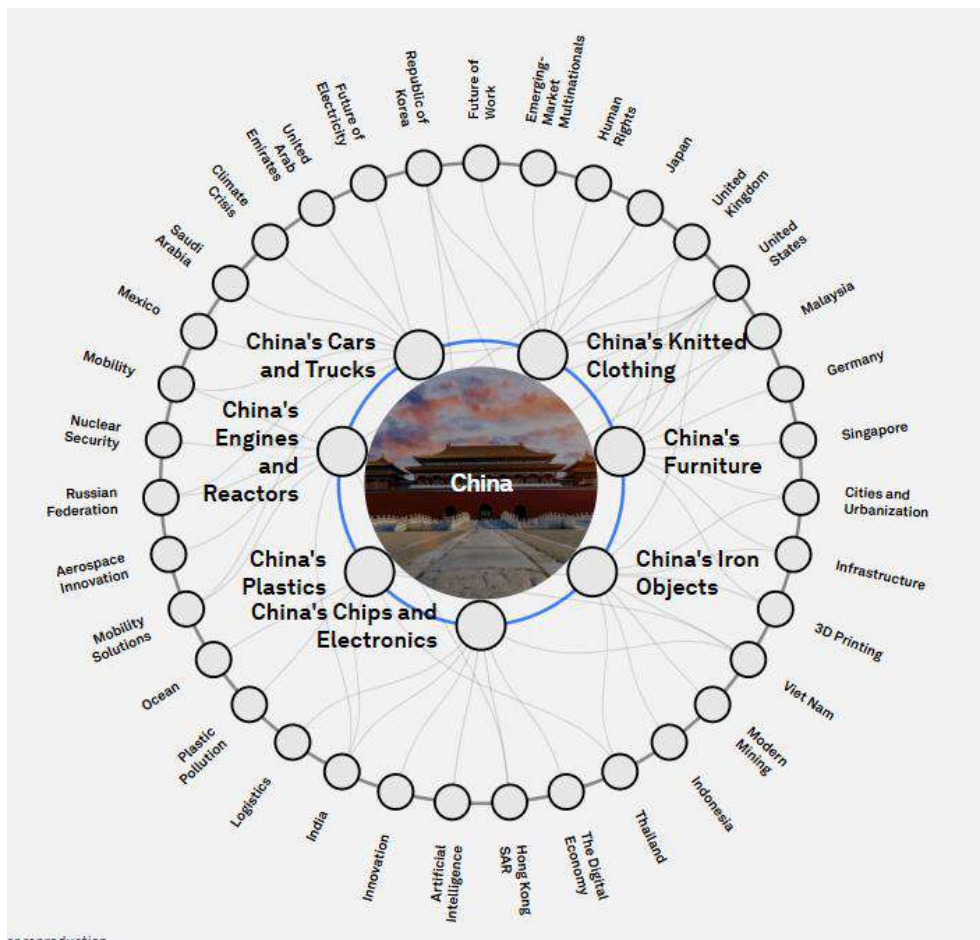
The Trump administration, on the other hand, has begun to see BRICS as **an open economic challenge**. At the end of 2024, Trump, in his statement immediately after winning the election, expressed **the threat of 100% tariffs to the BRICS countries**. In particular, if BRICS issues a common currency or turns to a reserve currency system other than the dollar, he threatened these countries that the American market would be completely closed. Trump's words were extremely harsh: *"We want a commitment from these countries that they will neither create a new BRICS currency nor support another currency that will replace the dollar; otherwise, they will be subject to 100% tariffs and say goodbye to selling goods to the wonderful American economy."* This rhetoric shows that the US will not hesitate to use hard power to maintain the hegemony of the dollar. In fact, Trump *used direct defiant language by saying, "BRICS has no chance of replacing the US dollar, and those who try will wave to America."* Undoubtedly, this approach has created **a sense of unity and a common reaction** on the BRICS side. Before the summit, Russia **announced that BRICS should prevent the US dollar from being used as a political weapon by building an alternative global financial system**. China and other members have also shown a tendency to respond by deepening cooperation, even if they have not officially lashed out.

Trump's attitude towards BRICS can actually **be read as a reflection of the US-China global rivalry**. China is a decisive actor in BRICS with both its economic power and diplomatic breakthroughs. For example, China, which has made infrastructure investments in dozens of Global South countries with the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), is also developing alternative instruments to the US-centered order with platforms such as BRICS and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. While the US defines China **as its main rival in the global system**, **Beijing uses the discourse of South-South cooperation against American hegemony**. In this respect, BRICS is a very useful framework for China: By taking a stance that is **"not anti-Western, but in favor of the developing world"**, it offers an environment in which it can impose its own leadership claim with soft power. As a matter of fact, Russian Ambassador Alipov rejected the claims that the group is anti-Western, saying, "BRICS is not an opposing bloc, it is a center of attraction where countries come together on the basis of respect and non-interference in internal affairs." This discourse is in line with the rhetoric of "win-win cooperation" adopted by China. On the other hand, **Xi Jinping's refusal to attend the Rio Summit** and only sending his Prime Minister created controversy. Although there are comments that China's enthusiasm for BRICS has decreased, there is also an environment that suggests Xi's possible competition with Brazil before COP30 or his preoccupation with vulnerabilities in the Chinese economy. In any case, it is clear that a BRICS without China is unthinkable; Speaking to the Guardian, Oliver Stuenkel **said: "The absence of the Chinese president has raised questions about the value of BRICS."** Because **China alone represents about half of the BRICS economy**. It is also noteworthy that at a BRICS summit without China, issues such as, for example de-dollarization were not raised. This situation shows the **sensitivity of the internal balances of BRICS and its dependence on CHINA**.

The possibility of BRICS forming a rival pole to the US leadership **largely depends on** its internal cohesion **and** the political will of the members. **The Carnegie Endowment** analysis states that Trump's oppositional stance and US-China tensions increase the risk of BRICS becoming an anti-Western bloc, but this is not certain due to the diversity of its members. Indeed, countries such as India have border problems with China, while at the same time conducting security cooperation with the United States (such as the Quad alliance). Brazil does not want to sever its trade and financial ties with the United States; South Africa and other African members are trying to attract investment from both the West and China. Therefore, the strategy of BRICS **is evolving to be a balancing force rather than a rigid opposing front**. However, if relations with the West (especially with the United States under the Trump administration) deteriorate, these countries are likely to move closer together. While Trump's harshness has the potential to distance even the EU from the US, it will strengthen the tendency of the Global South countries to follow an independent line from the US. Even countries such as Saudi Arabia, for example, are seeking to create an option by staying close to BRICS.

The concept of power vacuums describes areas where the U.S. has withdrawn from global leadership or left a vacuum. In the Trump era, such gaps have become clear: withdrawal from the climate agreement (between 2017 and 2021), threats of withdrawal from the World Health Organization, tensions with allies, cuts in development aid, etc. While China quickly took the initiative in these gaps, forums such as BRICS took on **the role of ensuring the continuity of multilateral cooperation**. For example, in the pandemic, when the US initially held back from global efforts, China and India came to the fore with vaccine aid; BRICS shared experiences through virtual summits. Again, where the US remained in the background in global infrastructure investments, China's projects in Asia, Africa and Latin America were decisive. This dynamic has strengthened the Global South's **reflex to "cut its own belly."** The BCG report states that the Global South business world is positioning itself with steps such as **supply chain resilience, accumulating geopolitical power, and developing local strategies**. Developing countries, on the one hand, continue to do business with the West, on the other hand, they **are rapidly increasing trade and**

investment among themselves. According to the data, the volume of South-South trade will grow faster than North-North trade in the next 10 years. By 2033, it is predicted that trade between the countries of the Global South will approach 14 trillion dollars annually, and South-South trade will surpass trade between the countries of the North (2.2%) with an annual increase rate of 3.8%. Trade between China and the Global South is expected to grow by 5.9% per year over the next decade. These figures **also underline the shift in economic power.** The order that the US has disrupted with trade wars will perhaps accelerate this trend even more.



BRICS can be considered as an institutional expression of the global power transition **in this whole process.** Historically, during periods of rise and fall of great powers, changes have also occurred in international institutions (such as the establishment of the UN and Bretton Woods after World War II). Today, as the unipolar moment led by the USA is coming to an end, a clear binary pole has not emerged; In its place, fragmented multipolarities appear. In this case, **different combinations of actors come into play to fill the power gaps that have arisen.** BRICS is a key actor in this transition period as an attempt by **non-Western powers to align their own agendas.** Brazil's Permanent Representative to the UN said that BRICS enlargement is **"a turning point in the transformation of the international system to a more egalitarian one"** and that it can be considered a harbinger of an order in which the "global majority" will have a say. As BRICS' institutionalized cooperation networks (NDB, CRA, Business Council, Think-Tank Network, etc.) become stronger, this claim will become more concrete.

However, there are also cautious approaches to the impact of BRICS. **"How compatible is BRICS from within?"** The question is important. **"The BRICS countries are most united against double standards and exclusion, but there is little appetite for accountability and transparency at home," the Guardian said.** As a matter of fact, the exclusion of civil society and the media during the summit was the subject of criticism; The streets were blocked by military vehicles, the creation of a protest-free environment gave the impression that the BRICS leaders met free from public pressure. This suggests that there are differences within the BRICS in terms of democratic values or the quality of governance. Critics argue that a section of BRICS members are authoritarian regimes that speak out against each other's human rights violations, so *the rhetoric of a "fairer order"* may be mere rhetoric. On the other hand, advocates argue **that eliminating distortions in the global system is a priority and that internal affairs should be considered as each country's own issue.** This divergence is essentially *a point of normative tension between the West and the Global South:* an emphasis on democracy and human rights vs. an emphasis on sovereignty and the primacy of development. BRICS stands more on the second axis; This, according to some, **may**

create a new normative bloc. In practice, however, it is clear that all parties need to cooperate in the face of global challenges. For this reason, in the Carnegie report, **it is also stated that bridges can be built between BRICS and the West, and common ground can be found on platforms such as the G20.**

While the Trump administration's policies have made it difficult to build bridges, it won't last forever. Still, the U.S.'s shift toward an isolationist and confrontational line reinforces the sense that the Global South has no choice but to strengthen its own institutions. The decisions taken at the 2025 summit of BRICS are the product of precisely this feeling: **to take the initiative in global affairs and to take ownership of its own future.** Moreover, in doing so, **it has shown that countries from three continents with different cultures and systems can meet on a common ground.** Like Brazil, India, South Africa, it is governed by democracy; One-party rule such as China, Russia is at odds with the West like Iran; A wide variety of countries with a monarchical structure, such as the UAE and Saudi Arabia, can unite in minimum commons under the BRICS umbrella. These commons are mostly principles such as **the right to development, sovereign equality, fair representation, and the opposition to double standards.** The more developed countries heed this message, the more peaceful global governance will evolve. Otherwise, the world really runs the risk of **splitting into rigid blocs**, and it is known that this is not in anyone's interest.

Result:

The BRICS Leaders' Summit and the developments surrounding it mark **a turning point in which the change in the global balance of power is accelerating.** The Global South aspires to become a community of actors that create its own agenda and shape the rules **by getting rid of its position on the periphery of the international system for many years.** The BRICS mechanism, as one of the most concrete platforms of this desire, draws attention with its expanded membership structure and the policy initiatives it produces. **The Rio de Janeiro Declaration** brought together the common demands of developing countries in 126 articles and put forward **the vision of a multipolar, participatory and fair world order.** This vision; It covers a wide range from reforming the UN and Bretton Woods institutions to developing alternative networks in trade and finance, emphasizing diplomacy and mediation in conflict resolution, finding fair solutions to the climate crisis, defending the principles of cooperation and inclusive governance in the face of the technological revolution.

The results of the BRICS Summit should also **be read in parallel with the challenge posed by the current policies of the United States.** The protectionist, **unilateral and confrontational line pursued by the Trump administration** has served as a catalyst that brings the countries of the global south closer together. **Trade wars and threats of sanctions**, on the one hand, have increased uncertainties in the world economy and forced old alliances, on the other hand, **they have accelerated the search for new economic partnerships and financial architectures.** Trump's threats to **"punish BRICS economically"** have strengthened the desire of these countries to reduce dependence on the dollar and Western-controlled systems. In this sense, **the gaps left by the United States in global leadership** and even the driving force it has created have made Global South solidarity a strategic necessity.

In the global power transition literature, the competition of rising powers to the status quo power is often described as a tense process. Today, while this transition is embodied in the axis of China and the USA, the countries in between reject absolute polarization and **pursue "multi-relationship" strategies.** The countries of the Global South generally want to work with both the West and China/Russia by following a **"multi-line" policy** and to create the most suitable combination for their own interests. BRICS offers a framework that makes this approach possible at the institutional level: that is, **to act without closing the door to the West, but by creating its own independent agenda.** As a matter of fact, BRICS members are also active in environments such as the G20, IMF and the UN, and they do not exclude them completely; On the contrary, they are trying to improve it through reform. In this regard, the success of BRICS can perhaps **be an impetus for the peaceful transformation of the global system.** If a constructive dialogue can be established between the BRICS demands and the West, the world order can be updated with harmony instead of conflict. However, if the demands are ignored, suppressed by sanctions and the dialogue breaks down; It **may be** the beginning of a period of conflict with the bloc at that time or more.

The Rio Summit went down in history as a moment **when 3 continents and different civilizations could declare a common vision around a table.** Perhaps the most concrete outputs in the 17-year history of BRICS have been put forward at this summit: The declaration on climate finance, the declaration on AI governance, enlargement steps, advances in the use of local currencies in trade, the institutionalization of the new development bank, etc., can be seen as **a declaration of the emergence of an alternative track in global governance.** BRICS cannot solve all global problems on its own; But it can become a powerhouse that will bring **the interests of the "global majority"**

to the table. This, in turn, will strengthen the principle of justice in representation, which has long been missing in international relations.

In the coming period, attention will focus on both the internal dynamics of BRICS and the course of the US-China rivalry. With India taking over the rotating presidency of the BRICS in 2026 (following its leadership performance in the G20), we may see more proactive initiatives. For example, if Indian Prime Minister Modi's promise that **"BRICS should roll up its sleeves and find solutions for the Global South"** is implemented, concrete cooperation projects will increase. BRICS has potential in many areas such as digital public infrastructure, health, education, counter-terrorism, and space cooperation. Likewise, the more the number of members of the New Development Bank increases and the larger the loan volume, the more important it will be for developing countries. This, in turn, could increase the pressure on the IMF and the World Bank to reform.

In summary, **the strategic horizon of the Global South is expanding**. Thanks to BRICS and similar initiatives, not only a few great powers, but also dozens of rising actors can influence the course of the international system. As these actors coordinate among themselves, they **will gain the capacity to fill global power vacuums**. The BRICS Summit in Rio marks **a new form of multilateral cooperation**: the claim of **countries with different political and economic models, but united by some common goals, to "shape a common future"**. If international peace and stability are to be maintained, the existing order will have to adapt to this new reality, without ignoring this claim. The rise of BRICS is aimed neither at the complete dismantling of existing institutions nor at a Cold War-style split; Instead, **it proposes a more flexible, equitable, and inclusive global governance architecture**. The extent to which this proposal will be accepted will depend on both the unity and determination of the Global South and the response of the existing powers to it. What is certain, however, is **that the old roles on the world stage are now changing: the Global South is poised to take its place as a major actor in the multipolar world of the future**.

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