The rise of non-Western powers, such as the BRICS or IBSA states, has led to competing claims about how these powers act amongst each other and how they behave vis-à-vis the established powers. The key argument presented in this talk is that the rising powers have begun to form a bloc of dissatisfied states that assumes a competitive posture vis-à-vis the established powers. The argument is tested through a systematic analysis of the voting behaviour of the rising and established powers in the United Nations General Assembly (GA) over the period 1992-2011. The results of a set of probabilistic models of voting show that the way the rising powers vote in the Assembly converges, in parallel to the institutionalization of BRICS and IBSA summits. At the same time, their voting behavior indicates that, across a wide range of issues, the rising powers have policy preferences that are fundamentally different from those of the established powers. These findings challenge more optimistic views predicting the integration of rising powers into the existing liberal world order.

Prof. Dr. Martin Binder is Associate Professor of Politics and International Relations at the University of Reading. His research interests center on international organizations and international security. His current projects examine the authority and legitimacy of international organizations, the rise of non-Western powers, and the speed of United Nations responses to civil conflict. He is the author of The United Nations and the Politics of Selective Humanitarian Intervention (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), as well as numerous articles, which have appeared in International Studies Quarterly, International Theory, and the Journal of Peace Research, among others. He holds a Ph.D. in political science from the Freie Universität Berlin. Prior to joining the faculty at Reading, he was a senior researcher at the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin and a visiting scholar at the Center for European Studies at Harvard University. He currently is a visiting fellow at the LMU Center for Advanced Studies.

LMU Geschwister-Scholl-Institut - Room 131
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