

CALL FOR TENDERS

Research Paper Series Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung Southeast Europe

RLS Office for Southeast Europe plans to continue its research paper series, a series of scientific analyses, written by various authors, that provide a left perspective on key socio-economic, political and cultural developments in Southeast Europe. With this research project RLS wants to provide relevant analyses and information on the region to interested critical researchers and left-wing oriented actors, local and international, as well as international scholars, journalists, antifascists, political activists and theoreticians. Thereby, RLS wants to contribute to a left analytical discourse and to provide perspectives for left-emancipatory politics in the Balkan region and to support and empower critical research(ers) from the region.

The research papers are published in English language in the form of booklets, published in print and online for download. In 2014 and 2015 three booklets were published:

- Florin Poenaru: Nature, Nationalism and Anti-Capitalism in Romania, Research Paper #1 (<http://rosalux.rs/en/nature-nationalism-and-anti-capitalism-romania>)
- Lev Centrih: The Road to Collapse: The Demise of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Research Paper #2 (<http://rosalux.rs/en/demise-lcy>)
- Marina Ivandić / Igor Livada: Lines of (Dis)Continuity: Forms and Methods of Labour Struggle in Croatia 1990-2014, Research Paper #3 (<http://rosalux.rs/en/lines-discontinuity>)

In 2016, RLS SEE plans to publish three additional research papers in this series, on the following topics:

- The Balkan Route and the European Border Regime
- FDI Policy and Transnational Production Chains in Serbia
- The Spanish Civil War and the Yugoslav Volunteers in the International Brigades

THE BALKAN ROUTE AND THE EUROPEAN BORDER REGIME

During spring and summer 2015 increasing numbers of migrants from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq and other countries arrived on the Greek islands to continue their journey toward Macedonia, Serbia, into Hungary and thus into the EU Schengen area in search for asylum. This largely

unnoticed route of migration became visible as the so-called »Balkan route«, when migrants stranded at Budapest's train station started a march on foot toward the Austrian border that became known as the »March of Hope«. This collective movement marked the failing of the repressive border policies of the EU, as Germany and Austria opened their borders to many thousands of migrants. Quickly, moving along the Balkan route became a mechanism facilitated by the states along the route aimed at quickly moving people from border to border. And step by step the access to this corridor was restricted again in the following months until the complete closure of the borders in March 2016 in an effort of the EU and its neighboring countries to solve the so-called »migrant-crisis« and to reconstruct the restrictive EU border regime.

The aim of this research paper is to analyze the struggles around the European migration and border regime in several regards:

- Crisis dynamics and disintegration of the EU border regime in the context of the »summer of migration«: Why and how was it possible to overcome the border regime?
- Efforts to reconstruct the border regime: What are the central elements of the crisis management and reconstruction efforts of the EU? E.g. Dublin and Schengen system, role of Frontex, agreement with Turkey etc.
- Southeast Europe within the EU border regime: What was/is the role of the Balkan countries in the EU border regime and the Balkan route?
- European governance of the migration crisis and the crisis of the EU – criticism and alternatives
- Movement and solidarity: What can be learned from the March of Hope and the solidarity and organizing efforts along the Balkan route? How can progressive actors contribute to the struggles around the border regime?

FDI POLICY AND TRANSNATIONAL PRODUCTION CHAINS IN SERBIA

Following the heavy deindustrialization, after the collapse of »old socialist projects«, the new neoliberal regimes in Southeast Europe introduced the FDI concept as a cure for the ruined economies. Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs) are usually employed in the new industrial sector, which is, in comparison to the previously existing one, very small. Unfortunately, the FDI concept does not create a sustainable development, but rather makes way for the economic and social fragmentation and unequal development processes that are taking place all over Europe. The competition between national states, but also between local communities, to attract FDIs leads to a »race to the bottom« in offering most attractive tax arrangements, working conditions, etc. to the investors. That creates competition between the different plants, different sectors of economy and different parts of the working class.

Therefore, the aim of the research is to analyse these processes in order to explain the dynamics of the neoliberal economic model which is imposed in Southeast Europe. In

analysing these processes also lies a key in understanding the effects of the EU integration processes. On the basis of such analysis and critique of the »FDI ideology« a discussion about alternative left industrial politics in the region may be grounded. This topic could also be relevant for the future concrete efforts of trade union organizing strategies in the region.

The research paper should analyze:

- Introduction into FDI discourse, including a short explanation of its ideological function (arguments and counter-arguments, public reception and critique, etc.)
- FDI policy as a way of Serbian integration into the world market and global mode of production/global division of labor
- Serbia's involvement in global production chains: What exactly is being produced? Where is the largest share of products being exported to? Who takes the profits?
- Concrete policies and instruments of implementation of the FDI concept (state subsidies for transnational corporations, changes in the labor law, regime of free production zones in Serbia)
- The impact of the dominant FDI concept (including state subsidies and the policies applied for free production zones) on public debt and general economic structure, as well as consequences for the working class and society in general (living standards, working conditions, etc.)
- Starting points for alternatives: trade union organizing and alternative economic politics

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR AND THE YUGOSLAV VOLUNTEERS IN THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES

In the memory of the international Left the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) for sure has an important place as a massive attempt to resist the uprising of fascism. Volunteers from all over the world participated in the struggle to protect the Spanish democracy against the fascist falange of Francisco Franco and his international allies, so also a huge number of political activists, artists and students from the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Following the database of the »Association of the Spanish Fighters 1936-1939« from Belgrade, more than 1700 Yugoslav volunteers took part in the Spanish Civil War, and some of them became afterwards famous partisans during the Peoples Liberation War in Yugoslavia – for example Konstantin Koča Popović and Peko Dapčević. This is a very remarkable number if we take into account the number into relation that the overall population of Yugoslavia in this time was 15 million, and that the autocratic government of Karađorđević tried everything to sabotage the volunteers in their attempt to join the International brigades.

The aim of the research is therefore to analyze the participation of the Yugoslav volunteers in the Spanish Civil War on several levels:

- Short contextualization of the Spanish Civil War;
- The political role of the Yugoslav Communist Party in supporting the antifascist movement in Spain and in the mobilization of the volunteers;
- The politics of the government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia towards both, the political situation in Spain and the Communist party of Yugoslavia with their attempt to recruit volunteers;
- The integration of the Yugoslav volunteers inside the several international formations in Spain;
- The political struggles inside the Yugoslav volunteers (for example the case of general secretary Milan Gorkić) and the role of the KPJ and the Soviet Union;
- The return of the Yugoslav volunteers after the defeat of the Republican forces;
- The participation of the Spanish volunteers inside the Peoples Liberation Movement;
- The participation of the Spanish volunteers after the defeating of Fascism 1945 and during the implementation of the Yugoslav socialism;
- The symbolic, political and cultural role of the Yugoslav volunteers during the socialist period.

GENERAL INFORMATION REGARDING THE TENDER

- Language of the research papers: English
- Scope of each paper: between 70.000-90.000 characters (ca. 40-50 pages of 1.800 characters per page) including a meaningful short summary of the content (ca. 1.500 characters)
- Fee: EUR 2.000 (net)

Bidders should submit the following documents in English as part of their bid:

- Offer for conducting the research and writing the research paper including (1) a work schedule, (2) an abstract and (3) a proposed structure of the paper (overall at least 3 pages),
- Complete and expressive CV including a list of publications.

Deadline for the submission of tenders is Friday, 20.05.2016. Please send your tender via email to belgrade.application@rosalux.org. Only successful bidders will be informed about the awarding decision until 27.05.2016.

The research papers must be sent in their entirety by latest 15.09.2016.