

## **Call for tenders for a publication on the topic: Perspectives on Multipolarism in South Asia**

The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is one of the six major political foundations in the Federal Republic of Germany, tasked primarily with conducting political education both at home and abroad. The foundation is closely linked to Die Linke, a democratic socialist party in the German parliament. The foundation is committed to the thoughts and actions of its namesake: to peace, democracy, social justice and democratic socialism with an unwavering internationalist focus.

The Foundation calls for tenders for a publication on the topic "**Perspectives on Multipolarism in South Asia**".

### **Objectives of the study**

The objective of the publication is to discuss ideas of a multipolar world order from perspectives of the Global South, focusing on the views of progressive and left actors in South Asia.

The new dynamics in global geopolitics dominated by the growing tensions between the US and China have shifted the economic and foreign policies of all South Asian countries. Amidst uncertainty, they are reassessing geopolitical and economic interests, reshaping their relations with international powers and ever more often propose a multipolar world order. Besides the balancing of alliances the question arises which role South Asian countries and especially India with its 1.4 billion people population and fast growing economy are claiming for themselves in the global order.

China has invested heavily in South Asian countries like Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka as part of its One Belt, One Road Initiative under critical observation from India. Simultaneously, China and India are continuously facing border disputes but collaborate in formats like BRICS or the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. At the same time, India has strategically aligned itself with the United States, e.g. in the QUAD and participates in military exercises with European countries officially aimed at ensuring trade and a rules-based order in the Indo-Pacific.

South Asian countries have a history of playing an important role in the Non-Aligned Movement, simultaneously they also have historically strong ties with the former Soviet Union and today's Russia. Both of these factors influence the positioning towards the ongoing war of Russia in Ukraine, which has also initiated new debates on multipolarism.

Considering these developments, a critical assessment is needed to discuss the opportunities and challenges that emerge for South Asian countries in the geopolitical dynamics of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and their interests and ideas of a multipolar world order.

Therefore, the publication shall explore the following questions:

- What are the national foreign policy agendas and strategies of South Asian countries in the light of current world politics? Which factors determine their geopolitical alliances?
- Which ideas of a multipolar world order are discussed among left political actors in South Asia? What would be the aspired implications for the national political and economic trajectory of South Asian countries?
- What are the benefits of a multipolar world order for peace, social justice and social-ecological transformation of capitalist societies?

The overall objective of the study is to contribute to international dialogue in order to make ideas of academics, policy makers and activists from the Global South more visible for actors in the Global North, especially in the European Union.

### **Contents of the study**

The research project shall address the above mentioned questions throughout engagements with intellectuals and activists of the left in South Asia. It shall contain:

- Extended interviews with experts in different countries in the arena of foreign politics and economy
- A methodical examination of relevant literature, such as policy documents, news or data in order to complement the results

The study shall include perspectives and analysis on different South Asian countries, e.g. India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka to gain a broad comprehensive understanding.

### **Formal requirements for the study**

The study shall consist of 20-25 pages and shall be written in English. A German translation will be commissioned by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation.

A period of eight months is available for the preparation of the study. After the third and sixth month, we expect an interim report.

### **Requirements for applicants**

We are looking for authors who have expertise on foreign policy, international relations, multipolarism and are familiar with left-wing positions in South Asia. We expect the ability to write coherent, analytical texts.

The study can also be written by a team of authors. In this case, we expect a reliable contact person of the team for the coordination with the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung.

### **Application**

The application should contain a CV, short outline of the motivation to work on the study and a concept of three pages, which should be structured as follows:

- Key points of the study including table of contents and structure
- Cost breakdown
- Time schedule

### **The selection will be based on the following criteria:**

- Concept (60%)
- Curriculum vitae (20%)
- Personal and political motivation (20%)

### **Honorarium:**

The honorarium paid for the research (incl. possible travel cost), writing and editing of the publication is 10.000€ and will be paid in installments. To receive the honorarium you require a bank account on which you can receive transfers from a German bank. The contract will be awarded as a work and service contract.

If you are interested, please send a written, legally binding signed offer by 19 May by email to Nadja Dorschner (Resident Representative RLS South Asia Office), [Nadja.dorschner@rosalux.org](mailto:Nadja.dorschner@rosalux.org)

You can withdraw your offer at any time before the deadline. Please note in advance that any award of contract will be based on the UVgO and VOL/B as well as our General Terms and Conditions of Contract.