Sisyphus’ Palace

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VALORIZATION ADDENDUM

The purpose of this addendum is to “valorize” the results of my thesis in accordance with the *Maastricht promotieregelement*. Therein, valorization is defined as “creating value from knowledge, by making knowledge suitable and/or available for social (and/or economic) use and by making knowledge suitable for translation into competitive products, services, processes and new commercial activities”.¹ Few doctoral theses translate into marketable products. The “products” of critical thinking are nuance, complexity, and prudence – results that are indeed difficult to sell. “Making knowledge suitable for social use”, on the other hand, is an inherently political process. It requires the interpretation of knowledge, and will thus always remain tentative, as interpretations compete and change over time. Valorization as defined above is thus both political and provisional. Therefore, it seems to me that the most fitting format to tackle this task is the political essay, a genre that is usually (and rightfully) shunned in academic writing. This addendum thus connects the results of my historical case study to present-day international politics in an essayistic format.

This addendum is not the only form of valorization I engaged in during the PhD trajectory. I presented my work in progress at conferences and workshops in several European countries (the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and Finland). This included several events with an outreach beyond the academic community. I was an invited speaker at colloquia in Cologne and in Freiburg. I presented parts of my research at a conference in Munich with an audience of academics, policy makers, and (former) EU officials. Conference papers I presented at other occasions have led to three book chapters in edited volumes. These books are targeted primarily at academic audiences, but also at IO officials and policy makers. Two of these have already been published; the third is currently in preparation.² Moreover, I have published in web-based publications intended for popular audiences, i.e. in *Themenportal Europäische Geschichte*³ and in the history of science blog *Shells & Pebbles*.⁴ Besides the intended publication of a book based on this PhD thesis, I am currently preparing a chapter for a popular volume celebrating the 100-year anniversary of the League of Nations and of IOs in Geneva. This volume is intended for a broad audience and is published by researchers at the University of Geneva based on an initiative by the Geneva city council and the Swiss Parliament. With

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¹ Promotieregelement Universiteit Maastricht (2018), Artikel 22.
these planned publications, I hope to further increase the popular outreach of my PhD research.

While this thesis’ focus is on the history of a single IO, it seeks to embed this history into the wider story of the emergence of the post-1945 international order. I thus trace several key developments in the reordering of international relations: the UN’s transformation from a military alliance to a permanent peacetime organization; the construction of the Marshall Plan’s “Western Europe” as an alternative framework for economic cooperation to ECE’s “Europe”; the interconnections between the emergence of the EU’s first direct predecessor organizations and other European IOs; and UNCTAD’s replacement of bilateral colonial relations with a rules-based multilateral system. The relatively stable multilateral order epitomized by institutions like the UN, NATO, and the EU is a hard-won achievement of 20th century diplomacy. In this thesis, I emphasize the value of compromise and continuous negotiation. The history of ECE is an example of an IO that worked for international cooperation against a seemingly overwhelming geopolitical trend toward global confrontation. As the world faces new overwhelming challenges, most notably climate change prevention and adaptation, the story told in this thesis might provide some inspiration for careful optimism. Yet, multilateralism and its institutions have been increasingly under fire in recent debates.

The process of researching and writing this thesis took place between 2013 and 2018. During these five years, European and global politics saw some drastic shifts and dramatic developments: the Eurozone debt crisis; the rise of “illiberal democracy” in Hungary, of outright authoritarianism in Turkey, and of right-wing populism in Poland, Austria, Italy and elsewhere; war in Ukraine and Syria; a global migration crisis; the Brexit referendum; and the election of an unpredictable US administration threatening to abandon multilateralism altogether. While I was researching the origins of the post-1945 international order for my thesis, others were busily chipping away at the tenets of that very order. As I was delving deeper into the archives, I began to encounter several of the issues that were central to the reorganization of global politics after World War II not only in my historical sources, but also increasingly in the news cycle. The following sections relate the findings of my historical work to three selected recent political debates: the debate on bilateralism in international trade; the current US administration’s critique of multilateralism and its institutions; and the EU’s cycle of crisis and convergence.