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MORE THAN FOOTBALL. REFLECTIONS ON THE CASE OF THE 1954 WORLD CUP IN SWITZERLAND

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Les rapports entre sport et tourisme forment une dynamique complexe et politique. En s'appuyant sur le cas de la Coupe du monde de football de 1954 en Suisse, Philippe Vonnard et Grégory Quin nous expliquent comment l'univers du sport a pu soutenir le tourisme afin d'obtenir et d'assurer sa légitimité auprès des autorités politiques et de la population locale.

INTRODUCTION:

From 16 June to 4 July 1954, Switzerland hosted the fifth Football World Cup. Interestingly, between the qualifying round (group phase) and the final round of the event (elimination phase), the organizers left a break of one week, with the idea that these few days should allow present foreign tourists to visit the country². This

provision highlights the long-standing relationship between tourism and sport in the Swiss Confederation. Many researchers have shown that this link dates back to the end of the 19th century, when hoteliers developed a sports package in order to attract and retain wealthy foreign customers³, but also from the inter-war period when "Austrian competition" encouraged tourism and sports authorities to think about how skiing should be taught⁴.

¹ The authors want to thank the two reviewers for their helpful comments, and also Laurent Tissot and Quentin Tonnerre, who both made great suggestions for this contribution.

² Archives from the Association Suisse de Football (now « AASF »), Box (BD 359), Folder : 331.5-01. Procès-verbal de la réunion constitutive de la commission du tourisme du 13 avril 1953.

³ S. Barton, *Healthy Living in the Alps. The Origins of Winter Tourism in Switzerland*, 1860-1914, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2008; P. Esposito, « Tourisme médico-sanitaire et développement de l'offre médicale "à la pointe". Arc lémanique et chablais vaudois, 1850-1914 », in M. Gigase, C. Humair and L. Tissot (eds.), *Le tourisme comme facteur de transformations économiques, techniques et sociales (XIX^e-XX^e siècles)*, Neuchâtel, Alphil, 2014, p. 213-232; C. Humair, M. Gigase, J. Lapointe Guigoz and S. Sulmoni, *Système touristique et culture technique dans l'arc lémanique: analyse d'une success story et de ses effets sur l'économie régionale (1852-1914)*, Neuchâtel, Alphil, 2014; F. Favre and P. Vonnard, « Un tourisme sportif? Le rôle des hôteliers dans l'apparition des sports dans la région de Montreux (1880-1914) », *Revue historique vaudoise*, vol. 123, 2015, p. 219-233.

⁴ G. Quin, « De la cure d'air à l'or blanc, une Interassociation Suisse pour le Ski face aux enjeux de l'essor du ski en Suisse (années 1920–années 1960) », *Histoire des Alpes*, n° 22, 2017, p. 135-155.

At the beginning of the 1950s, the place of sport in the Swiss tourism sector entered a new phase that was more broadly part of the development of the tourist economy. The decline in foreign tourists observed during the Second World War - partly offset by an increase in domestic tourism - already seemed far away, as the Office central suisse du tourisme (OCST) indicated that the number of overnight stays by foreigners rose from 7,707 in 1938 to 10,856 in 1953 (an increase of about 30%)⁵. The expansion of transport networks, whether by air, rail or road; the rise of a more favorable economic period in Europe - what some authors have called "Les Trente Glorieuses" - or the invention of new means to facilitate payments (such as credit cards) as well as the gradual extension of paid holidays, encouraged this influx of tourists. It also benefited from the many actions of tourism promoters - both public (such as the OCST) and private (the Société Suisse des Hôteliers - SSH) - who sought to increase the presence of foreign tourists in Switzerland.

It is in this context that the country hosted the 1954 Football World Cup. Together with the Olympic Games, this event - which has been held every four years since 1930 - was the most important international sporting event of the time. The event played in the Confederation was eagerly awaited, as it marked the return of the tournament to Europe - the last World Cup on the Old Continent had been played in 1938. In addition, the organizers were innovating since the sixteen teams were divided for the first time in the history of the tournament, into four groups, which should make it possible to significantly increase the number of matches. Thus, thousands of foreign spectators were expected in Switzerland to attend the event, which lasted one month⁶.

In this context, this contribution aims to examine the concern for tourism among World Cup organizers, especially in the Swiss organizing committee. While the links between sport and tourism has already been well studied by Swiss historians⁷, the consideration of the tourism component by members of an organizing committee for an international sporting event has not received much attention⁸. In this regard, it should be noted that the historiography of the Football World Cup - essentially focused on the men's event - has hardly addressed this theme⁹, as researchers have so far focused mainly on the political aspects of the competition 10. Thus, the touristic aspect of the 1954 World Cup is still under-researched and, if we except two programmatic texts written respectively by Francesco Garufo and Roger Besson¹¹ and

⁵ Office Central Suisse du Tourisme, Rapport annuel 1955, p. 9. All those reports are available online: www.e-periodica.ch

⁶ La Semaine sportive, le 23 avril 1954.

⁷ For the state of the art, see: M. Huggins, « Sport, Tourism and History: Current Historiography and Future Prospects », *Journal of Tourism History*, vol. 5, n° 2, 2013, p. 107-130, or in French, one can read the publications by Anne Dalmasso, Pierre-Olaf Schut or Laurent Tissot.

⁸ About the 1924 Olympic Games in Paris, see: T. Terret (ed.), *Le pari des Jeux olympiques de 1924*, Biarritz, Atlantica, 2004 (see especially the first volume).

⁹ P. Dietschy, « La Coupe du monde : un enjeu politique et économique pour les Etats », *Géoéconomie*, n° 54, 2010, p. 31-38 ; A. Wahl, *Histoire de la Coupe du monde de football : une mondialisation réussie*, Bruxelles, P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2013.

¹⁰ For instance: P. Dietschy, Y. Gastaut and S. Mourlane, Histoire politique des Coupes du monde de football, Paris, Vuibert, 2006; R. Brizzi and N. Sbetti, Storia della compa del mondo di calcio (1930-2018), Politica, sport, globalizzazione, Florence, Le Monnier, 2018.

¹¹ F. Garufo and R. Besson, « La Coupe du Monde 1954 et la prise en charge de ses spectateurs : le point de vue des organisateurs », in N. Bancel, T. David, F. Ohl (eds.), *Le football en Suisse : enjeux sociaux et symboliques d'un spectacle universel*, Neuchâtel, CIES, 2009, p. 47-67.

more recently by Laurent Tissot ¹², as well as some masters thesis ¹³, no extensive researches have been conducted on this topic (using notably the rich documentation which exist in the Swiss national football association's archives)

This paper is based on documentation collected from the 1954 World Cup records and the meetings of the football committee of the Association Suisse de Football (ASF)¹⁴. These informations were cross-referenced with documents collected from the 1954 tournament files at the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) documentation center and with a careful reading of the annual reports of the OCST. To get an overview of what happened at a more local level, we also used documents stored in the archives of the City of Geneva (minutes of the Executive and Legislative Council meetings, various correspondence relating to the organization of the World Cup)¹⁵. Finally, and in order to complete the subject, we carried out a general reading of the Semaine sportive - the main sports weekly in the French-speaking region of Switzerland - and the official bulletin of the Société Suisse des Hôteliers, the Hotel-Revue, as well as more targeted readings in two French-speaking Swiss newspapers that often refer to sports affairs: La Gazette de Lausanne and Le Journal de Genève.

1. A TOURISTIC EVENT?

The first Football World Cup was organized in Uruguay in 1930. This was followed by competitions held in Italy (1934) and France (1938). While, as emphasised by Daphné Bolz, the event had less international impact than the Olympic Games 16 - particularly the 1936 Games in Berlin¹⁷ - the tournament was nevertheless an event that, because of the popularity of football, quickly attracted a major interest. In fact, its organization involved many actors from civil society and in particular companies specialized in national tourism (on-site visits. accommodation) and international tourism (ticket sales, travel of foreign teams and spectators). Alfred Wahl points out that the 1934 World Cup saw a tourist boon that "concerned all the neighbouring countries that qualified for the final round" 18. It should be noted, for example, that for the Round of 16 match being played in Milan between Switzerland and the Netherlands, nearly 10,000 Swiss spectators made the trip to support the national team, according to the Swiss press.

At the end of the Second World War, the event's organiser, FIFA, wanted to quickly relaunch the tournament, which could not be held between 1942 and 1946 due to the

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¹² L. Tissot, « Une histoire économique du football suisse au XX° siècle est-elle possible et utile? », in T. Busset, B. Fincoeur and R. Besson (eds.), En marge des grands: le football en Belgique et en Suisse, Berne, Peter Lang, 2018, p. 99-122.

¹³ G. Mancuso, La Coupe du monde de football de 1954, Mémoire de licence, Université de Neuchâtel, 2008; G. Knaus, Fussball-Weltmeisterschaft 1954: Organisation und Finanzierung einer Internationalen Grossveranstaltung in der Schweiz in den 1950er Jahren, Mémoire de licence, Université de Fribourg, 2009; D. Prudent, La Coupe du monde de football de 1954 en Suisse: Processus organisationnel d'une manifestation sportive d'envergure internationale dans les années 1950, Mémoire de master, Université de Lausanne, 2018.

¹⁴ Especially the boxes 343 to 360 which concern the organization of the competition. At this time, the real name of this body was Association suisse de football et d'athétisme (ASFA). However, we have decided to use the actual name, Association suisse de football (ASF), in this paper.

 ¹⁵ See notably the « Mémorial des séances du Conseil Municipal de la ville de Genève » between 1948 and 1955 (reference : 03. PV) and the correspondence from the « fonds du Service des sports « (reference : 410.Y and 410.Z).
 16 D. Bolz, Les arènes totalitaires : Hitler, Mussolini et les jeux du stade, Paris, CNRS Éditions, 2009.

¹⁷ About Switzerland, one can read : C. Favre, *La Suisse face aux Jeux Olympiques de Berlin 1936*, Fribourg, Université de Fribourg, 2004.

¹⁸ A. Wahl, *Histoire de la Coupe du monde de football, op. cit.*, p. 195.

war. For the members of the International Federation's Executive Committee, the aim was, on the one hand, to encourage the resumption of international sporting activity, which would make it possible to reaffirm its authority over the international management of the game ¹⁹. On the other hand, the aim was also to ensure that there was a steady flow of money again - with FIFA receiving a percentage of the revenue from both the qualifying rounds and the World Cup final tournament – after its secretary general had to draw heavily on its reserve fund to maintain its activities during the war.

At its 1946 general assembly in Luxembourg, it was thus decided to organize the next event in Brazil in 1949²⁰, as this country had the advantage of being outside Europe, which would prevent resentments resulting from the war being stirred up. In addition, with the idea of a tournament between the two major football continents. Europe and South America, it seemed logical to organize the tournament across the Atlantic more than fifteen years after the first competition played in Uruguay. Concerning the second World Cup after the war, the year chosen was 1951 and Switzerland seemed to be favorite to organize it21. A study committee was set up within the ASF, on which sat Vice-President Ernst Thommen, as well as two important figures in Swiss football, former referee Paul Ruoff and former ASF secretary general and member of the Comité Olympique Suisse (COS) at that time, Kurt Gassmann. These three leaders established a first budget and contacted several clubs in

the country's largest cities. The preliminary steps would be used to gauge the support of sports actors and prepare the ground for future discussions with local and national political elites as well as economic elites. On April 1947, a first report on the steps taken by the study group was submitted to the ASF Football Committee.

This desire of football leaders to organize a major international sporting event was part of their wish to develop sport at an international scale²². Indeed, during the interwar period, the country had already hosted many world championships in skiing or cycling, the Geneva Nations Cup in 1930 and the Saint-Moritz Winter Olympic Games in 1928. At the end of the war, the desire to organize major international sporting events was confirmed in the Swiss sports field. In February 1948, Saint-Moritz hosted the Olympic Winter Games and Basel was chosen as the host city for the 1950 World Gymnastics Championships. Similarly, in the early 1950s, the COS clearly indicated to the authorities of the city of Geneva that it wanted to develop a policy for hosting major international competitions and, as such, it intended to organize the Summer Olympic Games in a major city of the country (Bern, Geneva, Lausanne or Zurich) for the year 1960^{23} .

Several factors explain this desire to organize international competitions and in particular the Football World Cup. For the sports authorities, such an event had the advantage of enabling improvements to the country's largest sports venues, which were no longer in step with the development of elite football

¹⁹ G. Quin, « La reconstruction de la Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) après la Seconde Guerre mondiale (1944-1950). Jalons pour une histoire des relations sportives internationales », STAPS, n° 106, 2014, p. 21-35.

Archives from the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (now "AFIFA"), Box: 25th – 27th Ordinary Congress, 1946-1952, Activity Report Minutes. Minutes from the congress in Luxembourg, 25th and 26th of July 1946.

²¹ Despite the fact that the delegation in Luxembourg in 1946 did not seem well-organized. AASF, box (BD 81), folder: 130.10. Minutes of the Football committee meeting, 17th of August 1946.

²² G. Quin, P. Vonnard and C. Jaccoud (eds.), *Des hommes et des réseaux. Le rôle de la Suisse dans l'internationalisation du sport (1912-1972)*, Neuchâtel, Alphil, in press.

²³ Archives from the Ville de Genève (now « AVG »), Box: conseil administratif, 03.dos.40505, Letter from the national olympic committee to the local authorities, 20th of October 1950.

as it was conceived in the early 1950s²⁴. In addition, the competition could provide a financial gain to ASF that would help fulfil its primary mission: the development of football in Switzerland. Other actors in Swiss civil society, and in particular tourism promoters, saw in these international sports events an opportunity to boost their business, as shown by the example of the 1948 Saint-Moritz Winter Olympic Games. On this occasion, one of the main actors in tourism in Switzerland. namely OCST, delegated its deputy director. Florian Niederer, to attend the meetings of the organizing committee and ensured wide propaganda for the event abroad (for example through the distribution of newsletters and the Olympic Games poster).

While Switzerland officially obtained the organization of the second World Cup after the war at the 1948 FIFA Congress²⁵, the setting up of the competition was a real challenge, particularly because of the state of the infrastructure available. That is why, while Switzerland's candidacy was confirmed, it was still subject to some hesitation. In fact, if a problem were to arise Sweden would replace Switzerland, the Swedish association having also applied for the 1954 event²⁶. ASF was therefore being tested and had to quickly demonstrate its ability to meet its commitments.

There was therefore a need for World Cup promoters to convince actors in Swiss civil society to support the project. However, they could be confident that the members of the ASF central committee - composed in particular of several personalities with eminent political mandates and chaired by Ernst

Thommen, the director of the "Sport-toto" lottery²⁷ - had a national political, economic and sports standing that allowed them to hope to be heard by the political authorities, and also by the major transport companies (Chemins de Fer Fédéraux (CFF) and Swissair) as well as by the main players in the tourism sector (OCST) and SSH). Between the beginning of 1950 and mid-1952, many actions were undertaken by the promoters of the world tournament to survey the authorities of major cities²⁸ and those in charge of the federal administration of finance, tourism and transport. Similarly, formal links were being established with SSH and Swissair²⁹. In the autumn of 1952, the process was institutionalized with the creation of an Association Championnat du Monde de Football 1954 en Suisse (ACM). In addition to allowing coordination of the organizational work, the constitution of this association can also be explained because it was important not to jeopardize ASF's budget, while the leaders were very cautious and expected a potential deficit. In order to ensure the best progress of the work, a permanent secretariat was being set up under the direction of André Grandjean - a close associate of Ernst Thommen - whose inclusion would enable the Basel manager to keep himself quickly informed of all the actions taken around the organization of the event.

The association's central committee, whose main tasks were to deal with questions relating to the publicity of the event, movements of teams and the finances of the future tournament, was headed by some fifteen individuals "all of whom are, without exception, active

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²⁴ P. Vonnard, La Genèse de la Coupe des clubs champions européens. Une histoire du football européen (1920-1960), Neuchâtel, CIES, 2012.

 $^{^{25}}$ AFIFA, folder : $25^{\text{th}}-27^{\text{th}}$ Ordinary Congress, 1946-1952, Activity Report Minutes. Minutes from the congress in London, 27th and 28th of July 1948.

²⁶ AFIFA, folder: 25th – 27th Ordinary Congress, 1946-1952, Activity Report Minutes. Minutes from the congress in Rio de Janeiro, 22nd and 23rd of June 1950.

²⁷ X. Breuil, Les paris dans le football. Histoire d'une industrie culturelle, Paris, Nouveau Monde, 2018.

²⁸ AVG, Box : Mémorial des séances du Conseil Municipal de la ville de Genève 1950/1951, Minutes from the meeting, 16th of March 1951.

²⁹ AASF, World Cup 1954, box (BD 359), folder: 331.5-01, Minutes from the meeting between Swissair and MM. Thommen and A. Grandjean, 11th of September 1952.

managers in Swiss football"30 and members of the ASF football committee. We find Ernst Thommen and Helmut Käser, but also Kurt Gassmann, FIFA General Secretary from 1951 onwards, and ASF's Vice-President Gustave Wiederkehr. Similarly, leaders who had contacts with the political authorities because of their mandates, such as Joseph Ackermann (state councilor in Fribourg and national councilor in Bern) and Paul Häfelin (member of the Chamber of States in Bern). were also members of the ACM's Central Committee. In addition, and in order to establish close links with the municipalities of the host cities, local committees were also created. They consisted of influential members of the local political and even sports elite. In mid-1952, the project was well under way: the organizational structure was now in place and some formal work for the tournament could begin more concretely.

2. A PROPAGANDA PROJECT

In his book on the history of the World Cup, Alfred Wahl states that tourism was an essential component of the 1954 World Cup.

"The idea of the organizers (...) was to combine football with tourism. A committee was set up with representatives from hotels, Swissair, railways, post office, etc. It sought to make offers of accommodation to foreign visitors for the week without matches between the Round of 16 and the Quarter-finals. Furthermore, it also endeavored to offer packages for tourist sectors, outside the major cities whose hotels should be left available to regular tourists who were indifferent to the World Cup" 31.

However, this link between sports and tourism stakeholders is not self-evident and is the result of a combination of interests. While the economic stakes for tourism promoters were reasonably clear, for ACM members it was also a question of making connections among tourism stakeholders, in particular with a view to ensuring positive publicity, in Switzerland and abroad, around the World Cup.

2.1. Overcoming objections

In mid-1952, about two years before the start of the event, many civil society actors still had to be convinced, because the organization of the World Cup entailed significant infrastructure costs. As the Confederation had not developed a sports policy at that time, that would make it possible to cover a large part of the expenses associated with the event³². It was therefore the cantonal and communal authorities who were responsible for these matters, but also many private actors. In addition to managing the financial aspects of organizing the World Cup, the revelation of the turnover generated by the previous tournament held in Brazil in 1950 forced the organizing committee to develop a strategy: increase the number of matches to increase revenue³³. However, this measure alone was not enough and it was still necessary that, on the one hand, matches were played in stadiums with around 40,000 seats: on the other hand that these stadiums be filled; and finally that links between cities be guaranteed.

Aware of the stadium difficulty, the ACM took the problem to heart in 1950 by contacting the authorities of the host cities³⁴. However, there were still many obstacles, especially

³⁰ La Semaine sportive, 28th of October 1952.

³¹ A. Wahl, Histoire de la Coupe du monde de football, op. cit., p. 150.

³² Q. Tonnerre and G. Quin, « 'Les Suisses n'iront pas à Melbourne pour n'avoir pas trouvé d'avion convenable'. Histoire d'une non-participation olympique (1948-1956) », Revue Suisse d'Histoire, vol. 67, n° 3, 2017, p. 343-360.

 $^{^{33}}$ AFIFA, Box : World Cup 1954 (organizations meeting 51-54), Report and propositions from Ernst Thommen about the World Cup, 31^{α} of January 1951.

³⁴ AVG, Box: Mémorial des séances du Conseil Municipal de la ville de Genève 1950/1951, Minutes of the meeting, 16th of March 1951.

since the work to be done was sometimes substantial. Thus, it was necessary to renovate. or even build, most of the country's sports infrastructure. In Bern, Lugano and Geneva, the stadiums needed to be significantly expanded. In Basel, Lausanne and Zurich, it was necessary to build them. While in Lausanne, the authorities were enthusiastic and quickly began the construction of a new stadium that would enable the capital of the canton of Vaud - the seat of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) since 1915^{35} - to prepare as well as possible a new bid (following the 1952 bid) for the 1960 Summer Olympic Games, in other cities the debate was heated. Political actors, whether from the left-wing minority or from the different parties making up the rightwing majority, formulated different arguments against municipal investment. In addition to the misunderstanding that political authorities may still support investments that ultimately did little for the community as a whole - as stadiums are mainly used by elite football clubs - there were also voices underlining that sports other than football - which already received subsidies needed strong state support (for example for the construction of public swimming pools).

In Basel and Zurich, because of the sums finally granted by the municipal authorities, direct-democratic mechanisms were bringing the people to express their opinions. In Basel, in November 1952, the population refused to support the creation of the new stadium. At the beginning of 1953, the situation seemed tense and while a new vote was to be held this time in Zurich, Max Brunner, one of the members of the central organizing committee, gave an interview to the Belgian sports newspaper *La Vie sportive* in which he stated: "If we accept these credits, we will undoubtedly be able to

get by, but if we do not, nothing says that we will not have to relinquish the organization of the World Cup"³⁶. It is difficult to know if the leader really believed what he was saying or if he was trying to put pressure on voters because, as a journalist for *La Semaine sportive* pointed out, alternative solutions in other cities were possible. In addition, it would appear that "the promoters of the Basel stadium have 'turned around' and that it will be ready for the desired date"³⁷.

Indeed, the organizing committee quickly found ways to deal with this situation. Thus, in Basel, and under the impetus of Ernst Thommen - a native of that city who worked for many years in the municipal public works department -, a solution was proposed: the Sport-toto would largely finance the construction of the stadium. In Geneva, another city that saw lively discussions within the City Council, the arguments in favor of expanding the stadium to provide the city with a venue worthy of its status as an international capital and the possible benefits of hosting a few World Cup matches, especially for the local economy, finally tipped the balance. The municipal authorities agreed to advance CHF 500,000, which would be gradually reimbursed by deductions from the winnings of the Sport-toto³⁸.

In the spring of 1953, the stadium issue was finally settled³⁹. Nevertheless, the debates that took place on the issue tarnished the organizers' credit somewhat. A few days before the Zurich vote, Gustave Wiederkehr indicated that while solutions would probably be found if the elections failed, such a situation would nevertheless represent "a shame for the city of Zurich" 140. It was therefore important that

³⁵ On the establishment of the IOC in Lausanne see: P. Morath, Le CIO à Lausanne. 1939-1999, Yens sur Morges, Éditions Cabédita, 2000.

³⁶ La Semaine Sportive, 25th of December 1952.

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ AVG, Box: Mémorial des séances du Conseil Municipal de la ville de Genève 1950/1951, Minutes of the meeting, 3rd of April 1951.

³⁹ D. Prudent, La Coupe du monde de football de 1954 en Suisse, op. cit., p. 25.

⁴⁰ La Semaine sportive, 29th of January 1953.

World Cup promoters developed active propaganda among the Swiss public in favor of the event. There was also the need for the event to bring in enough money for FIFA and possibly ASF, which meant that stadiums must be filled, particularly by spectators from abroad. The question of tourism therefore arises as a kind of obligation for the organizers, who were betting on this aspect to legitimize the holding of the event with certain members of the economic and political elites who were cautious about it.

2.2. Making some publicity

The establishment, in December 1952. of a propaganda committee within the ACM made it possible to establish an alliance, or at least a cooperation, between football and tourism promoters, following the example of what ski promoters had been doing since the 1930s⁴¹. Composed of representatives of the Central Committee, the Association Suisse des Journalistes and the Société Suisse de Radio, a delegate of the CFF, the Office Central Suisse de Radiodiffusion (OCSR) and a delegate from the SSH, the committee's task was explicitly to disseminate information about the event, in Switzerland and abroad. In order to facilitate the work, two sub-sections were created, one concerning the press and the other reserved for propaganda. In fact it was this committee, and not the tourism committee, that undertook the most serious steps to create as much publicity as possible around the event, with the ultimate goal of bringing as many tourists as possible to Switzerland in June 1954. The impact of the event in Europe but also in distant Central and South American countries and the fact that the tournament took place during the pre-summer hotel season which had the advantage of filling the hotels in June without prejudicing the tourism in July and August - were arguments in favor of an investment by tourism stakeholders in the organization of the event.

In the spring of 1953, several concrete actions were taken to publicize the future tournament. First of all, the members of the committee were working to select the best channels for disseminating information in the foreign press, whether generalist or sports. Thus, the president of the "propaganda" sub-section, Schihin, noted that he would discuss with a delegation of journalists from Central and South America at a meeting of the Association Internationale de la Presse Sportive⁴². Similarly, OCST was expected to contact its 16 agencies based in several major world capitals to obtain lists of newspapers where World Cup information might be integrated.

Furthermore it was also a question of producing publications specific to the organizing committee. In connection, discussions were taking place around the publication of posters and even brochures that would include useful information for foreign tourists. Among the other measures recommended, the main one was the publication of an official bulletin of the 1954 World Cup, the main objective of which would be to disseminate information on the future tournament on a large scale in Switzerland and abroad. But it was also a matter of informing and even reassuring international public opinion about Switzerland's ability to welcome foreign tourists in good conditions. Indeed, on the 30th of January 1953, Schihin informed his colleagues that "serious rumors are circulating in Belgium that already no more places are available in hotels for the World Cup period"43.

After several weeks of discussion - including some on the independent publication of the newsletter and its financing - the members of

⁴¹ G. Quin, « De la cure d'air à l'or blanc », art. cit.

 $^{^{42}}$ AASF, Box (BD 359), folder: 331.5-01. Minutes of the founding meeting from the propaganda committee, 20^{th} of March 1953.

⁴³ AASF, Box (BD 359), folder: 331.5-01. Discussion between Senger, Schihin and Grandjean, 30th of January 1953.

the committee agreed to launch two successive bulletins to be published in four languages (German, English, French and Italian). The first, entitled "Newsletter", would contain general information about the event and would also include a few words about the country itself, in order to attract the attention of foreign tourist circles. The second, called "Tourist Bulletin", was more specifically dedicated to the reception of foreigners in the country and would indicate to tourists possible activities to be carried out during their stay. In addition, these bulletins - in particular the tourist bulletin - should also provide OCST agencies abroad with texts that they could reproduce in their own official bulletins⁴⁴.

The bulletins must be distributed in Switzerland and abroad. Thus, 6,000 copies (3,500 in German and English and 2,500 in French and Italian) of the first bulletin were distributed to the press, OCST agencies, FIFA and individuals. As a sign of the importance of the tourist aspect of the event, the second bulletin was printed in greater numbers than the first. The OCST alone planned to sell 6,000 to its agencies or other partners. What does this number mean? Compared to other publications of this type, such as the monthly notebooks with a circulation of 15,000 copies⁴⁵, it can be considered relatively important. In its annual report for 1953, the OSCT also mentioned that the 1954 World Cup caused significant additional work for its secretariat.

3. BOOSTING EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL TOURISM

In the first bulletin published in November 1953, the chairman of the propaganda

committee, Max Senger, described the importance of the tourist attraction around the football event. He notes:

"Switzerland, a land of beautiful holidays

A small country, a big title! However, this is neither inaccurate nor undeserved; is Switzerland not one of the most beautiful countries in which to spend holidays, and has it not traditionally been visited from all parts of the world?

Nowhere else are there so many natural and different beauties so close to each other. The organizers of the World Football Championships have therefore sought to find ways to give the guests who will follow the matches of this universal competition the opportunity to admire at the same time the magnificent sites that have made tourism in Switzerland so successful⁴⁶."

In the last months before the World Cup, the promoters of the event and those of tourism would take concrete measures to welcome foreigners coming to stay in the Confederation as well as possible.

3.1. Showing a good image of Switzerland to foreigners

The event was indeed recognized as being able to bring a large number of foreign visitors to the country and would make it possible to create good publicity for Switzerland, especially in distant countries such as those of Central and South America. In fact, it was necessary to ensure the logistical aspects of tourists' travels in Switzerland and to allow them to purchase match tickets directly in their own country. To achieve this objective, a sub-committee of the propaganda committee (entitled "tourism sub-committee") to manage the transport of teams was formally created

⁴⁴ AASF, Box (BD 359), folder: 331.5-01. Minutes of the founding meeting from the propaganda committee, 20th of March 1953

⁴⁵ Office Central Suisse du Tourisme, Rapport annuel 1953, section « propagande et matériel de propagande », p. 17-34.

⁴⁶ AASF, Box (BD. 360), folder: 331.5-02, *Bulletin d'information du comité d'organisation de la Coupe du monde de 1954*, n° 1, November 1953, p. 9.

on 8 January 1953⁴⁷. The body occupies a special place in the organization since, even if Ernst Thommen and Secretary Grandjean participated in several meetings, no member of the ACM was officially a member, the committee being placed under the direction of the OCST⁴⁸. The sub-committee was composed of:

- Florian Niederer, President, Delegate of the Office central suisse du Tourisme (OCST)
- Mr. Hinterberger, Delegate of the Chemins de Fer Fédéraux (CFF)
- Max Budliger, Delegate of the Société Suisse des Hôteliers (SSH)
- Hans Sommer, Delegate of Swissair
- E. Schäffeler, Director of the agency Helvetia European Tours (HET)⁴⁹

Niedererer was therefore assisted by several employees who worked in large Swiss companies or companies active in the field of tourism; including the two transport companies (air and rail) to assist external travel to Switzerland and internal travel within the country. In addition, the presence of a representative of the SSH should facilitate foreigners' stays in the country. Finally, in order to coordinate the sale of tickets abroad, the director of Helvetia European Tours, one of Switzerland's leading tourism agencies, also sat on the sub-committee.

The issue of ticket sales was one of the major issues that concerned the members of the Committee on Tourism, as its importance derived directly from the problem of filling the stadiums mentioned above. This included the ability to sell tickets abroad, especially in countries whose national team would participate in

the competition, to ensure the economic success of the event itself. Foreign ticket sales activity was therefore placed under the responsibility of Helvetia European Tours, based in Basel, which would endeavor to offer tickets that combined transport, accommodation and stadium access, without making "ticket sales dependent on firm hotel room reservations" ⁵⁰. In addition, there were also discussions about seat prices, which some considered too low - especially for seats in covered stands ⁵¹. Similarly, hotel room prices must be controlled to avoid potential over-critical press campaigns abroad ⁵².

For the members of the committee, it was not only a question of selling tickets, but also of offering a quality stay to foreigners who came to the country, in order to give a good image of Switzerland. This issue is reflected in many documents of the organizing committee. as evidenced by a letter from Ernst Thommen to Stanley Rous on the 7th of January 1953 concerning ticket quotas for national federations, in which the Basel leader stated that he was "concerned that the English should not be disappointed with the tourist organization of the holiday country that Switzerland represents for them"53. In order to optimize the stay of foreigners in the country, the organizers took an important decision, namely to leave five days free for meetings between the Round of 16 and the Quarter-finals. In addition to facilitate the "possible organization of support matches", this decision must be seen as a godsend for the tourism sector's business. particularly in regions that did not host the competition stadiums or did not host a team. Thus, a letter from the Secretary of the ACM to the president of FC Sion states that, in the

⁴⁷ AASF, Box (BD 359), folder: 331.5-01. Minutes of meeting of the subcommittee for tourism, 20th of February 1953, p. 1.

⁴⁸ Office Central Suisse du Tourisme, *Rapport annuel 1954*, p. 39.

⁴⁹ AASF, report from Thommen and Grandjean for the organization committee at the FIFA, 21st of October 1953, p. 1.

⁵⁰ AASF, Box (BD. 355), folder: 331.2-10, Documents concerning contacts between ACM and HET, Letter from the director of the HET to the secretary of the ACM, 23rd of February 1954, p. 1.

⁵¹ AASF, Box (BD. 344), folder: 331.2-03, Minutes of the general assembly of the ACM, 21st of July 1953, p. 6.

⁵² AASF, Box (BD. 359), folder: 331.5-01, Minutes of meeting of the subcommittee for tourism, 13rd of April 1953, p. 4.

 $^{^{53}}$ AASF, Box (BD. 355), folder: 331.2-10, Documents concerning the tickets, Letter from Ernst Thommen to Stanley Rous, 7^{th} of January 1953, p. 2.

absence of a meeting in the canton of Valais, the tourism sub-committee will be "able to offer the many foreign visitors expected, package arrangements allowing them, during the one-week break between the eighth and quarter-finals, to get to know the natural beauties of [this canton]"⁵⁴.

Finally, the tourism sub-committee developed a program of possible excursions to be

offered to visitors. These could be a day in places considered typical of the country, such as Interlaken, Zermatt or Gruyère, or several days' stay in the cantons of Graubünden or Ticino, especially during the break week. The offer was significant and the brochures would be distributed in both the HET and OCST networks, reflecting the investment made by the tourism sector in the event.

Illustration - Excerpt of the touristic programs proposed during the one week break⁵⁵

	GRAMMES GRISONS	PROGRAMMES VALAIS
	Programme Grisons I Tour No 201	Programme Valais I Tour No 301
	Zurich - Coire Repas du soir et chambre	(er jour Départ de Montreux ou de Spiez En trein II. classe jusqu'à Zernatt, places réservé Lunch eu wagon-restaurant. Transfert de la gara
2 ^{sme} jour	Coire - St-Moritz Petil déjeuner à l'hôtel, Départ en train, II. classe, pour St-Moritz, Transfert à l'hôtel, Lunch et repas du soir, chambre	l'hôtel. Repas du soir, chambre 2ème jour Zermatt Journée libre à Zermatt. Pension complète à l'hô
3ème jour	Si-Moritz Petit déjeuner à l'hôtel. Excursion en Irain à Pontre- sina et Alp Grum. Lunch. Relour pour le repas du soir à St-Moritz. Chambes	3ème jour Excursion Gornergrat Petit déjeuner à l'hôtel. Excursion au Gornergrat chemin de fer à crémaillère et funch. Rétour pour repes du soir, chambra
4ème jour	St-Moritz Journée libre, pension complète à l'hôtel	4600 jour Zermatt Journée libre. Pension complète à l'hôtel
Some jour	Journee nore, pension comprete a r note! St-Moritz - Lugano - Zurich. Pelit déjeuner et lunch à l'hôtel. Départ en cer postel, places réservées, pour Lugano par la col de la Maloja. En Irain de Lugano à Zurich. Repas du soir au wegon- restaurant	Sten jour Zermatt - Montreux ou Spiez Petit déjeuner à l'hôtel. Transfert de l'hôtel à le ga Retour à Montreux ou Spiez Fin du voyage
Prix:	Fin du voyage fit. 1, 287.— sans guide (avec guide, supplément par personne fr.s. 10.— à partir de 10 personnes), y competit sain il. classa Zurich - Coire - 5-Monitz - Pontresina - Alp Grum - SI-Monitz et car postel SI-Monitz - Lugano, puis train Lugano - Zurich, Pension complète (en foul 14 repas) et repas du soir dans le wagon-restaurant. Tous pourboires et laxes, translett de l'hôfel aux moyens de fransport, et vice yersa. Très bens hôtels de classe moyenne	Pris: fr. s. 287.— sans guide (avec guide, supplément personne fr. s. 10.— 8 partir de 10 personnes), v. co pris train II. classe de Montreux ou Spiez - Brigu Zarmatt et relour. Pension compléte à l'hôlet (en fr. 13 repas). Excursion Gormegraf. Tous pourboires saxes, transfert de la gaire à l'hôlet et vica versa. Ti bons hôlets de classe moyenne.
		Programme Valais II Tour No 302
		187 jour Départ de Montreux ou de Spiez pour Sierre
1°r jour	Programme Crisons el Tessin II Tour No 202 Tour No 202 Tour No 202 Train II. classe avec places réservées de Zurich ou Lucema à Laracheide. Transert de la gare à l'hôtel. Ropas du soir et chambre.	De Sierre course en car postal jusqu'à le magnifici stetion d'alfitude de Crans sur Sierre, Places réservé dans le car, Transfert du car à l'hôtel, Repas du so chambre. Zème et
The same of		3tms jours Journées libres. Pension complète a l'hôtel. Possibil de faire de magnifiques promenades dans les en
Zame Jour	Lenzerheide - SI-Moritz Patit déjeuner à l'hôtel, puis départ pour St-Moritz, lunch. Après-midi libre. Repes du soir et chambre	tons immédiats de Crans 4i== jour Crans sur Sierre - Montreux ou Spiez
3ère jour	St-Moritz - Lugano Pelil déjeuner à l'hôtel. Départ par car postal pour Lugano par le col de la Maloja, places réservées.	Pelit déjeuner et lunch à l'hôtel. Descente en c postal à Sierre, puis de là en frain II, classe jusqu Montreux ou Spiez Fin du voyage
4ères jour	Repas du soir à Lugano et chambre Lugano	Prix: fr. s. 218.— sans guide (avec guide, supplément p personne fr. s. 10.— à partir de 10 personnes), y co
	Petit déjeuner et lunch à l'hôtel. Possibilité de feire une excursion en Italie (Stresa - Côme - Villa d'Este) ou Tour du lac. Repas du soir, chambre	pris car postal et train II. classe Montreux ou Spie: Sierre - Crans - Montreux ou Spiez. Pension co plète à l'hôtel (en tout 9 repas). Tous pourboires
	Lugano - Zurich ou Lucerne Petil déjeuner et lunch à l'hôtel. Après-midi com- plète libre, puis départ en train, II. classe, pour Zurich ou Lucerne	taxes, transfert du car postal à l'hôtel et vice ver Très bons hôtels de classe mayenne
	Fin du voyage	PROGRAMMES OBERLAND BERNO
Prix:	fr. 1. 304.— sans guide (avec guide, supplément par personne fr. 3. 10.— à partir de 10 personnes), train II. classe Zurich ou Lucerne - Lenzerheide - 51-Moritz - car postal St-Moritz - Lugano par le col de la Maloja, puis frain jusqu'à Zurich ou Lucerne. Pension com-	Programme Oberland Bernois I Tour No 401 1er jour Lucerne - Interlaken
- 1	plète (13 repas). Tous pourboires et taxes, transfert du train ou du cer postal à l'hôtel et vice versa y compris. Très bons hôtels de classe moyenne	En train II. classe de Lucerne à Interlaken par le c du Brunig. Places réservées dans le train. Transf de la gare à l'hôtel. Repas du soir, chambre

⁵⁴ J. Berthoud, G. Quin, P. Vonnard, Le football suisse. Des pionniers aux professionnels, Lausanne, PPUR, 2016, p. 64.

⁵⁵ AASF, Box (BD. 355), folder: 331.2-10, Prospectus promoting several tours in Switzerland during the World Cup.

If it was a question of showing a beautiful image of Switzerland through trips to regions with enchanting nature, foreigners were also offered the image of a dynamic country that wanted to be resolutely turned towards modernity. The stadiums in which the matches would be played must demonstrate this aspect and would offer many seats in the stands - which sometimes led to new additional work, as in Geneva where this willingness of the organizing committee forced the local authorities to install additional tubular stands to achieve the 40,000 seats previously promised⁵⁶. Similarly, as part of a desire to show a "modern Switzerland", there should also be access to loudspeakers. At the beginning of 1953, Ernst Thommen approached the local organizing committee in Geneva to express concerns about the possibility of transport to and from the Charmilles stadium: "The problem of transporting spectators to and from the event will arise (...) acutely. Due to the interest in World Cup matches between the best national football teams in the world and the large number of foreign spectators we expect, we must infer that World Cup matches will be played in packed stadiums⁷⁵⁷.

The ASF central president intended to obtain from the Compagnie Genevoise des Tramways Électriques (CGTE) a doubling of the lanes to the Charmilles sports park. However, it would not be monitored by local authorities, in particular because of the very short deadlines for the renovation of this type of equipment. Sometimes, in Switzerland, these two aspects – tradition and modernity – are combined, as is the case with the Pontaise stadium (in Lausanne). A modern facility with 50,000 seats, its position in the north of the city offered spectators a breathtaking view of the Alps and Lake Geneva.

3.2. Creating a sensation among the Swiss public

Foreigners were not the only ones targeted by the event's promoters because, to ensure its success, it was essential to create enthusiasm within Swiss society. However, here again, sporting and tourist interests intersected. Indeed, as noted in the 1954 OCST's Annual Report, domestic tourism had grown strongly, surpassing "international tourism in all OECE countries [and therefore] deserves the careful attention of the hotel and public transport industry, in the very interest of their economies". The report even adds that this tourism "constitutes in each country the nourishing ground essential to the provision of the more lavish services required by international tourism"58.

After having prepared the ground for the population in the months preceding the event, it was also a question of promoting the presence of the local population at the games. In this context, it was very important that the media advertise the World Cup. This is why, on the beginning of June 1953, the propaganda committee stated "that a special information service should be created in the following months for the Swiss press, which groups more than 250 newspapers"59. In addition, it was also planned to send the newsletter directly to major newspapers with sports sections and to specialized newspapers. The latter had a major role to play. A general reading of La Semaine sportive shows that, since the launch of the bid, articles had appeared regularly on the activities of the ACM. From mid-1953 onwards, readers were also offered information on the preparation and state of fitness of the national team, while about two months

⁵⁶ AVG, Box: Mémorial des séances du Conseil Municipal de la ville de Genève 1953/1954, Minutes of the meeting, 29th of June 1954.

⁵⁷ AASF, Box (BD. 348), folder: 331.4-03, Letter from Ernst Thommen to the direction of the CGTE, 28th of February 1953.

⁵⁸ Office Central Suisse du Tourisme, Rapport annuel 1954, section « Introduction », p. 6.

⁵⁹ AASF, Box (BD. 345), folder: 331.2-04, Minutes of the meeting between delegates for finances, press and propaganda, 3rd of June 1953, p. 8.

before the competition, each issue provided an opportunity to specifically explore, on a full page, one of the teams qualified for the event.

In order to boost this domestic tourism, the organizers also decided to set the time of the matches at the end of the day, i.e. to avoid disrupting people's working hours. Moreover, the event's calendar was directly designed to encourage the enthusiasm of the Swiss population, by "ensuring that the Swiss national team systematically plays on the last day of its qualifying round", which would make it possible to "maintain the public interest" 60.

Finally, the stay of the national teams was used both to promote Switzerland abroad and to create enthusiasm for the event at the

local level. From this point of view, as part of an early collaboration with the SSH, a list of hotels was made available to foreign delegations to organize their stays, who could even - at the invitation of the organizing committee - come and test the proposed hotels. While the SSH's action did lead to the setting of relatively high overnight rates, intended to promote the interests of hoteliers, it also assured the organizing committee that they would be able to respond without problem to the "wishes expressed by coaches regarding the composition of menus and meal times"61. According to Alfred Wahl, this was the first time in the history of the Football World Cup that such steps had been taken, to the greatest satisfaction of the players and for the benefit of the designated hotels 62.

Table 1. Locations (towns and games) of the 1954 WM teams

Team	Town	State (Canton)	Location of games
Germany	Spiez	Bern	Bern, Basel, Zurich, Geneva
England	Lucerne	Lucerne	Basel, Bern, Basel
Austria	Baden	Aargau	Zurich, Lausanne, Basel
Belgium	Rheinfelden/Lugano	Basel/Ticino	Basel, Lugano
Brazil	Macolin	Bern	Geneva, Lausanne, Bern
South Korea	Thun	Bern	Zurich, Geneva
Scotland	Lucerne	Lucerne	Zurich, Basel
France	Dully S/Rolle	Vaud	Lausanne, Geneva
Hungary	Solothurn	Solothurn	Zurich, Basel, Bern, Lausanne
Italy	Vevey/Lugano	Vaud/Ticino	Lausanne, Lugano, Basel
Mexico	Nyon	Vaud	Geneva
Switzerland	Macolin	Bern	Lausanne, Bern, Basel, Lausanne
Czechoslovakia	Olten	Bern	Bern, Zurich
Turkey	Lucerne	Lucerne	Bern, Geneva, Zurich
Uruguay	Hilterfingen	Bern	Bern, Basel, Zurich
Yugoslavia	Yverdon	Vaud	Lausanne, Geneva

 $^{^{60}}$ AASF, Box (BD. 359), folder : 331.5-01, Minutes of meeting of the subcommittee for tourism, 24^{th} of March 1953, p. 3.

⁶¹ AASF, Box (BD. 345), folder: 331.2-04, Minutes of the meeting between delegates for finances, press and propaganda, 3rd of June 1953, p. 8.

⁶² A. Wahl, Histoire de la Coupe du monde de football, op. cit., p. 86.

It is interesting to note that the hotels were located in several cities across the country. In fact, except for Brazil and Switzerland who stayed in Magglingen, and Belgium and Italy who were forced to change their base camp for the game they played in Lugano, all the teams moved to different cities. There were therefore 15 cities in eight cantons that hosted the teams. In addition, the delegation had to travel around the country to play their matches, the biggest teams - in other words, those that went furthest in the competition and therefore the most popular, often playing matches in four different cities. In fact, it must be said that the whole country would show great interest in the 1954 World Cup.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this contribution was to explore the organizers of the 1954 World Cup's concern for tourism. At the close of this article, which has allowed us to expand on the preliminary reflections of authors such as Alfred Wahl, Francesco Garufo and Roger Besson, we can indicate that for the organizers the tourism argument actually contained two essential components. First, due to the financial results of the World Cup held in Brazil four years earlier, the stadium occupancy rate should be satisfactory in order to be able to pay a similar amount to FIFA. Consequently, it was necessary to publicize the event widely in order to bring, via internal or external tourism, the maximum number of visitors to Switzerland during the month of the tournament. Secondly, the tourist argument made it possible to affirm the size of the event but, on the assumption that this can be empirically tested in future research, also seems to have made it possible to create a consensus around an event that experienced some opposition, in particular on the question of stadium financing. Indeed, arguably, the World Cup did

not only serve the interests of Swiss sports but also benefited an important sector of the Swiss economy: tourism. For this reason the issue of tourism was widely discussed in the propaganda committee and produced benefits in particular from the printing of a Bulletin specifically devoted to tourism.

In addition, we argued that cooperation was rapidly developing between the promoters of the event and tourism stakeholders, in particular within a tourism sub-committee that included representatives of the main players in the sector in Switzerland. In fact, the study shows that there was therefore, on the one hand, an "external" tourist argument, which should make it possible to publicize the event as much as possible, in order to attract maximum numbers of foreign tourists. On the other hand, there was an "internal" tourism argument, the objective of which was that cooperation between the organizers and various players in the tourism sector should make it possible to create sympathy among the country's population for the international event.

In order to flesh out these two aspects, it seems necessary to compare these actions with the results obtained. To conclude, let us therefore venture into a brief reflection on the real effects of the 1954 World Cup on tourism. In his final thesis on the 1954 World Cup, Grégoire Mancuso details the figures for the number of people attending the various 1954 World Cup matches⁶³. These appear to be quite good, with a few exceptions, notably during the matches against Turkey and South Korea, and a total of more than 740,000 spectators were counted during the entire competition. This figure allowed the ACM to reimburse the costs incurred, to pay FIFA a sum similar to the Brazilian event, while producing a profit of CHF 2 814 403,45, an important amount because it corresponded to almost three times its annual balance sheet at the time 64. The strategy developed by the ACM

⁶³ G. Mancuso, La Coupe du monde de football de 1954, op. cit.

⁶⁴ AASF, box (BD. 90), folder: 03-05, ASF Annual report 1953-1954.

central committee to increase the number of matches therefore proved to be largely successful. However, the average attendance rate of 57.6% also reflects the difficulties that accompanied the organization of the event and questions the effectiveness of the steps taken upstream to bring foreign tourists to Switzerland. This is all the more so, since such statistics do not exist for excursions and other activities planned for tourists. In fact, to judge the success of the communication and propaganda undertaken around the World Cup, it is necessary to convene the more global statistics of tourism in Switzerland, but we then come up against the limits of the available data or even, more precisely, the capacity of such an event to generate a significant tourist dynamic 65. It is therefore difficult to assess the overall result of the organizers' efforts, and according to Laurent Tissot, the impact of the World Cup on tourism was limited and was rather part of a process that saw Swiss tourism experience a positive trend during the Glorious Thirties. In addition, he stressed an interesting point, namely that in 1954 external tourism exceeded domestic tourism⁶⁶. In the 1954 OCST report, it is stated: "The somewhat more

favorable frequency rate for hosts from some overseas countries, such as South America and Asia, was determined primarily by the World Football Championships and the Asian Conference in Geneva"⁶⁷.

While the outcome of the World Cup should be appreciated in the longer term, it also seems interesting to us to mention not "tourism" but "tourisms". Visitors from neighboring countries and Swiss tourists travelled to the country on an occasional basis, with the possibility of round-trip travels during the day. Moreover, this situation reveals an important point that historians have probably not yet developed much: the Football World Cup in the 1950s probably did not have a real impact on national tourism, but it could very well have played an important role in the local economy, first in the cities that hosted teams and, more significantly, in the matches of the tournament. These elements therefore lead us to conduct, in the future, new research on the tourism component at an international sporting event, by broadening the scope of investigation to the many actors involved, whether they operate at the international, national or local level.

⁶⁵ It is possible to find this kind of information in Official documentation (for instance *Statistique historique de la Suisse*).

⁶⁶ L. Tissot, « Une histoire économique du football suisse », *art. cit.*, p. 117.

⁶⁷ Office Central Suisse du Tourisme, *Rapport annuel 1953*, section « Le développement du tourisme en 1954 », p. 12.