EUROPEAN TRAVEL COMMISSION

1948 ---2018





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The History of the European Travel Commission

1948 --2018

> FRANK SCHIPPER IGOR TCHOUKARINE SUNE BECHMANN PEDERSEN



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European Travel Commission (ETC)

Rue du Marché aux Herbes 61 1000 Brussels, Belgium This project emerged from conversations, in 2015, between Igor Tchoukarine and the European Travel Commission's (ETC) Executive Director, Eduardo Santander, who expressed an interest in commissioning a publication on the organisation's history to commemorate its 70th anniversary. In October 2017 the project was officially commissioned and undertaken by three professional historians-Dr. Igor Tchoukarine, as project leader (University of Minnesota), Dr. Sune Bechmann Pedersen (Lund University), and Dr. Frank Schipper (Foundation for the History of Technology, Eindhoven)—working closely together with ETC staff (Iulia Niculica and Sophie McGuirk), whose exceptional support was decisive in bringing the project to completion. Research for the project was carried out in the ETC archives in Brussels, the archives of the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) in Madrid (and we would explicitly like to thank Maria Ángeles Prieto for her help), the Danish National Archives in Copenhagen, and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) archives in Paris. While the volume is collectively authored, Schipper conducted interviews and archival research in Madrid and Brussels, and drafted chapters 3 to 6. Bechmann Pedersen drafted chapter 1 and Tchoukarine drafted chapter 2 and the conclusion.

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We are living in exceptional times. The majority of the world's population now lives in middle-income countries; over the last 20 years, the proportion of the world's population living in extreme poverty has almost halved. Average life expectancy today is 70 years and over 80 percent of one-year-old children have been vaccinated. Over 80 percent of people have access to electricity, and the three most endangered species in 1996 are less critically endangered today. The number of deaths per year from natural disasters has decreased to less than half over the last hundred years. And more people than ever are travelling. The UNWTO predicts that by 2030, over 1.8 billion people will cross borders as international tourists.

Europe has played a leading role in all these evolutions. Peace in Europe has guaranteed the world's prosperity for seven decades. Bringing the European continent together has been qualified as the world's most important peace project ever. When ETC was founded in 1948, the old continent was under reconstruction. The joint efforts of the Western European National Tourism Organisations were aimed at advocating the importance of tourism for prosperity and peace, through knowledge-building, promotional activities and an advocacy agenda.

In the bustling decades following WWII, tourism has been an important engine and catalyst for economic growth and job creation. Over the past decade, however, we saw an increasing preoccupancy with the sustainability of the current growth model. ETC has faced this challenge and started reviewing its strategy from 2014 onwards. In search of an answer to the questions "How can tourism help local communities to flourish?" and "How can we make Europe itself stronger as a flourishing community?", ETC rediscovered its roots and historical mission.

You can read it all in this book in which, for the first time, the authors have outlined the seven decades that define the history of tourism in Europe and of the world's oldest intergovernmental tourism organisation. It's an exciting journey that reflects how our beloved Europe has faced and overcome challenges.

It will also, I trust, give you a message of hope. As long as we're able to come together as Europeans and define our common dreams, unleashing the creative genius of our citizens, our leadership in the tourism field will open doors to a better world where people will view travelling as a conscious act of exploration and open-mindedness, as an experience of sharing values and respecting identities that can transform our lives. And that can also transform the places where we live and the communities we live in, so that future generations may benefit from all the treasures Europe has to offer.

Peter De Wilde.

President of the European Travel Commission.

The year 2018 marks the 70th anniversary of the 1948 founding of the European Travel Commission (ETC). In celebration of the ETC's enduring efforts to make travel to and within Europe more accessible and appealing, this book offers a detailed historical account of the ETC's first seven decades.

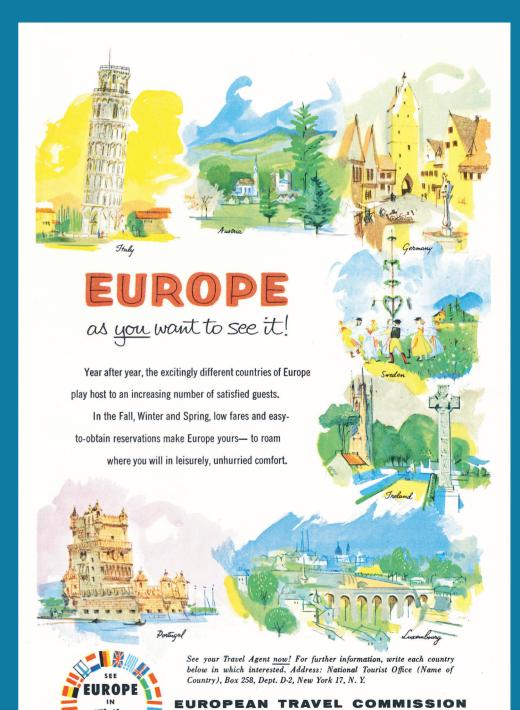
In 1945, when Europe emerged from the most devastating war the world has ever seen, a host of visionary tourism experts in Europe and the US realised tourism's potential contribution to the reconstruction of the continent. Before the war, Europe's National Tourist Organisations (NTOs) had pursued common goals through the Union Internationale des Organes Officiels de Propagande Touristique (UIOOPT), but with limited success. Now the time was ripe for much closer cooperation in the field of tourism. The West European NTOs created the European Travel Commission in 1948 to advocate the importance of tourism for prosperity and peace. More concretely, as one of several new organisations involved in post-war European reconstruction, the ETC produced new knowledge about European tourism, promoted travel to the continent from other parts of the world, and fought red tape wherever it saw impediments to travellers' mobility and tourism development.

Seventy years down the road, the ETC remains as relevant as ever. For 70 years, the ETC has been a key institution in European tourism, sharing knowledge, coordinating efforts across borders, and connecting government and industry stakeholders. This book is thus about an organisation that has played, and continues to play, a crucial role in shaping contemporary European tourism.

Composed of six broadly chronological chapters, this book begins with a chapter on the origins of the ETC, tracing its links to interwar developments in tourism (1918–1939), post-1945 tourism organisations, and the Marshall Plan (1948–1952). The second chapter focuses on the ETC's flagship activity—its joint publicity action in America—between 1949 and 1963. Chapter 3 concentrates on the ETC's advocacy work, its institutional

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history (including the transfer of its headquarters to Dublin in 1963), and the new challenges that mass tourism, which emerged in full force in the 1960s, brought to the organisation. Chapter 4 moves to the 1970s and 1980s, a decade during which the ETC became a global player in the field of tourism, increasingly promoting Europe in long-haul markets. Focusing on the period 1968 to 1989, the chapter discusses this issue alongside the technological changes and business partnerships that characterised these years. Chapter 5 spans the more than two decades between 1990 and 2011, examining the ETC in post-Cold War Europe and at the dawn of the digital age. The final chapter looks at what the ETC has accomplished from 2012 to the present (2018), almost a decade, which will be recalled as one during which the ETC expanded its activities and widened its horizons, and asserted its position as the voice of European tourism in the twenty-first century.



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CHAPTER 1 13

The Foundation of the ETC

1948 — 1952

UNION INTERNATIONALE DES ORGANISMES OFFICIELS DE TOURISME.

COMMISSION EUROPEENNE Congrès annuel à Luxembourg, 20 au 24 santambre 194

Rapport de Monsieur HAULOT.

INTRODUCTION.

J'ai quelque scrupule à présenter au Congrès de l'Union le premier rapport d'activité de la Commission européenne.

En fait, c'est notre collègue et ami, M. Ingrand, qui devrait être à ma place. C'est lui qui a présidé notre Commission jusqu'en juillet dernier, lui qui a ordomé, dirigé et animé nos travaux tout en y apportant sa vigoureuse contribution personnelle. C'est la recommaissance même de la valeur du travail fourni par la Commission sous sa direction qui l'a fait désigner à l'unanimité président du Comité de tourisme de l'O.E.C.E. Et ce n'est qu'à la sutte de cette nomination que j'ai été appelé à prendre sa succession à la tête de notre Cosmission.

L'ocuvre dont j'ai aujourd'hui à vous rendre compte, et dont le Congrès appréclore sans aucum doute la réelle importance, est donc due essenticllement aux mérites de M. Ingrand, mérites auxquela les membres de notre organisme entendant rendre un chalausum et estate.

Je m'excuse d'insister ainsi sur des notions d'allure fort personnelle. Mais je crois qu'il est bon que ces choses soient dites.

Duns un moment ou la vie du monde est al aprement dominée par des problèmes matériels et économiques, il n'est pas indifférent de noter le rêle que jouent la personnalité, la volonté et l'enthousiasme. When the Second World War ended in Europe in May 1945, the human and physical destruction left in its wake was immense. Some visionaries viewed tourism as a means to repair the hostile relations between nations and increase international trade. Tourism, however, requires mobility, and in 1945, the European transport networks were in shambles. Harbours, roads, railways, and bridges had been bombed or blown up across the continent. Only a fraction of the pre-war ships, cars, buses, and locomotives were in service. Between a fifth and a third of all hotels in Great Britain and the Low Countries had been damaged or destroyed. In Luxembourg the figure was a staggering 80 per cent. Food and fuel shortages plagued many countries and the crossing of borders was made difficult by visa requirements and limited allowances of foreign currency. In other words, the impediments to international tourism were manifold and not easily removed.²

This chapter charts the birth of the European Travel Commission in 1948 amidst the chaotic, yet also energetic and increasingly optimistic, years of post-war reconstruction in Europe. It presents some of the key individuals behind the foundation of the ETC and analyses its close relations with intergovernmental bodies and government agencies in the struggle to advance European tourism. The ETC emerged in parallel with the US initiated programme for European Recovery, also known as the Marshall Plan. This chapter therefore concludes in 1952, the year when the European Recovery Programme ended.

INTERNATIONAL TOURIST ORGANISATIONS BEFORE THE ETC

When the European Travel Commission was founded in 1948 it was not the first-time national tourist experts collaborated in an international forum. In 1898 various national touring clubs founded the Ligue Internationale des Associations Touristes in Luxembourg, but the First World War soon halted the cooperation. In 1919, the league was revived as the Alliance Internationale de Tourisme (AIT). In 1924, France took the initiative to form a Conseil Central du Tourisme International that would coordinate cooperation on tourism between governments and international organisations. However, the Conseil

Tony Judt, *Postwar:*A History of Europe since
1945 (New York: Penguin,
2005), pp.16–17.

European Travel Commission, *The Role* of *Travel in European Recovery* (Brussels: [1951]), p.6. did not invite the National Tourist Organisations (NTOs) to participate.³

On the invitation of the Dutch NTO, 14 European NTOs held a separate meeting in The Hague in 1925. At this Congrès International des Organisations Officielles de Tourisme, the representatives shared their experiences with the promotion of tourism at home and abroad. The following year the congress discussed the idea of a joint publicity campaign for the US market, which resulted in the brochure Europe Calling in 1927. At the sixth congress in 1930, the participants founded a formal union of NTOs, the Union Internationale des Organes Officiels de Propagande Touristique (UIOOPT), in order to speak with greater weight on tourist matters. ⁵ However, the economic crisis and the rising tensions in Europe in the following years made international collaboration on tourism difficult. After the war, the European NTOs soon revived their international collaboration. In October 1946, experts from 40 countries, including the USSR, met in London at the First International Conference of National Travel Organisations. The ambition was to establish a global organisation that would unite all national tourist organisations. The work continued in The Hague in February 1947 when the UIOOPT convened again for the first time since 1937. The new global organisation was meant to 'solve all international difficulties existing in the area of tourism'. The efforts gained in strength at a joint meeting of the International Conference of National Travel Organisations and the UIOOPT in Paris in October 1947. On the agenda were the concrete problems of passports and visa formalities, but the conference also discussed how to stimulate economic and cultural relations between nations in collaboration with national governments and the United Nations.8

Danish National Archives (hereafter DNA), Udenrigsministeriet (hereafter UM), Gruppeordnede sager 1909–1945 (GS 1909–45), 90.C.12.

Congrès International des Organisations Officielles de Propagande Touristique: Tenu à Prague du 27 juin au 5 juillet 1926 (The Hague: Le Secrétariat-Général, 1926).

Soerabaiasch-Handelsblad, 12 November 1930.

Gunnar Berg Lampe, Reiselivet i Norge gjennom 50 år ([Bergen] J. Griegs boktrykkeri, 1953), pp.155–56.

De Tijd, 24 February 1947, p.2.

De Gooi- en Eemlander, 23 October 1947.

TIMELINE OF INTERNATIONAL TOURIST ORGANISATIONS BEFORE THE FOUNDATION OF ETC

1

1898

Ligue Internationale des Associations Touristes founded in Luxemboura

1919

The 1898 league was renamed the Alliance Internationale de Tourisme (AIT)

1924

France established a
Conseil Central du Tourisme
International

1925

First Congrès International des Organisations Officielles de Tourisme held in The Hague

1930

A formal union of NTOs, the Union Internationale des Organes Officiels de Propagande Touristique (UIOOPT) was formed in Madrid

1937

The 11th UIOOPT congress held in Germany—the last before the war

1946

First International
Conference of National Travel
Organisations held in London
in October

1947

First UIOOPT meeting after WWII held in The Hague

1947

Joint meeting of the UIOOPT and the International Conference of National Travel Organisations held in Paris in October

1948

First congress of the International Union of Official Travel Organisations (IUOTO) held in Norway in June. Coorganized by the UIOOPT and the International Conference of National Travel Organisations The new and global union of national tourist organisations was eventually conceived as a continuation of the European UIOOPT under a new name. When the International Union of Official Travel Organizations (IUOTO) held its first congress in Oslo the following year it named the event the 14th General Assembly. It was during this assembly, on 18 June 1948, that the European Travel Commission held its first constitutive meeting.

THE FOUNDING OF THE ETC

The IUOTO congresses in The Hague and in Paris had mainly attracted delegations from Western Europe and the United States. This time, however, the participants came from all corners of the world: Australia, China, Chile, Colombia, and Ecuador were just some of the non-European states that had sent representatives. Fourteen international organisations also attended the congress. Among them were the International Civil Air Transport Organization (ICAO), the International Air Transport Association (IATA), the International Hotel Association (IAH), and the International Youth Hostel Federation (IYHF). Finally. a handful of special observers, including the vice-president of American Express and the assistant general manager of Thomas Cook, were present at the General Assembly. All in all, about 60 diplomats and tourist experts met to debate the various obstacles facing tourism and to agree on ways of overcoming them.9

The agenda was largely devoted to discussions of special reports on the most pressing issues. For instance, the Commissioner General for Tourism in Belgium, Arthur Haulot, presented a report on passports, visas, and frontier formalities. Siegfried Bittel, director of the Swiss Tourist Office presented a report on transport between the United States and Europe. Haulot and Bittel would soon emerge as driving forces behind the European Travel Commission. Yet it was a third report, presented on the third day of the congress by Ernest Wimble of the British Tourist and Holidays Board, which provided the impetus to the formation of the ETC.

Wimble's report titled 'European Recovery 1948–1951 and the Tourist Industry', surveyed the role tourism, and especially US tourism to Europe, could play in the reconstruction on the continent. The father of the Marshall Plan, George C. Marshall,

had announced the European Recovery Plan in June the previous year. On 3 April 1948, President Truman signed the Act and a few days later the European participants established the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) to coordinate the implementation of the Marshall Plan. The Act included a pledge to 'facilitate and encourage, through private and public travel, transport, and other agencies, the promotion and development of travel by citizens of the United States to and within participating countries'. 10 However, less than three years after the war, problems with food and energy supplies felt more pressing than the promotion of tourism. Wimble therefore ended his report expressing the hope that the European governments 'will pay more attention to the development of the travel industry' and realise its potential as 'the greatest dollar earning industry'. 11 More concretely, Wimble concluded that the Europeans ought to collaborate more closely on the matter and suggested that:

the permanent organisation of the 16 European countries co-operating in economic recovery give close consideration to the desirability of setting up a small committee to advise on the joint development of Europe as one tourist area, so that Europe's trade with other continents, especially with the American continent, may result in the maximum possible gain in foreign exchange. 12

The US representative, Herbert Wilkinson, commended Wimble on his excellent report, but insisted that it was just 'the foundation for future work'. Wilkinson continued to propose that 'the various national organisations should go into the particular problems of their regions'. On the initiative of the Italian Commissioner for Tourism, Pietro Romani, the countries involved in the Marshall Plan plus Monaco then agreed to hold a separate meeting outside the official IUOTO congress programme. Fortunately, the schedule provided an opportunity to hold the meeting right away. The first part of the congress took place in Oslo, followed by two days of excursions before the meeting resumed in Bergen. During this intermission, amidst the spectacular mountain scenery surrounding the Stalheim hotel, 140 kilometres from Bergen, the European

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Foreign Assistance Act of 1948, sec. 117. (b). http://legisworks.org/congress/80/publaw-472.pdf.

11

Ernest Wimble, European Recovery 1948–1951 and the Tourist Industry (London: The British Travel Association, 1948), p.29.

12

Wimble, European Recovery 1948–1951 and the Tourist Industry, pp.29–30.

13

IUOTO, 38, 'Proceedings of the Third International Conference', p.36.

9
UNWTO Archives,
IUOTO (hereafter IUOTO),
38, 'Proceedings of
the Third International
Conference of National
Travel Organisations
and the Fourteenth
General Assembly
of the International
Union of Official Travel
Organizations'.

Travel Commission was thus 'born travelling', as the long-serving President Arthur Haulot would later reminisce. 14

Curiously, the IUOTO provisions did not yet allow for the formation of regional commissions when on 18 June the ETC constituted itself in Stalheim. However, the need for special commissions to deal with the particular problems of certain regions was evident. At the time of the IUOTO congress in Norway, the relationship between the superpowers was rapidly deteriorating. The Soviet Union and its satellites had already rejected the Marshall Plan a year earlier. The West European IUOTO members participating in the European Recovery Programme thus had a common interest in forming a commission for tourism in their part of Europe.

Senior delegates like Siegfried Bittel, Mogens Lichtenberg (Denmark), and Gunnar Lampe (Norway) had all taken part in the work of the UIOOPT. Now they were keen to reinvigorate their cooperation inside the IUOTO. It was essential, though, as Lichtenberg reminded the congress, that the union 'would be of more practical value to members than had so far been the case'. ¹⁵ When the congress resumed on 19 June it carried a resolution stating:

those of its members belonging to different groups or geographic or economic entities to ask for the setting-up of Regional Commissions which would endeavour—within the framework of the International Union and in accordance with the general recommendations of the Conference—to solve, in their respective spheres of action, the problems now brought to their attention. 16

The resolution thus provided the formal framework for the OEEC members to establish the European Travel Commission as a regional commission of the IUOTO. Two additional regional commissions for the African and American continents were also established at the congress. Some IUOTO members saw a risk in the regional commissions that would endanger the Union's cohesion. The Czechoslovak representative therefore insisted on an introductory paragraph that would clarify the ambitions shared by all IUOTO members and the new regional commissions. The paragraph explained that the regional commissions were founded:

IUOTO, 295, Report by Haulot on ETC activities since its foundation, June 1950.

15

IUOTO, 38, 'Proceedings of the Third International Conference', p.39.

16

IUOTO, 38, 'Proceedings of the Third International Conference', p.45.

in accordance with the aims of the Union, which are to promote, in a technical and entirely non-political manner, freedom of travel, so as to strengthen peace and mutual understanding between the nations of the world, and to this end to maintain close contact between the various members of the Union, whether or not their conditions are similar.¹⁷

The congress accepted the Czechoslovak amendment, but the suggestion that free travel could be promoted in a non-political way would soon prove illusive. The ETC was born during the first stages of the Cold War, precisely when the Soviet Union and its East European satellites were sealing their borders. For all the insistence on technical and non-political cooperation, the ETC remained committed to the liberal ideals at the heart of the European Recovery Programme and the OEEC. The proceedings of the IUOTO congress even listed the new commission as the 'European Travel Commission (OEEC Committee)'. On 9 July 1948, the ETC and the OEEC formalised their relationship when the OEEC Council board acknowledged the ETC as an associated organisation that would supply the OEEC with expert knowledge on tourist matters. ¹⁸

The ETC leadership was well positioned to promote its agenda with vigour in key European capitals. The first ETC chairman was the 39-year-old Frenchman Henry Ingrand, a hero of the resistance who was appointed Commissioner General for Tourism in France shortly after the war. Serving as vice-chairman was the 34-year-old Arthur Haulot. Despite his young age, Haulot had already headed the Belgian General Commission for Tourism before the German occupiers deported him to a concentration camp. Finally, the proceedings of the IUOTO congress list the 60-year-old Ernest Wimble as the third member of the 'ETC bureau' (and as the new president of the IUOTO).

17

IUOTO, 38, 'Proceedings of the Third International Conference', p.45.

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OECD Library & Archives, C(48)68. Decisions of the Council concerning relations between OEEC and other international organisations, 9 July 1948.

THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF THE ETC

The Founding Fathers of the ETC according to the proceedings of the 1948 IUOTO congress and the minutes of an ETC meeting, March 29, 1949.

Country	Name	Born	Title c. 1948–49
Austria	Harald Langer-Hansel	1909	Divisional Chief, Ministry of Trade and Reconstruction
Belgium	Arthur Haulot	1913	Commissaire Général au Tourisme
Denmark	Mogens Lichtenberg	1903	Director, Turistforeningen for Danmark
France	Henry Ingrand	1908	Commissaire Général au Tourisme
Greece	Andreas Londos	-	Head of the General Secretariat of Tourism
Great Britain	Ernest Wimble	1887	Board member, The Travel Association
Iceland	Björnsson	-	First secretary, Icelandic Legation, Oslo
Italy	Pietro Romani	1885	Alto Commissario per il Turismo
Luxembourg	Robert Ginsbach	-	Director of the Luxembourg Tourist Office
Monaco	Gabriel Ollivier	1908	Office National de Tourisme, de la Propagande et de l'Information
Netherlands	William Boreel	c. 1905	Director General of the Netherlands Tourist Office
Norway	Gunnar Lampe	1892	Managing Director, Norway Travel Association
Portugal	Almeida Araujo	-	Director, Secretariado Nacional de Informacao Cultura Popular e Turismo
Sweden	Gustaf Munthe	1886	Managing Director, Swedish Tourist Traffic Association
Switzerland	Siegfried Bittel	1894	Directeur, Office Central Suisse du Tourisme
Turkey	Represented by the Greek delegate	-	-

Most of the other founding fathers of the European Travel Commission also held leading positions in their respective national tourist organisations (NTOs) or government agencies responsible for tourism. Even if many NTOs received state funding and were committed to national tourist policies, they nevertheless enjoyed some freedom to pursue technical and non-political cooperation internationally. The founding members viewed it as their task to identify common European problems, to gather information from all the member states, and to suggest solutions that would benefit everyone in the long run.

THE ETC, THE MARSHALL PLAN, AND THE OEEC

One of the first initiatives taken by the ETC was to further explore the role of the Marshall Plan for West European tourism. At a meeting in Paris in November 1948 the ETC met again with Herbert Wilkinson, the head of the US Commerce Department's Travel Branch. Wilkinson also brought a colleague to the meeting from the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), the US agency overseeing the Marshall Plan. Theodore Pozzy, the newly appointed head of the ECA's Travel Department Section quickly emerged as a close and influential ally in the ETC's quest to advocate the importance of tourism. Born in France as Théo Pozzy, he had immigrated to the US after the First World War and had built a successful business career. His transatlantic experiences and fluency in English and French enabled him to socialise skilfully with diplomats and administrators in Europe and the US. 19

The most important outcome of the Paris meeting was an agreement to launch a joint publicity campaign in the United States. The continuous cycle of joint advertisement campaigns in the US soon became the ETC's signature achievement, and its history is unfolded in detail in the following chapter. As mentioned above, the idea of a joint campaign on the US market was not entirely new. The interwar organisation of European NTOs first produced a *Europe Calling* brochure in 1927 in which each of the 17 member countries had two pages to present themselves. Now, the US representatives prodded the ETC to resume the publicity. When the meeting asked Wilkinson what the US would do to promote tourism to Europe, he responded 'it is

19

On Pozzy, see Christopher Endy, Cold War Holidays: American Tourism in France (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), p.45. send them, but don't forget that in the US travel is competitive to refrigerators, washing machines and other goods. Therefore

A few months later, Pozzy presented the same argument to projected across the footlights to keep the customers lining up at the box office'.²¹

Pozzy also travelled within Europe to canvas support for others could threaten to leave and still benefit from the publicity. This logic imposed a natural limit to the campaign budgets.

The ETC was born as a regional commission for the establish a permanent committee for tourism within the OEEC.

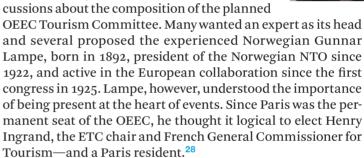
Europe's job to attract the American tourists. America will then travel must be advertised'.²⁰

his superiors in an attempt to secure additional Marshall Plan funds for travel advertisements. Pozzy told an ECA chief that 'tourism is a form of showbusiness; one of the prime ingredients of show business is illusion and illusion must be constantly

the ETC's joint publicity campaign. In the summer of 1949 Great Britain hesitated to pledge support for the campaign budget. During a visit to Copenhagen, Pozzy met with Lichtenberg, and a representative of the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Pozzy strongly encouraged Denmark to unite with Norway and Sweden in a bid to persuade the British. The Danes agreed with Pozzy that it was essential to bring Britain on board since it would inevitably benefit from it anyway.²² The risk of free riding was thus evident from the very beginning. Countries advocating increases of the campaign budget always faced the danger that

Marshall Plan countries and an important aim was to put tourism on the agenda of the OEEC. During the summer of 1948 the OEEC was busy trying to solve fundamental conflicts over its leadership and the distribution of the Marshall funds between its members.²³ Nevertheless, the OEEC already formally recognised the ETC as a provider of tourism expertise on 9 July, just a few weeks after the ETC's foundation.²⁴ In October the OEEC Executive Committee established a 'Tourist Trade Working Group' headed by Gerard Bauer, a Swiss diplomat with no particular expertise on tourism. Bauer consulted with the ETC, which also provided him with statistical data. In less than two months, the working group produced a preliminary report on the relationship between tourism and the economic recovery of Europe.²⁵ The Executive Committee appreciated the work and asked the group to produce a supplementary report and to This led to a meeting of almost 30 diplomats and tourism experts in Paris in January 1949.²⁶

The meeting of the OEEC tourism working group in early 1949 represents a key moment for the ETC and its relationship with the OEEC. Virtually all the member states sent their ETC representatives to attend the meeting and only a few members sent professional diplomats to second them. The ETC itself was also officially represented and so was the ECA through Theodore (Théo) Pozzy.²⁷ Throughout the twoday meeting, Bauer spent much time on what the tourist experts considered trivial matters. The ETC delegates therefore held secret dis-



Still the question whether to elect a tourism expert or a professional diplomat as chairperson divided the member states and was not resolved before the first meeting of the new permanent OEEC Tourism Committee in early May 1949. Gerard Bauer realised he had limited backing and withdrew his candidacy. Confusion ensued as the English delegates kept insisting that the chairperson must have good connections within the OEEC. However, after some late-night wrangling, the committee finally agreed to elect Ingrand on the condition that he would step down as ETC chairman. The ETC quickly improvised a meeting to relieve him of his post, and so on the second day Ingrand was unanimously appointed head of the OEEC Tourism Committee.²⁹

Henry Ingrand's tenure as the first president of the ETC thus came to a premature end after less than a year. However, his departure was in fact due to a triumph for the ETC. The tourist experts had won their battle with the diplomats. The



DNA, UM, GS 1945-72, 73.C.41.21.a.l. TOU(49)1, 7 February 1949.

27

DNA, UM, GS 1945-72, 73.C.41.21.a.l. TOU(49)1 annex I, p.2.

DNA, UM, GS 1945-72, 73.C.41.21.a.l. Confidential annex to Lampe's report of the meeting, 1 February 1949.

DNA, UM, GS 1945-72, 73.C.41.21.a.II. Danish MFA memo on the meeting, 9 May 1949.

DNA. UM. Gruppeordnede sager 1945-1972 (GS 1945-72). 73.C.41.21.a.l. Quoted in a PM on the Marshall Plan and tourism by Lichtenberg, 23 January 1949, p.3.

Quoted in Endy, Cold War Holidays, p.49.

22

DNA, UM, GS 1945-72, 73.C.41.21.a.II. PM, 25 July 1949.

Alan S. Milward, The Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945-51 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984). pp.168-211.

IUOTO, 295, ETC report to IUOTO, Luxembourg Congress 1953, pp.2-3

DNA, UM, GS 1945-72, 73.C.41.21.a.l. TOU(48)1. 4 December 1948.

ETC now had its former president overseeing the work of the OEEC Tourism Committee, and most of the ETC representatives would continue to attend the OEEC meetings as official government representatives with the power to vote. In fact, the ETC often met in Paris the day before the Tourism Committee convened. The ETC usually met 3–4 times per year, but the real work was done in subcommittees between the assemblies. By the spring of 1949 the ETC had appointed rapporteurs to analyse the most pressing issues: currency exchange (Romani), visas and customs (Haulot), fiscal problems (Boreel), special types of tourism (Munthe), equipment (Ingrand), and propaganda (Bittel). The ETC often shared their reports with the Tourism Committee, but later on the Tourism Committee would occasionally establish its own working groups to analyse certain problems identified by the ETC.

KEY DATES FOR THE FOUNDATION OF THE ETC AND ITS COLLABORATION WITH OEEC

1947

April: the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) founded.

1948

June 14–19: the IUOTO held its first congress in Norway.

June 18: the ETC was founded during the IUOTO congress.

Frenchman Henry Ingrand elected as chair.

July 9: the ETC and the OEEC entered into formal relations.

October: the OEEC established a working group for the tourist trade.

1949

January: first meeting of the OEEC tourism working group. **May:** Ingrand elected head of a new, permanent OEEC Tourism Committee.

May: Arthur Haulot elected new ETC chairman.

The overlaps between the ETC and the Tourism Committee sometimes created confusion about the division of work and conflicting loyalties. Government representatives occasionally questioned if the ETC was not duplicating the work of the Tourism Committee. The standard answer was that the ETC was a freestanding technical expert organisation without an expiry date whereas the Tourism Committee existed thanks to the OEEC and the European Recovery Act set to end in 1952. The role of the ETC was to identify and examine problems while the task of the Tourism Committee, an official intergovernmental organisation, was to recommend concrete solutions for the governments to implement.³¹

At the end of the day, however, the ETC did not shy away from proposing solutions to the problems it identified. This in turn augmented the problem of conflicting loyalties. In 1950, the election of the ETC Vice-Chairman Romani as vice-chairman of the Tourism Committee raised the question as to whether the two posts were incompatible. Ingrand, still the Tourism Committee chairman and France's regular ETC representative, insisted that one person could not occupy both positions. He imagined a scenario where the delegate to the OEEC 'might be called upon to take a decision opposite to the one taken by the European Commission [the ETC] and in consequence, the same man finding himself on government level obliged to oppose a solution, that he had upheld before on the technical level'. 32

Romani eventually resigned as ETC vice-chairman to take up the position at the Tourism Committee, but the potential problem of conflicting roles remained an unresolved issue for the ordinary ETC representatives who also represented their governments on the Tourism Committee. No clear boundary existed between the realms of technical expertise and political decision-making and the ETC representatives were thoroughly entangled in both.

In the early years of the ETC's history, the organisation had virtually no financial means at its disposal. Its achievements were fully dependent on the efforts and commitment of the individual representatives. When Ingrand resigned as head of the ETC he was replaced by the vice-chairman, Arthur Haulot. Two vice-presidents, Lampe and Romani, were elected to aid the work in October 1949, but a few months later Haulot insisted that more resources were needed if the ETC were to succeed.

IUOTO, 295, Proceedings of the Luxembourg Congress 1949; ETC

31

minutes, 27 February 1950.

IUOTO, 295, ETC minutes, 20 October 1950.

annex I, p.2.

In practice, the Belgian NTO, which Haulot also headed, provided the ETC with an office and covered all administrative costs including phone calls and telegrams. Haulot appealed for the ETC to at least supply him with a bilingual secretary. The meeting was reluctant to meet the request, but once again, Pozzy proved a friend in need as he volunteered one of his ECA employees. The ETC's frugality at this point is also evident in the way the members travelled. Haulot coordinated for the representatives to share cars when driving to the meetings, and lodging in shared quarters without a bathroom was an option for those travelling on a shoestring. The stravelled is a shoest of the stravelling on a shoestring.

EARLY ACHIEVEMENTS

The most visible achievement of the ETC was unquestionably the joint publicity campaigns. There was a widespread consensus among tourist experts that the ETC contributed greatly to boosting the numbers of American visitors to Europe. Even when the actual growth did not quite meet the expectations, the numbers of American tourists increased dramatically during the early post-war years (see graph on page 42).

Aside from the joint publicity campaigns, however, it is difficult to document concrete achievements of the ETC during its early years. One reason for this is the multiple capacities in which the ETC representatives worked simultaneously. The ETC representatives were also heads of their national tourist organisations. Many of them participated in the OEEC Tourism Committee and several contributed to the work of the IUOTO. Key individuals such as Ingrand, Haulot, Lampe, Bittel, Romani, and Lichtenberg carried out their ETC-related work as NTO president or government representative. There is rarely a paper trail to prove a direct link between the ETC and the policy changes introduced by the member states. This was also clear at the time. When Haulot summed up the achievements of the ETC in 1951 he stressed the importance of domestic lobbying by its representatives. He also highlighted the ETC's collaboration with the ECA, the OEEC, and numerous industry organisations in its efforts to ease mobility and promote tourism:

the ETC cannot begin to take all the credit for the highly favourable progress which has taken place in the European tourist industry. But, the Commission was, and continues to be the driving force, the guiding power which has co-ordinated the general effort and produced the results.³⁵

The ETC had no formal power but it worked as a communication central for tourism experts and business professionals. The organisation connected experts and stakeholders with a shared vision, which they tried to promote in all the arenas where they worked.

There is one big achievement, though, that the ETC is largely to thank for. The general lack of available and comparable data was a problem that the ETC sought to address from day one. The subcommittees sent questionnaires to the member states asking for information and statistics on a broad range of tourism-related issues such as hotel capacity and standards, currency exchange rules, and visa regulations.³⁶

Through the IUOTO and together with other stakeholders, leading figures in the ETC also pushed for international standards that could solve the perennial problems of defining what a tourist is and counting the number of international tourists in a given country. The UIOOPT and the League of Nations had previously tried to address these issues but without finding a widely accepted solution. The UIOTO finally helped produce some degree of consensus. The production of comparable statistics on foreign visitors and their importance for the balance of payment in turn made the national governments pay more attention to tourism.

In 1952 the European Recovery Programme was coming to an end. The termination of the initiative that had originally sparked the formation of an IUOTO regional commission for Europe prompted the ETC to look back and take stock. In an address to the 1952 IUOTO congress, Haulot offered the following evaluation of the ETC's first four years:

The questions which we have tackled and continued to study since 1948 are still not exhausted. However, we think we can say with certainty that the period of theoretical examination is over and that the practical methods adopted have already shown to the full the value of our ideas.³⁸

35

IUOTO, 41, 'The Role of Travel in European Recovery: Study by the European Travel Commission' [1951].

36

IUOTO, 295, Note on ETC activities prior to ETC meeting, 27 February 1950.

37

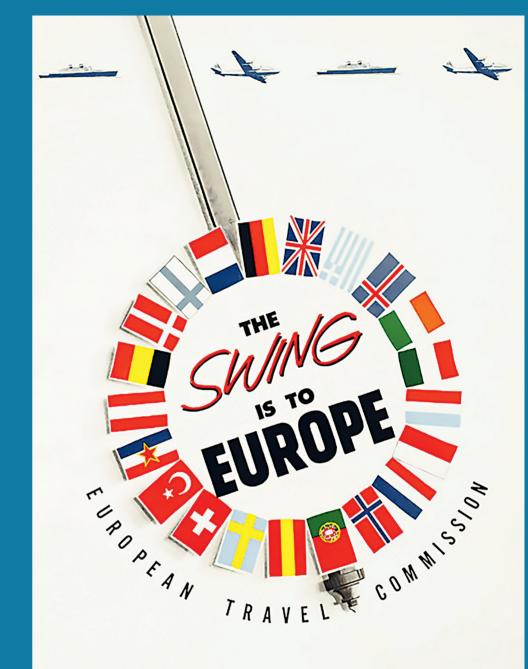
DNA, UM, GS 1945–72, 73.C.41.21.a.II. TOU(49)22, 1 September 1949.

3

IUOTO, 42, C/7/E. 'European Travel in 1952'.

33 IUOTO, 295, ETC minutes, 27 February 1950.

34 IUOTO, 295, ETC agenda, 25 May 1950. Haulot's statement was warmly received by the congress. The Indian representative appreciated the informative report and noted its value to the many members who sought inspiration from the European 'laboratory of tourism'.³⁹ To be sure, the ETC continued its experiments with new publicity efforts, as the next chapter shows.

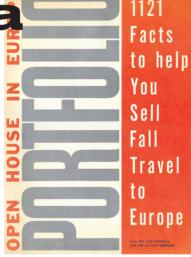


AUSTRIA - BELGIUM - DENMARK - FINLAND - FRANCE - GERMANY - GREAT BRITAIN
GREECE - ICELAND - IRELAND - ITALY - LUXEMBOURG - MONACO - NETHERLANDS
NORWAY - PORTUGAL - SPAIN - SWEDEN - SWITZERLAND - TURKEY - YUGOSLAVIA

IUOTO, 45, 'Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference and General Assembly of the International Union of Official Travel Organizations', p.18. CHAPTER 2 31

The Golden
Era of the
Joint Publicity
Campaigns
in America

1949 — 1963





On 13 November 1948, a few months after the ETC's inception in June of that year, Arthur Haulot, the tourism representative for Belgium, suggested the establishment of a subcommittee for publicity. That evening, Siegfried Bittel, the representative for Switzerland, was elected its chairman, and a proposal for a collective publicity programme to attract American tourists to Europe was drafted. Shortly afterwards, ETC member states asked their tourism representatives in the United States to attend a meeting, in New York, of the European tourist offices to review the publicity programme. 40 By March 1949, a common publicity fund of \$136,000 had been secured, and the first ETC collective publicity campaign was launched from August to December 1949.41 From this modest beginning, the collective publicity campaign by ETC member states not only grew in importance and scored significant successes, but also became the flagship activity of the ETC.

This chapter analyses how these publicity campaigns evolved from their inception through to 1963. In 1964, after repeated disagreements among the ETC members over funding and other organisational issues, the ETC campaigns ended their affiliation with the OECD, continuing under the aegis of the ETC alone. The period 1949–1963 thus stands as a distinct era in the ETC history. Divided into three sections, this chapter first briefly examines the motives behind these campaigns as well as the organisational structure of the ETC. Second, it highlights some key advertisements and strategies during the early phases of these campaigns and explains how they were carried out. The chapter closes by analysing the ETC's financial constraints and internal organisation from 1955 to 1963, and assessing the campaigns' broader roles, successes, and impacts.

THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE ETC PUBLICITY CAMPAIGNS

In the context of Europe's economic reconstruction after 1945, the ETC stressed the role of tourism in helping European states to achieve healthier balances of payments and energise their exports. Tourism was indeed a primary component of the Marshall Plan. The idea was simple: if more Americans vacationed in Europe, they would spend more money on the continent, which in turn would make European countries more

40
IUOTO, 296, ETC report to IUOTO, Lisbon
Congress 1953.

41 IUOTO, 295, ETC subcommittee for joint publicity in the US, Zurich, 21 January 1950. 32

prosperous and better able to buy American products and services. With its publicity campaigns, the ETC also sought to ensure a better usage of the transatlantic transport capacity. The ETC's goals and activities indeed ranged far and wide. In a nutshell, the ETC wished to encourage the development of tourism and the removal of administrative obstacles such as passports, visas, and limited travel allocations. To this end, the ETC and the OEEC Committee for Tourism worked closely together at the end of the 1940s and the early 1950s. Their goals were to analyse visa and passport regimes of member states, to study transportation-related issues, and to encourage both the private sector and international organisations to step in and work for the development of tourism at large. By the early 1950s significant progress had been made regarding these issues, and the collective publicity campaigns really took off, profoundly impacting the tourism industry.

In a 1952 assessment of the ETC's early period, Haulot stated about the campaigns in the US: 'We can affirm that our commission has succeeded, after two years of trial, in building up a diffusion system never achieved before in the history of international tourism.' The ETC's widespread efforts to organise and regulate international tourism in the early Cold War were not without challenges. During its early years, the ETC had not yet firmly established its exact administrative and organisational structures. Confusion surfaced at times regarding the roles of the ETC, its subcommittee for collective publicity, the ETC commission in New York (hereafter ETC New York) and, from 1951 onwards, the Coordination Committee for European Travel Promotion (hereafter ETPC).

Over time, however, the ETC eventually established an efficient system for collective publicity campaigns in America. The ETC, through its president and regular meetings of its member state representatives, determined a general course of action. With regard to its internal decision-making process, each year the ETC submitted a funding proposal for its collective campaigns to the OEEC. Members' annual contributions were determined by the ETC Subcommittee for Finances (subject to approval by the OEEC). The ETC thus had to satisfy the expectations of the OEEC, the national tourism organisations of its member states, and the overall annual and long-range programmes.

Composed of member-state tourism representatives, the ETC New York, headed until 1960 by the Swedish representative Birger Nordholm and from 1960 to 1964 by the Italian representative Manolita Doelger, played both a technical and executive role. Within the constraints of its budget and the guidelines of the ETC, the New York committee had some discretionary power to shape the American publicity campaigns. The ETC New York worked closely together with marketing firms hired by the ETC and the ETPC, including J. M. Mathes, Inc. (1949-1951), Caples & Company (1952–1959), and afterwards Donald N. Martin & Company, Inc. (An internal agreement in May 1949 that marketing agencies of member states could not be hired for the publicity campaigns accounts for the presence of US marketing firms.) Finally, the third unit, the ETPC, was established in 1951 and consisted of New York-based representatives of maritime, rail, and air carriers (such as Air France, Sabena, SAS, TWA, KLM, and Pan Am), travel agencies (FIAV, Havas, Thomas Cook, Wagon-Lits, American Express), and companies in the oil industry (Esso, Shell, BP). The goal of this unit was to ensure a continued dialogue between the ETC and the private sector. For instance, the ETPC determined, with the approval of the ETC, what slogans would be used in advertisements, the timing of ad placements, and the choice of media. This model of collaboration was considered a success: in his 1953 report to the IUOTO, Haulot asserted that the ETPC 'is an extension of the ETC into the commercial field'. 43 This model of cooperation made a lasting impression. From 1966 onwards, as the following chapters explain, the ETC regularly sponsored and organised 'Travel Conferences' during which representatives of the private sector gathered with tourism officials to discuss the future and the needs of the tourism industry.

The ETPC also indirectly supported the joint publicity campaigns. Its financial contribution was not negligible as it covered most of the ETC's administrative expenses and contributed to the cost of market studies and publications. 44 Clearly, the publicity campaigns emanated from and depended on a wide spectrum of actors. This interdependency—and the many, sometimes conflicting interests at play—made the work of the ETC challenging but also notable. Evaluating the ETPC's impact on the occasion of its tenth anniversary in 1961, Haulot asserted, 'It is still currently the only international forum [...],

43 IUOTO, 296, ETC Report to IUOTO, Congress of

to IUOTO, Congress of Lisbon 1953, p.12.

IUOTO, 297, ETC Meeting, Brussels, 14–15 April 1959. tourism industry to freely meet and exchange their views, their experiences, their concerns, and their difficulties'. 45 In many respects, the ETC was a trailblazer in bringing many European countries together to work for a common cause. In May 1949, the ETC New York characterised the ETC joint publicity campaign as 'the beginning of a new era in tourism because it would be the first time that Western European countries would be united to push international tourism further, and this initiative is praised as one step forward in the direction of closer coopera-

In the early 1950s, the ETC went through phases of growth, and its membership evolved. The first enlargement occurred in early 1950, when West Germany (hereafter Germany) became the 18th member state to join. 47 Subsequently, at the IUOTO congress held in Athens in October 1951, three additional members, Finland, Spain, and Yugoslavia, joined the ETC. While this growth overjoyed the ETC leadership, it also entailed more work. According to Haulot, 'the standardization of methods, the simplification of international traffic must, therefore, be carried on particularly with regard to these three [new member] countries in order that they can soon be as advanced as other members'. He added, 'We are convinced that our Spanish, Finnish and Yugoslav colleagues will help us to the best of their ability. These three countries have, moreover, already given us proof of their spirit of co-operation in associating their respective countries in our collective action in the United States. 48 In a December 1951 report to the OEEC, Haulot argued that this second enlargement would not only demonstrate to Americans that European countries had a genuine desire for cooperation, but also lend force to the joint publicity campaign through 'practical proof that the whole of Western Europe is united in this campaign'. 49 Haulot's comment suggests that socialist Yugoslavia was considered 'the crucial periphery' and that it could well have been considered Western in the early Cold War context.50

There was now a total of 21 ETC member states, but their levels of engagement varied. From ETC meeting minutes, it is clear that in the early 1950s Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, followed by Austria and Germany, were

it is the only place where it is possible for all branches of the tion between European countries'.46

OECD Library & Archives, ETC. External relations 1949-1961, Coordination Committee Meeting. Paris, 12 January 1961.

IUOTO, 295, ETC representatives in America. Meeting at the Swedish Tourism Office. 27 May 1949.

IUOTO, 295, ETC Meeting, 27 February

IUOTO, 295, Report by Haulot, European Trave in 1952.

DNA, GS 1945-72, GS 73.C.41.21.a.VII. C(51)386 Relations between the OEEC and the ETC, 14 December 1951.

Walter L. Hixson, Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961 (New York: St. Martin's Press 1997), p.15.

the most active member states. Icelandic, Greek, Irish, and Spanish representatives often did not attend meetings, but these countries (with the exception of Iceland) became much more involved in the ETC during the second half of the 1950s.

FROM THE FIRST CAMPAIGN TO THE MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENTS **EISENHOWER AND KENNEDY**

The framework for the ETC efforts in the US was largely defined in the first half of the 1950s. In this early period, the ETC campaigns mobilised advertising and public relations blitzes in a wide spectrum of media around the slogans 'Go to Europe in the Thrift Season', 'For Every Reason, Go Thrift Season', and 'Understanding Through Travel is the Passport to Peace'. Afterwards, the emphasis on the off-season diminished in favour of slogans stressing the notion of 'Europe' such as 'Europe is for You', 'Will You Come to Europe?' and 'It's "Open House" Again in Europe. When You See Europe, See the Europeans, too'. Each year, the ETC and its partners produced high-quality, eye-catching promotional material based around these slogans.

'18 nations joined together to further friendship and progress through travel. It is for you, too—you who would like to see your relatives and old friends again. Surprise them. Do it

this year', stated a 1951 advertisement.⁵¹ In this early period, another type of advertisement, the 'Pic-Tours' drawings, always briefly mentioned a feature of interest of two countries. The rule of equal visibility of the ETC campaigns resulted in a 'rotating principle'. As an illustrative example, a 1951 drawing with Switzerland and Belgium mentioned Europe and its overall appeal in the middle. Prepared by the ETC New York, 'Pic-Tours' drawings were distributed monthly to hundreds of weekly and daily newspapers and magazines through the first half of the 1950s.

The ETC also collaborated with American publishers to produce brochures and guidebooks. In 1952, for instance, the ETC's publicity service and This Week Magazine jointly produced the 308page guidebook Travel Key to Europe. Offering









BIRGER NORDHOLM

OECD Library & Archives, TOU (52) 7, Joint Publicity Report for 1952, 9 December 1952; TOU (54) 13, Joint Publicity Report for 1954, 14 December 1954.

Travel Key to Europe (New York: This Week Magazine, 1952), pp.6-7.

travel advice and descriptions of each of the 21 ETC member countries, this publication was highly successful (50,000 copies were sold on the US market in less than a year after its publication, and a revised edition was published in 1953).⁵² In their preface to *Travel Key* to Europe Arthur Haulot and Birger Nordholm stressed tourism's role in furthering international cooperation and prosperity. Rejoicing over the simplification of visa regulations, customs procedures, and other formalities,

Haulot and Nordholm foregrounded the 'purposeful' and 'educational' dimension of 'a new type of tourism' that would be 'the foundation of lasting peace'. 53 To this end, the marketing companies, in close collaboration with the ETC, developed a series of advertising strategies that were used either continuously or intermittently throughout the period. One ongoing activity was the publication, twice a year, of calendars of events and festivals occurring in all of the member states. Individuals could simply request a list of these activities from the ETC office in New York for free. In 1958, the brochure Europe Motorists' Paradise geared towards American drivers was very well received and several new editions followed. With some 100,000 copies published in 1957, the primary and most widely distributed brochure of the ETC was undoubtedly See Europe Now, which went through several re-editions.

Initially, the ETC also participated in trade and tourism fairs. In 1950, for instance, the ETC and the OEEC cooperatively participated in the Chicago Fair. The OEEC pavilion there featured tourism themes with general slogans of the publicity campaign and photographs of each member state. In the early 1950s, the ETC participated in fairs or travel shows in cities such as Hartford, Detroit, and Cleveland. From 1956 onwards, the ETC displays at such fairs were staffed by local representatives instead of people from the New York offices to save money. Because of budgetary constraints, the ETC abandoned travel shows for the 1959 campaign, focusing on window displays, radio broadcasts, television advertising, and short films using material produced in 1957 or 1958.

By the late 1950s colour advertising had become more common, and the American travel magazine Holiday printed excellent examples of high-quality ETC advertisements. Conveying the diversity and charm of Europe along with the ETC's traditional call to travel during the thrift season, one advertisement featured, for instance, each ETC member country's coat-of-arms. Published in the January, February, and November issues of 1959, this piece cost in total \$25,980, and was the most expensive magazine advertisement published by the ETC to that date. With a total circulation of 900,000 copies, Holiday remained a regular venue for ETC publications throughout the years and helped the ETC reach a wide audience across the country. The core ETC publicity strategy was, however, concentrated on the East Coast and in the Midwest (in cities

such as Detroit, Cleveland, and Chicago). This strategy consisted of publishing advertisements in newspapers (for example, the New York Times, New York Herald Tribune, Boston Globe, Los Angeles Times, Chicago Tribune, Philadelphia Enquirer, San Francisco Chronicle); popular magazines (such as The Atlantic, The New Yorker, The Saturday Review, Harper's Magazine, National Geographic, Esquire, Holiday, Sports Illustrated); industry-specific periodicals (ASTA Travel News, Travel Agent); and foreign-language newspapers such as Dansk Tidende (Brooklyn), La Tribuna Italiana (Detroit), Deutsche Zeitung (Chicago), France Amérique (New York), and Svenska Amerikanaren (Chicago).



The ETC also paid attention to the 'public relations' aspect of its campaigns. Thanks to its broad network and the receptivity of American journalists, writers, travel agents, and publishers, the ETC was also able to publicise its activities at little or no cost. In this effort, the ETPC played a crucial role. Companies affiliated with the ETPC coordinated their own publicity campaigns with those of the ETC and advertised their products alongside ETC slogans. Regarding the cooperation with the transportation and travel industries, Nordholm claimed in 1953 that:

The ETC has come to be definitely recognised as the coordinating agency for all these interests and as such is able to attract other European travel advertising and promotion to support its own efforts and thereby present a vastly larger sales story to the American public than is possible with ETC funds alone.⁵⁴

Arguably one of the greatest successes of the ETC during this early period was its recognition by European and US authorities as a leader in the tourism industry and in the promotion of Europe abroad. Instrumental in this recognition was a trip to Washington, D.C., by the ETC Subcommittee for Publicity in May 1954. Composed of Arthur Haulot, Siegfried Bittel, IUOTO President Mogens Lichtenberg, Hans Baumann, Paul Bernecker, Gunnar Lampe, Pietro Romani, R. I. Ricci, Manolita Doelger, S. W. Simonson, James Turbayne, Birger Nordholm, Nuri Eren, and Jean Boucoiran, the ETC delegation did not only meet with prominent US travel writers, but also lobbied in favour of American tourism in Europe on several occasions. At a dinner for the ETC delegation, held at the Savoy Hotel in New York on the evening of 6 May 1954, the former ECA Executive Paul G. Hoffman gave a speech stressing the importance of travel in promoting a better understanding among people. 'As effective as are the written word, the spoken word, and the photograph and moving picture in spreading knowledge and understanding, the people of other lands will still remain strangers until we get to know them by face-to-face contact', he said. At the end of his speech, which was broadcast over the radio, Hoffman encouraged Americans who could afford the trip to Europe to go: 'I assure everyone who does so that he will come home not only refreshed—but a better citizen, [...], one more dedicated than before to the proposition that peace among mankind can be obtained through true understanding among the freedom-loving peoples of the earth'. 55

For the ETC delegation, the climax of this trip was a meeting with President Dwight D. Eisenhower on Monday, 10 May 1954. 56 The delegation presented the President with a scroll honouring him for his support of international travel. The scroll referred to the President's message to Congress on foreign economic policy on 30 March 1954, which the ETC hailed as 'a landmark in the history of international travel development'

IUOTO, 296, Letter from Nordholm to J. F. Cahan. OECE Deputy Secretary-General, 22 April 1953.

Paul Hoffman, 'What's the Use of Travel'. Revue de Tourisme 9, no. 2 (1954): 42, 44.

Presidential Appointment Books, May 1954 https://eisenhower. archives.gov/research/ online documents. html#presbooks



that helped 'fortify that human freedom which is vitalized when the friendly peoples of the world meet face to face'. For his part, in this message to Congress, President Eisenhower had stated that 'foreign travel by Americans is a substantial source of dollars for many countries, enabling them to pay for what we sell them', and had underscored the 'cultural and social importance' of international travel. He also recommended increasing 'the duty-free allowance for tourists from \$500 to \$1,000' and signalled his intent to instruct agencies and departments 'to take action to simplify governmental procedures relating to customs, visas, passports, exchange or monetary restrictions and other regulations that sometimes harass the traveller'.57

Shortly after this, Bittel concluded that the visit had succeeded in focusing top-level attention on travel to Europe. 'It was a clear demonstration', he added, 'that the [European Travel] Commission has come of age and is recognized as the central organ and coordinating agent of European travel promotion in the USA'. 58 Although it is nearly impossible to 'measure' the ETC's success due to lack of documentary sources, the ETC publicity undoubtedly sparked interest in Europe among Americans. From the early 1950s, the publicity campaigns triggered growing volumes of letters to the ETC secretariat in New York—mostly requests for information from Americans (see table on page 40)—which were then forwarded to the member countries' offices.

President of the United States

Curopean Travel Commission

57

President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Special Message to the Congress on Foreign Economic Policy, 30 March 1954, available at http://www. presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/ index.php?pid=10195

IUOTO, 296, OECE, Tourism Committee, Joint Publicity, Interim Report January-April 1954 by Siegfried Bittel, 14 June 1954.

NUMBER OF INFORMATION REQUESTS RECEIVED BY THE ETC NEW YORK (1951–1959)

1951 ^A	2,236
1953 ^B	23,070
1955	37,534
1956	52,804
1958	56,049
1959	61,940

- A For the month of February only
- B From January to April inclusively

Whilst data about request volumes are unfortunately incomplete, especially for the early years, they nevertheless indicate that the ETC became a sort of clearing house for tourism in Europe. Indeed, the ETC not only corresponded with tourists (and sent them promotional material), but also provided information to news agencies and periodicals, such as the Associated Press, Newsweek, Business Week, Time, New York Times, Travel Agent, and ASTA Travel News, to name a few.

In a context where pivotal transportation, financial, and technological changes were occurring, the ETC played a key role in bringing more Americans to Europe. After Boeing introduced commercial jet aircraft in 1958, tourists were able to fly faster and further, opening new horizons in the democratisation of travel that had started in the mid-nineteenth century with Thomas Cook and his packaged tours. In May 1952, air carriers started to offer cheaper, tourist-class airfares, and in 1953 it became possible to travel on credit. Between 1950 and 1956, the numbers of passengers travelling from the US to Europe by air increased 153 per cent, from 142,295 to 359,991. ⁵⁹ Travelling

to Europe became a fashionable craze for more and more Americans. In its 1955 European travel special issue, the editors of *Holiday* magazine talked of the 'surging desire of more Americans than ever to know, understand and visit their parental nations', and of 'the desire of Europeans and the various carrier services, both foreign and domestic, to make travel abroad both as "easy as crossing the street" and relatively inexpensive'. The statistics speak for themselves: whilst 266,000 US citizens travelled to Europe in 1950, this number grew to 525,666 by 1955, and reached 851,150 in 1960. Torwing 219 per cent between 1950 and 1960, departures of American citizens exceeded the growing trend of international arrivals to the United States, which

grew from 25.3 million to 69.3 million in the same decade. This context was favourable for the ETC advertisements, which continued to stress the merits of the thrift season, as this 1960 advertisement illustrates.

The growth of Americans' trips abroad did not go unnoticed. Whereas the American government had encouraged US citizens to travel abroad in the interest of rebuilding the economies of European countries in the early 1950s, the concerns over the deficit in the country's balance of payments prompted the creation of the US Travel Service in order to, among other things, motivate foreign nationals to come and visit the US. Having been instrumental in the development of American tourism in Europe, the ETC remained an organisation that was very well regarded by the US authorities in the early 1960s. As an illustrative example of that, Manolita Doelger, the ETC New York chairwoman, was invited to the White House when President Kennedy, on 29 June 1961, signed the Act establishing the US Travel Service.





Europe is adverye in season Expectably in the full, all Europe's a staget Manpoon bart into light, constitute to the pit, latitude of the first pit and the sign and Europe is made to the first and the staget and them. But the "light and the sign and "come of the three word" as more "open. Egyir the fort state, taight after taight—priors are supplicingly low, field, take Europe and "you" you man, So you true to appear so life for forth formation, and adolated of themse, open, much, late, when shot courty is interested. Address: National Fractio Office (Name of Centry), But 2281, Dqu. 1228, Dqu. 1228, New York 17, N,Y. ■ European Travel Committee and Co

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'Travel Europe 1955', *Holiday* 17, no. 1 (Jan. 1955): 11.

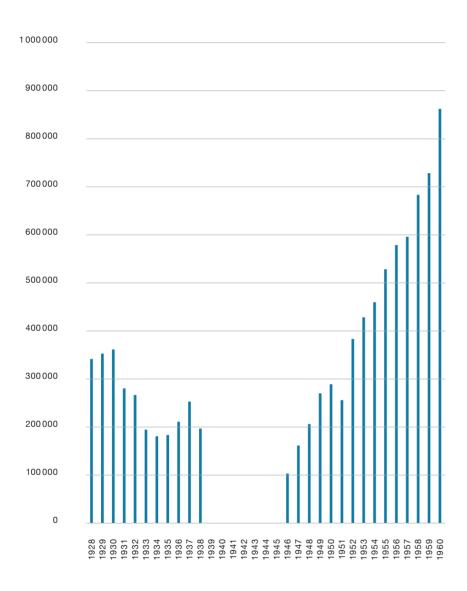
61

OECD Library &
Archives, TFD/TOU/164/
Joint publicity in the
United States for the
development of American
tourism in Europe,
Paris, 17 May 1961, p.28
(Departure of US citizens
for Europe by sea and
air). These numbers do
not include US soldiers
stationed in Europe.

5

OECD Library & Archives, TOU (57) 10, Joint publicity campaign in the United States, 15–16 April 1957.

NUMBER OF AMERICAN VISITORS TO EUROPE. 1928–1960



Source: OECD Library and Archives, TOU (49) 6 Appendix, TOU (49) 20, TOU (50) 7, TOU (52) 7, TOU (61) 4; L. J. Lickorish, The Travel Trade (London: Practical Press, 1958)

ORGANISATIONAL CHALLENGES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OEEC REORGANISATION

Member countries' financial contributions to the common fund for American publicity campaigns were the subject of multiple disagreements over the years. This challenge became more acute in the mid-1950s as operational costs rose significantly while the budget increased only slightly. In 1949, the ETC requested that the OEEC increase the common fund to \$1,000,000, but instead, the 1950 publicity budget increased to only \$350,000. It then dwindled to \$300,000 in 1951 and \$160,000 in 1952, before going back up to \$200,000 in 1953. For the second half of the 1950s, the budget remained stable at approximately \$250,000 per year, and from 1959 onwards slightly exceeded \$300,000. Initially, the financial burden of the common fund rested predominantly on France, the United Kingdom, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany. In 1952, for instance, these five countries contributed 64 per cent of the fund. Meanwhile, smaller countries, such as Greece, Finland, Turkey, and Yugoslavia, which also received fewer American tourists due to their geographical locations, paid between \$2,000 and \$3,300 annually.⁶² The disparity of contributions was not the only problem. ETC meeting minutes very frequently recorded that several members' dues were paid late, not paid until the end of the calendar year, or remitted in several instalments, making campaign planning difficult. In 1951, contributions were so delayed that the ETC New York's bank account was overdrawn on several occasions. Subsequently, the ETC insisted that payments be made at the very beginning of the campaign, which moderated the problem by the mid-1950s. In 1957, for the first time, all fees were paid before the end of the year; still, the issue of late payments resurfaced from time to time.

As the cost of advertising rose over time and while small countries' contributions remained unchanged for years, the ETC lobbied for a revision of the contribution rates. In early 1959, the OEEC Council of Ministers decided that the common fund for publicity ought to be augmented. The OEEC pushed this issue even further, threatening that the joint publicity campaigns would be cancelled if the common budget were not revised. To this end, Haulot asked the ETC to study this question

62

IUOTO, 295, ETC
Meeting, Paris, 10–11
June 1952. Of the 1956
ETC publicity budget
of \$263,000, France
provided \$48,000, Italy
\$45,000, the United
Kingdom \$41,250,
Germany \$22,500, and
Switzerland \$15,000,
accounting for 65 per
cent of the total. OECD,
TOU (57) 9, Financial
report for the 1956
publicity campaign, p.3.

44

immediately. The ETC's financial subcommittee recommended an annual budget increase as well as new contribution scales to rectify longstanding disputes and imbalances among member states. This subject became so contentious among ETC members that disbanding the ETC was contemplated at the end of 1959. During that year, Leonard Lickorish, chairman of the financial subcommittee, suggested a new scale based on criteria adopted in 1949. These included overnight stays by American tourists, numbers of American tourists, tourism receipts in US dollars, hotel capacity, the country's population, the presence or absence of direct transportation links with the US, and the country's economic situation. A country's level of promotional activities in the United States outside the ETC was added as a negative criterion that reduced its contribution rate to the ETC.

The budget plan prepared for 1961 proposed a \$340,000 fund, with the share of the five biggest contributors being reduced to 57.3 per cent of the total. The proposed increase in Germany's contribution, however, triggered strong opposition from the German representative. Similarly, the representatives of Finland and Greece voiced concern that the financial burden had shifted to small countries.⁶³ For its part, the French representative stated that France would not accept a return to the status quo ante (under the new scheme, France's contribution decreased by 12 per cent). Finally, in the spring of 1960, the ETC financial subcommittee proposed a revised contribution scale yielding a total budget of \$316,600 for the 1961 campaign. Fifteen of the ETC members accepted this proposal, but Greece, Luxemburg, Monaco, Turkey, and Yugoslavia continued to oppose it. Later that spring, all but Greece finally agreed to the new plan. However, it was decided to defer the decision given the ongoing reform of the OEEC which, it was thought, could make any decision made at that point obsolete.

The continued existence of the joint publicity action (and its exact budget) was in fact contingent on the reorganisation of the OEEC. Its successor, the OECD, which added the United States and Canada, commenced operations on 30 September 1961. In June 1962, an ad hoc work group—which included Haulot, the ETC New York Chairwoman Doelger, Sven Acker, Timothy J O'Driscoll, Lampe, Nordholm, a Canadian and a US representative, and many others—reviewed this question. Whilst the group did not rule out future joint publicity

campaigns, this outcome seemed unlikely. Participants agreed to maintain a Tourism Committee in the OECD but disagreed on the usefulness of continuing joint publicity campaigns within the new organisation. Although the French representative 'considered that all the member-countries of the OECD should be closely associated in a common action', he questioned 'the quality and efficiency of the ETC's action'. Switzerland, Austria, Spain, and Portugal adopted similar positions, whilst the North American representatives argued that the ETC should no longer conduct its US publicity campaigns within the OECD. On the opposing side, all the other OECD members, joined by Finland and Yugoslavia and the tourism industry representatives, considered the joint publicity campaigns as 'useful, efficient and necessary'. 64 Eventually, a budget line for the 1963 campaign was granted, but \$50,000 of the \$300,000 total budget was allocated to a research study on youth tourism. 65 In late December 1963, the OECD Tourism Committee officially stated 'that in view of the position adopted by several Member countries of the OECD it was not possible to continue the campaign in 1964 within the framework of the Organisation', and 'took note of the intention of the ETC to continue the campaign in 1964 on its own account'.66

With this turn of events, an important chapter of the ETC ended and a new one started. The ETC was restructured and responsibility for the publicity campaigns in the United States was delegated to the New York committee. To this end, the ETC requested in early 1965 that its members give their representatives in the US the necessary authority to act. ⁶⁷ Thereafter the publicity campaigns continued, but under the aegis of the ETC only. This change did not diminish the importance of the joint publicity action in America. While it continued to be one of the ETC's most significant activities, it was organisationally revamped as the ETC began to work with smaller budgetary allocations. As a result, the importance of coordinating the ETC's work with private partners through, among others, travel conferences became more critical than ever.

64

OECD Library & Archives, TFD/TOU/179/Ad hoc working party on tourist publicity, 12 June 1962.

65

OECD Library & Archives, TFD/TOU/187/Ad hoc working party on tourist publicity, 23 November 1962.

66

OECD Library & Archives, TOU/M(64)1, Tourism Committee, Record of the 5th session, Paris, 20 January 1964.

67

ETC Archives in Brussels (hereafter ETC Archives), Minutes of ETC meeting, Paris, 28 January 1965. CHAPTER 3 47

At the Border, All Must Stop: Securing the Freedom to Travel

1952 — 1968



The campaigns depicting Europe as a desirable destination became, as chapter 2 explained, a flagship project for the ETC. However, as an organisation, the ETC never focused on publicity alone. In the 1950s, the practicalities of travelling remained complex and American travellers encountered multiple issues when crossing borders while in Europe. Given the red tape hindering travel between European states, the ETC made a genuine effort during its early years to help facilitate border crossings. Securing the freedom to travel became a target of the organisation next to the publicity campaigns that have remained important until today. It receded to the background once free travel had been sufficiently secured and the ETC could count on other organisations with which it had built up a good working relationship to safeguard it.

This chapter depicts the work of the ETC in the 1950s and 1960s beyond its publicity campaigns. It starts at the moment the ETC was taking stock of what it had achieved since 1948. The ETC contributed to an atmosphere in which travel in Western Europe could become much freer than it had been in 1945. The chapter ends in 1968 examining the ETC's declaration on the freedom to travel at a moment when the US government threatened to impose restrictions on travel by its citizens. In order to conduct its tasks effectively and efficiently, the organisation adapted itself to changing institutional circumstances.

INSTITUTIONAL DYNAMICS

When the ETC mingled in matters relating to border controls and frontier formalities, it strategically chose collaboration with other actors rather than developing initiatives on its own. This was a time when organisations mushroomed everywhere in Europe on multiple issues. Effective action for one depended on action taken by many others. As Haulot specified in his introductory remarks at the 1953 IUOTO congress in Lisbon, none of the actors could claim credit for the evolution of a whole industry. The ETC itself had benefited considerably from the goodwill of others. Without support from trade associations, hoteliers, the transport sectors, or travel agents 'the recommendations of [ETC] would have had but the value of the paper they were written on'. ETC

68

Wolfram Kaiser and Johan Schot, Writing the Rules for Europe: Experts, Cartels, and International Organizations (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).



IUOTO, 296, Report by Haulot, IUOTO Congress of Lisbon 1953.

In particular, Haulot singled out two organisations. First, he indicated that the support from the OEEC Tourism Committee was crucial for the organisation of governmental decisions (as a matter of fact, collaboration between intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations increased considerably in the post-war period in general). Haulot characterised the role of the ETC vis-à-vis the OEEC Tourism Committee as that of a 'technical adviser'. While the OEEC Tourism Committee was directly involved in the tourist trade itself, tourism and travel fundamentally depended on adequate transport. A second organisation that Haulot singled out was the Inland Transport Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe, a regional economic commission within the United Nations framework, based in Geneva. For some time, the ETC had a working group on international road transport of its own.⁷⁰ For one, this specialised body within the ETC followed developments specific for the topic for which it had been created. Additionally, at least in this case, it served the purpose of reminding participants that they should use their influence so as to ensure that ETC interests would be safeguarded during international negotiations. For international road transport, good work had been done in Geneva to dramatically ease travel for private vehicles. Yet, the negotiations disregarded travel in renting vehicles, which happened to be an important facet for American tourists. Such cars should therefore also be able to circulate freely.

Rather than continuing with work that partly doubled and competed with the work done in Geneva, the ETC chose to collaborate in those discussions and become a spokesperson for the interests of 'the Tourist and the Travel Industry'. It also sought to ensure that national delegations would include tourism experts. As for travel infrastructures, the transportation capacity across the Atlantic, prices, and the ability of potential clientele to pay for a ticket to Europe were primary concerns for the ETC as well. It kept in close contact with airline companies, shipping lines, European railway companies, major travel agencies, and hoteliers, building on a meeting set up in November 1950 for all commercial organisations interested in the development of transatlantic tourist traffic. Since these private companies were also major advertisers, such connections would also feed back into the ETC's publicity efforts.

70 IUOTO, 296, Minutes of meeting, 21 December 1954, working group on international road transport.

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IUOTO, 296, Capitalisation in original, Report by Haulot, IUOTO Congress of Lisbon 1953.

72

IUOTO, 296, It was estimated that the carriers spent twice as much as all other parties interested in advertising Europe touristically combined, see Hudson Meyer, 'Is the European Travel Commission's Advertising Effort Sufficient?', attached to Nordholm to Cahan, 22 April 1953.

Work duplication was also a concern when new institutions were proposed that would duplicate the work of the ETC itself. During the years of détente and the cutting loose of the ETC from the IUOTO (see below), the Economic Commission for Europe considered setting up a travel organisation between Eastern and Western Europe next to the ETC, but many resisted the idea. British representative Bridges captured the sentiment, when he:

deplor[ed] any idea of setting up another committee. There are so many committees already that I have lost all calculation of how many there are and I am sure my colleagues around the table become as confused as I am when they try to think in terms of initials. It is bad enough remembering IUOTO.⁷³

The efforts to prevent work duplication could not avoid the separation of the ETC from the IUOTO in 1956, and the continuation of a regional commission within the fold of the IUOTO under a different name due to socialist states joining the organisation. After Stalin's death in 1953 and the July 1955 Geneva Summit, tensions eased between the 'Big Four': the United States, the USSR, France, and the United Kingdom. At the 1955 International Conference and General Assembly of the IUOTO in New Delhi (19–25 October 1955), Poland, Romania, and the USSR joined the IUOTO.

Soon after joining, Poland communicated the wish to join IUOTO's regional commission for Europe, the ETC. The intentions of Romania and the USSR were not yet known, but the ETC did not expect Poland to remain the sole Eastern European state to apply for ETC membership. Correspondence with the Soviet authorities made it clear that in principle there was a willingness to allow the exchange of people, and tourist publicity materials, from both sides of the Iron Curtain. As to the possibility of the USSR and Central European states joining publicity campaigns in the United States, by the time the discussions between the Eastern bloc and the ETC started, the campaign for 1956 had already been closed (the same applied to the Saar, 74 which had been invited by the ETC to join in 1955). 75

In late 1955, ETC President Haulot travelled to Moscow for further negotiations, but the trip did not deliver the desired

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IUOTO, 112, Minutes of meeting Executive Committee, 19 October 1956, p.16.

74

The Saar functioned as a protectorate under French control after the Second World War. It joined Western Germany in 1957.

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IUOTO, 296, Minutes of meeting, 1 June 1955, Paris; Letters from Haulot to Karchenko, 8 November 1955 and from Aktsionernoje to Haulot, n.d. and establish the appropriate collaborations with the ETC.⁷⁹

When this solution was deemed undesirable, it was pro-

Subsequently, modest travel between Eastern and Western

CUTTING RED TAPE. COORDINATING POLICIES

When Haulot took stock of what the ETC had achieved at its fifth anniversary, there were quite a number of obstacles he could list that had been eliminated. A total of 229 visas had been abolished, a large majority of which were as a result of ETC action. The year after, he could report that a further 55 had been

results. 76 What seemed like a good idea in October 1955, could no longer be considered as such by January 1956. While acknowledging that the acceding new members had the full right to join the regional commission, the ETC members were not willing to put the collective campaigns in the United States at risk. Yet the director of the OEEC Tourism Committee had already indicated that entry of the Eastern European states in the ETC could result in the loss of the ETC's status for them.⁷⁷ The OEEC would in any case not entrust campaigns under its tutelage to an ETC, or any other body for that matter, that comprised non-OEEC members. 78 In January, Haulot suggested to create a second 'central-European' commission within the ETC that would have members from all Eastern European states,

posed that the ETC would leave the IUOTO and continue as an independent organisation. In theory, this could be done under a different name. But in practice, President Haulot argued that the organisation had already built up a name with a certain value and stature through its campaigns and among international circles. The solution was to transfer the name 'ETC' of the regional commission of the IUOTO to the newly created independent organisation, while the IUOTO body would acquire a new name, the Regional Travel Commission for Europe, 80 effective from the IUOTO congress in Vienna in 1956.

Europe started to occur, but it was somewhat difficult in comparison with the increasing easiness of travelling among ETC member countries. Easing the difficulties in crossing borders in Europe advertised by the ETC on the American market was a prime concern in the early decades of its existence, and as a result travelling in Europe became much smoother.

from Haulot on Regional Travel Commission for Europe, n.d. [probably 1956] (doc. 3208/1279).

IUOTO, 46, Proceedings of the 11th International

Conference and General

Assembly of IUOTO.

Vienna, 22-26 October

1956, pp.31-32; IUOTO.

112, Minutes of meeting

Executive Committee,

23-26 April 1956

77 IUOTO, 295, Minutes

of meeting, 23-25

May 1956, sub IX.

78

IUOTO, 298, Report

IUOTO, 296, Haulot, Circular letter, 5 January 1955

IUOTO, 296, Haulot. Memorandum relatif aux notes de la Pologne et de l'URSS.

made obsolete.81 While Sweden was the only visa-free country for US citizens at the beginning of the decade, the tally stood at 15 European countries by 1953. For frontier formalities, the ETC was well underway towards the goal 'to draw up a single system valid for the whole of Europe'. Currency regulations had been relaxed. For health protection, Benelux, France, and the United Kingdom had already taken the step that the traveller who met the health requirements of one of them, could travel freely among all.

As a luxury trade, public authorities considered travel a seemingly inexhaustible source for exploitation and introduced different taxes. Here again, the successful ETC action had helped eliminate certain taxes, or led to the withdrawal of new taxation when it was proposed. Nevertheless, the ETC felt vigilance was continuously needed, given the tendency to impose taxes on embarkation and disembarkation at airports and seaports.82

As a result of all the efforts, Europe was, by the mid-1950s, the world region with the least difficulties and formalities for tourists. But there were further aims to strive for. Since the goal was to maximise the possibilities for individual travel, remaining restrictions on currency ought to be fully abolished, as well as the formalities of passport controls. 83 Some years later, there was even an initiative to replace passports through an ETC-delivered travel card. While the card would be valid for only one year and only in the European countries of ETC members (as opposed to two years and worldwide in the case of US passports), it would also come at only half the price of a passport. Thus, it would constitute an intermediate step towards the ultimate aim of eliminating all tourist taxes and fees.⁸⁴ Even though the ETC travel card did not materialise, it testifies of the concrete ways in which the ETC contributed to making travelling easier.

As a result of the facilitation of travel, the ETC anticipated a spectacular growth in transatlantic travel, and this indicates how much all of the ETC initiatives still focused heavily, if not exclusively, on the United States. The ETC had briefly flirted with promoting Europe as a tourist destination in South America and Canada in its early existence, but it had abandoned this for financial reasons and resistance among members respectively.85

IUOTO, 297, Report by Haulot, Congress of London 1954.

IUOTO, 296, Report by Haulot, IUOTO Congress of Lisbon 1953.

IUOTO, 296, Arthur Haulot, Report of the ETC. IUOTO Congress 1955.

IUOTO, 297, Minutes of meeting, 6 November 1959, Brussels.

IUOTO, 296, Haulot, circular letter, 9 September 1952: IUOTO 296, Minutes of meeting. 17 March 1953, Paris, sub 17; IUOTO, 112, Minutes of meeting **Executive Committee** 23-26 April 1956.

For the transatlantic market, the perspectives for the near future were 'magnificent' and 'sensational', but also 'perilous', since a lack of coordination could thwart reaping the benefits of the increase in American visitors to Europe. The ETC's answer was a White Paper, preparing the grounds for further growth and the orderly managing of the growing numbers of tourists. 86 Published in 1956, this White Paper on a Tourist *Policy in Europe* had essentially three key elements. First, the ETC proposed to further stimulate growth by keeping prices under control. Thus, the potential US market could further expand. Second, visitors had to be more evenly spread over the year and over the European territory. The promotion of travel in the off-season, or 'thrift season'87 as the ETC had so successfully called it, should reach new heights with special tariffs for transatlantic and intra-European travel, as well as for accommodation.88

Finally, in order to reach a better geographic spread, new itineraries should be developed that would entice visitors to explore Europe's lesser-known corners. Such a geographic spread was also important as a way to protect heritage sites and retain the attractiveness of Europe as a destination. Having good transportation and lodging was clearly necessary, but not a sufficient condition for tourist flows to occur: that required landscapes, monuments, cities, and other points of attraction that tourists would want to visit. Europe's strong rebound after the Second World War put some of this 'tourist capital' in jeopardy: Haulot's annual report to the IUOTO congress in 1955 warned that remarkable sites were 'annually marred, ruined, and destroyed', and lovely towns were 'torn down, disfigured, and spoiled', sometimes even catastrophically.⁸⁹

As to the 'necessity for a coherent policy', the ETC declared that its secretariat, already functioning effectively as a liaison, was able and willing to embark on the expanded amount of work that would result from the implementation of the proposals in the White Paper. The policy coherence would be safeguarded through frequent meetings, and a continuous flow of information and opinions between the ETC and other stakeholders, both governmental and non-governmental. On a governmental level, the ETC had a well-established working relationship with the OEEC Tourism Committee. In its dealings with the private sector the ETC played a primordial role in the

86
European Travel
Commission, White
Paper on a Tourist Policy
in Europe (Brussels:
Éditions Est-Ouest,
1956).

See Figure Thrift Season 1951, p.21.

88 hen IA

So when IATA proposed to abolish the 40 per cent reduction for off-season flight tickets, the ETC was not amused, IUOTO, 295, Nordholm to Haulot, 21 May 1956.

89

IUOTO, 296, Arthur Haulot, Report of the ETC, IUOTO Congress 1955. European Travel Promotion Conferences, which formed an inherent part of the publicity campaigns.

The ETC also continued its research efforts. During the 1954 IUOTO General Assembly in London, the ETC representatives met with the International Travel Research Institute. A market research project emerged for 1955 to gather information on American travel movements in Europe. Travel movements to Europe were relatively well understood, and it was known that travellers would visit some 3-4 countries. But very little market research had been conducted on a European scale. A Committee of Experts entrusted Georges Anderla (France) and Leonard Lickorish (Great Britain) with the task of conducting the study. They would hold personal interviews with 3,000-4,000 American visitors at airports and seaports of departure in Europe when they returned to the United States. The questions would establish the reason for the journey, personal background, lengths of stay in the various countries visited, expenditure while in Europe and in the United States in preparation of the trip, and the ways in which the journey had been prepared. Anderla and Lickorish declared that the research had caused them no difficulty: the American respondents were easily identified, and willingly answered all their questions. 90

When the study was ready, it turned out that some 30 per cent of post-war American visitors to Europe were repeat visitors. Within the ETC there was a continuous debate on whether to focus on first-time or repeat travellers. The typical American traveller commanded two sources of information: friends who had already been in Europe, and travel agents. American visitors were also limited geographically within the United States itself. It would seem best to focus on those markets that would allow capturing roughly three quarters of the potential market. ⁹¹ New York was the part of the United States from which most travellers to Europe came. By working through an infrastructure that was already there, Chairman of ETC New York Luis Bolin proposed using the European NTO offices in cities such as San Francisco or Chicago in order to reach out to more Americans. ⁹²

So, what were the results of all the ETC efforts, continuing until today, to spread visitors over space and time? It was the distinct impression of some actors that the ETC had made a difference. In 1953 J.D. Ryan from the American Automobile Association noted a double trend among American visitors to

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IUOTO, 296, Proceedings meeting Coordination Committee, 22 December 1954, Annex I, 'American market research'.

91

IUOTO, 297, Coordination committee, minutes of meeting, 9 November 1959.

92

IUOTO, 297, Bolin to Haulot, 19 November 1957. Europe who took their car with them: they were going later in the season after the peak in travel, and generally stayed longer. Ryan attributed this partly to the ETC promotions. Charles J. Hogan from the French Line, a shipping company, was even more emphatic: 'There is no doubt in the world but that much of the results achieved in lengthening the European Travel Season are attributable in a large measure to the efforts of the European Travel Commission'. ⁹³

But the real test of the mechanisms in place would be under more adverse conditions. They came sooner than anticipated when the Suez Crisis of 1956 broke out. During the crisis, Israeli forces, followed by France and the United Kingdom, invaded Egypt to get control over the Suez Canal and force Egyptian President Nasser out of power. Political pressure from the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Nations ended the conflict relatively soon. Nevertheless, the export of oil to Europe, two thirds of which passed through the canal, was severely disrupted for half a year. The ETC saw the attenuation of such sudden shocks as an important task, since it threatened to discourage tourists from coming to Europe. The ETC monitored the international situation continuously, swinging into action whenever it was expected that developments would slow tourist flows down.

As the Suez Crisis compelled most European governments to ration the use of petrol, the ETC sought to calm the prospective American travellers with a series of press releases. In them, the ETC New York underlined that rationing essentially did not affect American tourists and that they should simply go ahead and book their trip in 1957. Given the ETC's interest in promoting off-season travel including colder periods of the year in autumn, spring and winter, the press releases also mentioned that heating was largely coal-based, and tourists need not worry about being left in the cold.⁹⁴ The core message of their reassurance was simply: 'Normal travel conditions everywhere'. 95 Apart from safeguarding a continuous positive image of travel to Europe to secure the continuous flow of tourists, the ETC also believed that its provision of up-to-date information about tourism and world affairs (e.g. the creation of the economy class in aviation, the Hungarian uprising and Suez Crisis of 1956, the 1958 centenary celebrations of the first apparition in Lourdes, the war in Algeria, etc.) was very much appreciated in the United States.96

93 IUOTO, 295, Report on European Travel Commission Activities in the United States 1953, 1 November 1953.

94

ETC New York, News Bureau, press releases #1. 2 January 1957: #3. n.d., 'Europe welcomes visiting US tourists with ample gasoline supplies warm hotels and normal travel conditions everywhere'; #4, n.d., 'Statement on European fuel situation drafted for U.S. Department of Commerce'; #7, 20 February 1957, 'Report on gasoline and heating situation in European Travel Commission member countries'.

95

IUOTO, 297, ETC New York, News Bureau, press release #3 n.d. [1957].

96

IUOTO, 297, Minutes from meeting, 18 June 1958, Paris, annex 2, President's Note on Financing the ETC Secretariat from 1952 to 1958.

IN DEFENCE OF THE FREEDOM TO TRAVEL

As the ETC procedures and actions crystallised over time, the organisation continuously adapted itself according to the discussions among its members and the changing institutional setting. In November 1958 it received legal personality under Belgian law following an agreement between the OEEC and the European Travel Commission by which the ETC could take charge of the common publicity fund. 97 With the changeover from the OEEC to the OECD, the organisation lost its European focus, making the close links with the ETC difficult. Until then, the chairman (Haulot) had provided for the secretariat. The ETC recovered the costs until 1965 through funds taken out of the common publicity fund up to a maximum of 1.5 per cent. ETC presidents from 1965 to 1971 carried the costs of the secretariat from their own budget. In 1965, the secretariat went to Dublin with the appointment of Timothy O'Driscoll as ETC president. Eamonn P. Kearney managed the secretariat for many years thereafter as a courtesy of the Irish Tourist Board.

During the following years, new criteria to calculate the contributions were discussed. ⁹⁸ A 'basket' was created to calculate how much benefit a member country derived from the tourist trade, as opposed to suggestions that all members would make equal contributions to the ETC turf. Smaller countries, or those with a lot of transit traffic, did not like the suggestion. ⁹⁹ Somehow the ETC had to reconcile the principle of equality of its members with the obvious differences in financial resources and benefits derived from the tourist trade. The situation was particularly acute for the smaller states: Iceland, Luxembourg, and Monaco. As part of such discussions, members also debated the proper division of tasks between promotion and research. Some members called for the exclusive use of ETC funds for promotion purposes only. ¹⁰⁰

Members also had to decide on the relationship with the New York-based operations. Several officials found it impracticable that some members continuously had to refer back to Europe before being able to make any financial commitments. ¹⁰¹ As these discussions were being held, the Donald N. Martin Company, Inc. launched the 'Invitation to Europe' in

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IUOTO, 297, Leon Mainil to general commissioner, 20 November 1958.

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Timothy O'Driscoll, 40 Years of Joint Action 1948-1988, pp.12–13, 32–33.

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E.g. position Dutch representative Risseeuw, ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 14 January 1966, Paris.

100

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 14 January 1966, Paris, appendix.

101

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 14 January 1966, Paris, sub 3.

1964. It consisted of a sizeable newspaper advertorial in major newspapers in the New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles areas in spring and fall, and this would become, in the words of the company, the ETC's 'high-impact vehicle to deliver Europe's message to the top markets for trans-Atlantic travel'. The advertorials became a fixed part of the ETC's publicity strategies for decades to come.

In the meantime, work on easing travel continued unabated. In 1963, the United Nations organised a two-week Conference on International Travel and Tourism in Rome, the first such conference after the Second World War. Its main goal was to remove obstacles (visas, customs rules, border crossings, etc.) and streamline tourism regulations. While the ETC did not formally participate, Ricci and O'Driscoll (who was one of the five vice-presidents of the conference) were among the initiators and the leaders of the Rome Conference. ¹⁰³ In 1964 and 1965, O'Driscoll pushed for discussions on the Rome recommendations, and their implementations within the IUOTO and the OECD Tourism Committee, at the time when he took over the chairmanship of the ETC from Haulot.

Back then, the ETC developed a new instrument to spotlight its cause. Its intention was to provide a regular platform for debate and exchange of best practices and a setting to maintain good working relations with other organisations: a new annual conference for which the ETC would invite distinguished personalities of the European tourism sector. A 'States General of European Tourism' as it were. 104 The first such conference took place in New York in the fall of 1966, and the ETC allotted \$25,000 for what it considered a promotional conference. The ETC's primary target audience were commercial organisations concerned with transatlantic tourism. The conference was organised by the Donald N. Martin Company, just like the publicity campaigns. To attract maximum attention to the conference, Don Martin suggested inviting a well-known personality from Europe to speak as a keynote at the conference. Suggestions included Paul-Henri Spaak, former Belgian prime minister and well-known European politician, as well as several members of royalty: the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Bernhard of The Netherlands, or the King of the Hellenes. The honour would ultimately go to His Royal Highness the Prince of Liège, later King Albert II of Belgium. 105



ETC Archives, Donald M. Martin & Company, Inc., company brochure.

103

OECD Library and Archives, Letter from J. Gilmer to O'Driscoll, 1964.

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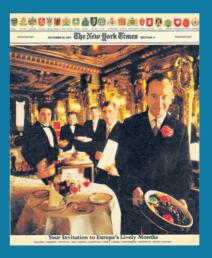
ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 26 February 1965, Brussels, sub F.

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ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 13 September 1966, Monte Carlo, sub 5; Minutes of meeting, 6 February 1967, Paris, sub 5.

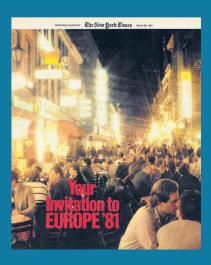














The conference came at an appropriate time. In a preparatory memo, the Donald N. Martin Company claimed it was time to look ahead at the possibilities offered by new aviation technologies, such as jumbo jets and supersonic travel. The development was expected to expand the Atlantic tourist market considerably. The conference would focus on two-way travel from and to both sides of the Atlantic. Organised at The Plaza, a chic Manhattan luxury hotel, the conference would attract some 300 executives and officials. Travel Congress, at least in part as a sign of appreciation for the work of Timothy O'Driscoll. These occasions would become a regular feature of the ETC annual agenda, and alternate between both sides of the Atlantic in a true transatlantic spirit.

Underlining the existence of an Atlantic Community was essential, because the freedom to travel soon came under threat from an unsuspected corner. In his 1968 State of the Union address, President Lyndon B. Johnson observed that 'Americans, travelling more than any other people in history, took \$4 billion out of their country last year in travel costs. We must try to reduce the travel deficit that we have of more than \$2 billion'. 109 He specified lowering the 'travel deficit' by \$500 million by targeting non-essential travel in particular. The year before, the president had already instituted an Industry-Government Special Task Force on Travel and launched a Discover America programme.

106

This form of travel turned out to be less successful than anticipated. The Concorde is the best-known example, operating from 1976 to 2003.

107

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 13 September 1966, Monte Carlo, annex.

108

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 6 February 1967, Paris, sub 7.

109

Lyndon B. Johnson, State of the Union address, 17 January 1968.

The ETC, assembling in a general meeting some two weeks later, was worried and discussed what ought to be done in case restrictions on foreign travel were indeed imposed. Mr. Paine, in attendance at the meeting on behalf of Pan Am, urged the General Meeting to directly approach the chairman of the presidential task force to promote travel to the United States, of which he was a part. Lickorish proposed to draft a declaration of principles as a policy statement of the NTOs and circulate it to government officials and opinion leaders across the Atlantic Community. 110

In response, the ETC acted swiftly with a *Declaration on the Freedom to Travel*.¹¹¹ Published in February 1968 in English,

French, and German, the declaration opened with identifying the freedom to travel as a basic human right, to be enjoyed without restriction or discrimination. The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and the 1963 United Nations Conference on International Travel and Tourism had both affirmed this status of travel. Valued at approximately \$15 billion at the time, tourism was the largest single item in world trade. Its impact as a source of employment and income was huge. Restrictions on travel, the ETC thought, should not be imposed in an attempt to redress balance-of-payment issues; rather governments should seek to promote incoming foreign tourist traffic to expand levels of trade for all.

Freedom to Travel A Statement agreed by the twenty-three National Touris Organizations which comprise the European Travel Commission

CONCLUSION

Reflecting upon the first five years of existence of the ETC in a report from 1953 during the Lisbon Congress of IUOTO, President Haulot declared that it was the ETC's 'ambition [...] to continue to serve as the magnetic Pole on which all the enthusiasm that goes to create tourist traffic to Europe will converge and find support'. History provides some clues, but not many—for example when historical actors attributed influence to the ETC— to show that the organisation was able to be the magnetic pole it aspired. When the Trans-Atlantic Passenger Conference, an association for all steamship passenger lines, decided to establish a joint fund for the promotion of travel to Europe by ship, the campaign without doubt stemmed from the

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ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 2 February 1968, The Hague.

11

European Travel
Commission, Freedom
to Travel: A Declaration
Agreed by the TwentyOne National Tourist
Organizations which
Comprised the European
Travel Commission
(February 1968).

112

IUOTO, 296, Report by Haulot, IUOTO Congress of Lisbon 1953. example set by the ETC and would be 'essentially coordinated with the ETC's activities in the US'. 113 It may be interpreted as a glimpse of the leadership the ETC acquired in the tourist sector.

Part of that position can certainly be attributed to the concrete results the ETC delivered. That is not to say that all initiatives were successful. For instance, an ambitious proposal to have Easter on a specific date every year did not fly, although the benefits were obvious. If Easter always fell late in spring when the weather was nicer, it would boost tourist revenues. 114 How and why initiatives like this failed is often difficult to tell from the historical records. However, for any such example, several concrete steps towards the ETC's ambitions can be pinpointed. The easing of travel in the post-war period was real, and the ETC was an important force that made it happen. But here too the historical record is such that once a topic was treated satisfactorily, it would vanish from the ETC agenda. Discussions on passports, visas, and border formalities disappeared from the ETC scene—only to reappear in more recent times.

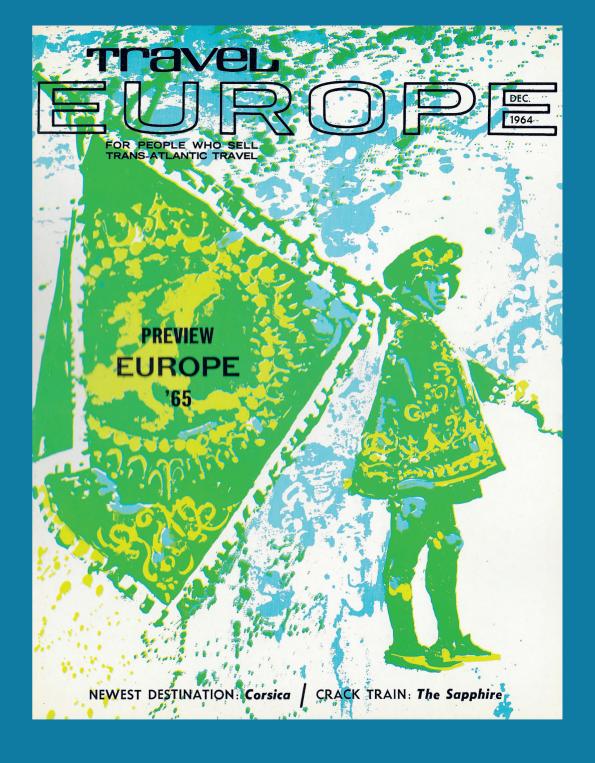
Some themes were mostly constants until today: the stimulus for off-season travel; the research activities in addition to the ETC's promotion agenda; and the functioning of the ETC as a spider in the web for the tourist industry, diffusing its knowledge, but also forging webs of mutually supportive relations. The shockwaves sent through the tourist landscape by violence and conflict could not unbalance such continuities, nor could a more political shockwave, such as President Johnson's attempt to skim part of Europe's tourist surpluses through travel restrictions. The hard-fought gains could be reversed with the stroke of a pen, but the ETC proved itself ready to defend the progress it had made.

113

IUOTO, 296, Nordholm to Cahan, 22 April 1953.

114

IUOTO, 297, Minutes of meeting, 6 November 1959, Brussels.



CHAPTER 4 63

Unlocking
Potential,
Weathering
the Storms:
From a
Transatlantic
to a Global

COOPERATIVE ACHIE

1968 — 1989

Player

The ETC had drawn up the *Declaration on the Freedom to Travel* in dire times in early 1968. By September, ETC President O'Driscoll reported on the basis of talks he had held in Washington and New York that the chances of any restrictions on American travel to Europe had by that time become remote. He did urge the ETC members to stay vigilant as the episode had clearly demonstrated that defending the freedom to travel remained necessary. Broader membership could also help legitimise the ETC, thus the September meeting authorised its president to invite Cyprus and Malta to become members of the organisation. They both had just become independent, in 1960 and 1964 respectively. The meeting also discussed the desirability of opening membership to some or all of the Eastern European states but decided not to pursue that idea. The

This chapter follows the work of the ETC in the 1970s and 1980s. It was a period in which the ETC sought to exploit new opportunities to attract visitors to Europe from third markets. The organisation changed in order to unlock this potential, acquiring, for example, a permanent executive director. It would very soon need all the force of the new institutional set-up to deal with the biggest economic crisis and concomitant slump in tourist numbers since its creation. The economic tides would continue to ebb and flow throughout the 1970s and 1980s. The oil crises of 1973 and 1979 and the recession of the early 1980s sent shockwaves through the tourist landscape. The Chernobyl nuclear incident in 1986 and various terrorist attacks, were further reasons for concern. The ETC was there to weather the storms and lessen the negative impact that various events might have, as well as exploit opportunities when they presented themselves. After all, these were issues that did not benefit or hurt any single member specifically but affected all of its members.

ORGANISATIONAL RENEWAL, A NEW SET OF TASKS

The year 1971 turned out to be an important year of change for the ETC. When the Commission met in the Hotel Royal in Copenhagen on 3 May, the Swiss ETC President Kämpfen argued that the organisational structure of the ETC was too complex. He proposed a leaner structure with a president and vice-presidents in Europe supported by a permanent secretariat

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ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 19 September 1968, The Hague.

116

ETC Archives, Minutes of meetings, 15 March 1969, Amsterdam, sub 12; 4 September 1969, Stockholm, sub 7. and a maximum of three staff in New York as a liaison with Don Martin. As Arthur Haulot recalled at the meeting, the ETC had essentially not changed its set-up since its establishment. Members agreed that the time had come to shake things up. The ETC president had already enquired with Timothy O'Driscoll whether he would be able and willing to head the permanent secretariat, or Executive Unit. O'Driscoll was about to retire from his management duties at the Irish Tourist Board and knew the ETC very well. The members appointed him as executive director by acclamation on 1 July 1971. 117

O'Driscoll's appointment was opportune, given the ETC's expansion. At the meeting in the autumn of 1971, the ETC welcomed Malta as a new member, followed in 1973 by Cyprus. 118 Nevertheless further expansion did not happen for the time being. Israel applied for membership in 1973 on the basis of joint interests with the ETC in the development of tourism and a wish to coordinate efforts. It had already been a member of the IUOTO's Regional Travel Commission for Europe since 1967. Since opinions on the application diverged, and there was an alternative to work with Israel on specific issues instead of accepting it as a full member, the General Meeting decided not to accept the application. Andorra's application for membership in 1981 was referred to the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the request of the Spanish NTO. It never returned to ETC discussions. When rumour had it that Bulgaria was about to apply for membership in 1981, '[t]he feeling was against accepting any such application if it were made'. 119

A more important expansion concerned the ETC's tasks. During this period, Leonard Lickorish was working on a report regarding the new Boeing 747's impact on European tourism. There was a lot of excitement about this aeronautical development, first and foremost in the ETC's main North American market. At the meeting at which the ETC discussed Lickorish's report, the organisation also explored the possibility of conducting a joint research in Japan. Managers of Japan Airlines, a viable partner to co-fund the endeavour, 'showed great interest'. They clearly indicated that the interest was 'not from the viewpoint of any one European country but under the aspect that their Japanese customers were attracted by Europe as a whole'. ¹²⁰ This was fully in line with the ETC's mission.

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ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 3 May 1971, Copenhagen, sub 6 & 12.

118

ETC Archives, Minutes of meetings, 29 November 1971, Zurich, sub 3; 2 May 1972, Luxembourg.

119

ETC Archives, Minutes of meetings, 23 May 1973, Zagreb, sub 8; 3 December 1981, Dublin sub 8, 9.

120

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 3 May 1971 Copenhagen, sub 4.

The organisational change went hand in hand with expanding the ETC tasks, reflecting some of the broader changes that occurred in the 1970s. New societal concerns came to the fore, such as the environmental movement and the preservation of cultural heritage. For the ETC, the preservation of cultural heritage in particular was a natural topic to take on board. Extensive ETC research over the decades indicated clearly that Europe's culture and history formed primary motivations for American travellers to come to Europe. 121 The decision marked a change in the character of the ETC, moving the organisation into the amenity field instead of the commercial promotional field that was and continued to be its primary activity. 122

Certain members opposed the addition of conservation to the ETC's agenda, fearing it would hurt the promotional campaigns; others welcomed it as part of the ETC's ambition to be a broader tourist organisation. According to Lickorish, the ETC 'should be a flexible body and its operations should range as widely as possible wherever necessary', and he saw a continuous expanding role for the ETC in the future if members had the will to undertake the work involved. ¹²³ In his view, engaging with such activities would help turn the ETC into what he called a 'catalyst' for other organisations in the field of tourism.



The conference 'Working Together—Tourism and Conservation' took place on 26-27 November 1973 in



121

ETC, Tourism and Conservation (Brussels, 1980), 'Preface'; ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 28 October 1982, The Hague, sub 3.2.

122

ETC Archives, Irish representative Ceannt, Minutes of meeting, 23 May 1973, Zagreb, sub 7.

123

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 23 May 1973, Zagreb, sub 11.

124

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 29 November 1971, Zurich, sub 11.

125

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 3 October 1972, Ajaccio, annex. Copenhagen. It adopted a resolution urging the Council of Europe, the European Communities, all levels of government, the private sector, and NGOs to identify and protect heritage. The conference also invited to develop tourism commensurately with its absorptive capacity while spreading the benefits and pressures of tourism over time and place so as to ensure the heritage sites would not be affected too negatively by their success. 126 The latter position was fully in tune with the ETC's longstanding efforts to harmoniously balance tourist flows between its country members.

Over the years, the institutional bonds further fortified. For example, the ETC executive director would sit on the Council of Europe's International Organising Committee for European Architectural Heritage Year 1975. 127 In 1978, the two organisations opened a new chapter by creating the European Travel Commission - Europa Nostra Annual Award scheme for outstanding tourism achievement in conservation under the generous sponsorship of the Franklin Mint Company. An appropriate scheme was formulated and implemented by Europe Nostra in consultation with the Commission. 128 And in 1980, the ETC sponsored a session on Tourism and Conservation at the European Architectural Heritage Congress in Brussels.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the promotion of Europe as a destination in third markets beyond Europe's shores remained the primary *raison d'être* for the ETC. Whenever new tasks were added to the ETC's aims and objectives, this would stir discussions on the necessity thereof, and the threat it would pose to the ETC's fundamental task. As an organisation with a relatively small budget vis-à-vis its member NTOs, it is easy to understand where the concerns of spending on goals other than promotion were coming from. It created an imperative to carefully weigh the pros and cons of any budgetary commitment.

The addition of conservation to the ETC's work package therefore constituted a concern, yet the budget allotted to it was rather negligible, representing less than 1 per cent of the total budget through minor annual contributions to Europa Nostra, or funds made available for the award. O'Driscoll dismissed concerns in the early 1970s when the addition of conservation to the agenda was considered, by pointing out that there would be a large return in information and publicity from the collaboration with Europa Nostra. 129

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 28 November 1973, Copenhagen.

127

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 2 May 1972, Luxembourg, sub 9.

128

ETC Archives, Minutes of Meeting, 28 October 1977, sub 25; ETC, *Tourism and Conservation* (Brussels, 1980), p.3.

129

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 3 October 1972, Ajaccio, sub 8.

Research continued to be another point of concern, but members' opinions diverged. While some would rather have the research budget repurposed for promotion, others, such as the vociferous Lickorish, long-time chairman of the Research Committee, deemed research essential for *effective* promotion in order to simply know what promotional techniques worked. The efficiency of the media, how best to reach potential markets, and how best to obtain new information on hobbies and interests of current and prospective travellers were all essential ingredients for a successful campaign. 130 The duplication of work was an additional concern and a reason for some to argue for lower budget allotments to research. For example, when an ETC study on civil aviation appeared, the Irish representative Keane reported on rumours that some within the ETC felt the study suffered from superficiality, a confusing layout, no statement of objectives, few references to sources, and—and this was the main point—that it was mainly, if not only, based on IATA materials. Other members vehemently disagreed. In the words of Dutch representative Strijker, 'the [...] research program was placing the ETC in the forefront of world tourism organizations'. 131

Within these debates, one element on which hardly any savings could be made was the cost of the Executive Unit. In the words of Swedish representative Bertil Harrysson, it was doing 'an amazing job from almost invisible resources', ¹³² a mere 6 or 7 per cent out of the total budget. This was a bargain in comparison to some of the peers of the ETC, for example the Pacific Asia Travel Association. ¹³³ The divergent opinions on the use of the ETC's budget do make clear that, certainly during the economically difficult times of the 1970s, members held different views on the importance of various tasks for the ETC and as to what financial resources should be dedicated to them at the expense of the promotion of Europe as a tourist destination.

OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

When it came to promotion, the ETC continued on the solid basis that had been laid in the decades before, as specified in chapter 2. The ETC always tracked opportunities to stimulate and enhance intercontinental travel to Europe, and its

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ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 23 May 1973, Zagreb, sub 4c.

31

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 18 November 1974, Malta, sub 'research'.

132

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 3 December 1981, Dublin, sub 6.

133

At PATA administrative costs amounted to one third. ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 27 May 1974, Istanbul, sub 4h. See also Minutes of meeting, 29 April 1982, Copenhagen, sub 3.

69

research publications are illustrative in this regard. In the case of *Implications on Tourism of the Boeing 747* (1972), technological changes were embraced with optimism as they would help tourism grow. At the same time, such reports intended to get the tourism industry ready for a potentially ground-breaking change. The increase in the level of comfort of travelling by plane combined with the increase in capacity and expectation of lowering costs made it important to plan well ahead for the anticipated rise in the number of tourists flocking to Europe

during the peak season. The ETC continued its efforts to stimulate off-peak travel in the process. The excitement over the new aviation technology was further boosted by the provision of new services across the Atlantic, such as Freddie Laker's Skytrains. ¹³⁴ While the economic problems of the 1970s made it difficult to directly capitalise on these new technological opportunities, in the long run they lowered the costs per capita on flights across the Atlantic and made such travel available to new groups of tourists, including younger, less affluent customers. In an airfares study conducted

among those flying in and out of John F. Kennedy Airport in December 1977–January 1978, a quarter of the interviewed travellers indicated they would not have travelled if it had not been for the lower fares that had become available on the market. ¹³⁵

Computer technologies also entered the discussion. In late 1978, at the meeting in West Berlin, Swedish representative Harrysson shared information that his organisation was about to embark on using new data processing protocols. Prestel, Viewdata, and other forerunners of online services today were all the buzz and were expected to leave their mark in booking systems for the travel industry. 136 It is one of the themes for which the ETC clearly proved its worth as a platform of exchange among its members. It directed members to the study of the British Tourist Authority entitled 'A Plain Person's Guide to Existing Technological Systems that Affect the Marketing of Travel Products in Europe and USA', as well as the responses to it. It would later organise a technology seminar in London on this subject, with a follow-up in December 1982, two months after the working group on international statistics of the UNWTO Commission for Europe (successor to the IUOTO's

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ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 28 October 1977, Seville; 'Freddie Laker Launches Skytrain', *The Economist*, 20 August 1977; 'Lake Skytrain: Flying High', *New York Times*, 28 June 1978.

135

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 12 May 1978, Nicosia, sub 18.

136

ETC Archives, Minutes of meetings, 1 December 1978, Berlin; 6 December 1979, Estoril, sub 5; Regional Travel Commission for Europe) did the same.¹³⁷ The UNWTO would become a valued partner for ETC research in general, for example through jointly sponsored research publications and the organisation of research symposiums.

The period also presented different challenges. The economic difficulties of the early 1970s set the decade apart from the prosperous post-war decades and their rapid economic growth. There were different major developments that were connected, and these fed the economic woes and threatened to impact the numbers of visitors from the United States, still the largest source of intercontinental tourists to Europe. The Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) drastically curtailed oil exports during the first oil crisis in 1973. There was the 'Nixon shock', a set of economic policies that ultimately ended the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates that had served as a monetary underpinning of international post-war prosperity in the Atlantic realm. As a result of these developments, the ETC published *Dollar Devaluation Impact on Travel* in 1973.

Later that year, the ETC felt the situation was acute and invited Patterson, an American Express consultant, to 'outline in some detail the bad publicity in the United States which Europe, as a holiday destination, was receiving because of the combination of the fuel crisis, the Middle East War, inflation, increased prices and devaluation'. The spectre of economic problems and related exchange rate problems returned in 1979 and the early 1980s. 140

From the mid-1980s, a different type of challenge discouraged tourists to visit Europe. On 5 April 1986, a small group of Libyans bombed a disco in West Berlin known to be frequented by American soldiers, leaving three people dead and 229 wounded. The attack came in the wake of a series of six bombings in Paris by the Committee for Solidarity with Arab and Middle Eastern Political Prisoners, a group affiliated with Hezbollah, between 7 December 1985 and 20 March 1986. 141 Since the April disco bombing targeted US citizens, it received considerable media attention in the United States, with devastating effects on the number of visitors Europe received in the summer of 1986. It forcefully demonstrated the mutual dependence of the different national markets in Europe. According to current European Tourism Association CEO Tom Jenkins, this

137

ETC Archives, Minutes of meetings, 29 April 1982, Copenhagen, sub 5; sub 7.

138

Richard Nixon, Address to the Nation Outlining a New Economic Policy: 'The Challenge of Peace', 15 August 1971.

139

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 28 November 1973, Copenhagen.

140

ETC Archives. Minutes of meetings, 8 June 1979, Reykjavik; 19 November 1980, New York.

141

Another six bombs exploded in Paris 4–17 September 1986. element of Europe 'as a unity destination in nearly any long-haul market' shows 'immediately when something goes wrong. If something goes wrong in Paris, it's Europe that suffers. People will say: "It's not the time to go to Europe". 142

As a response, that year, the ETC published *Promoting Off*-Peak Travel to Europe by Americans in a "Crisis" in collaboration with The New Yorker, car rental company Avis, various airline carriers, the port authority of New York, and British and French NTOs. 143 Expenses for the ETC were limited to \$1,500 and industry partners bore the remaining \$52,500. The empirical basis for the study consisted of 1,200 phone calls and in-person consumer interviews. The study suggested over six million Americans would be responsive to off-season promotion despite terrorism concerns. The remainder of the study identified to which messages they might be most susceptible.144

While the terrorist attacks in Berlin and Paris had not heavily affected Japanese travel, the nuclear meltdown in Chernobyl in the Soviet Union in 1986 loomed larger in the Japanese market. The ETC annual report of 1985, appearing in June 1986 after the events had happened, described it as the most critical challenge for European tourism since the Second World War. 145 Two years later, when a bomb detonated on board a Pan Am flight on 21 December 1988, the ETC feared it would cause a similar response among American audiences. The fact that this did not occur led the ETC to believe that 'the media and the American public are better educated as to the actual low risk of travel to Europe'. 146

The ETC had done its utmost to play its part in that educational effort. Such studies were one of the typical responses of the ETC to challenging situations. After such events, the ETC went to great lengths to spread a positive attitude among prospective tourists, putting the problems in perspective through press releases and reassuring the American public. Such 'corrective actions' (a description used by later ETC President Walter Leu) may have lessened the decline in visitors, but nevertheless 1986 brought 23 per cent less visitors from the United States, and 5.5 per cent less from Canada. Fluxes from Japan and Latin America did grow (8 per cent and 25 per cent respectively), but this could not off-set the decline in the North Atlantic realm. Yet, 1986 would still count as the third best ever year for American visitors. 147 In Japan, the ETC issued news releases to

some four hundred newspapers indicating the nuclear incident had never reached dangerous levels in the European member countries of the ETC. 148

MOVING BEYOND THE ATLANTIC REALM

During the 1970s, the ETC decisively started to become global in its promotional campaigns. Even within the United States, activities shifted from the core in the East Coast, traditionally served from New York, towards markets in the Sunbelt, following demographic dynamics that led to a surge in population in the South and the West and Southwest, all popular with the growing elderly population.¹⁴⁹ To reach these markets, the Donald N. Martin Company organised European travel 'supermarts' in numerous American cities between 1975 and 2001. The events were typically fully selffunded, coming at no cost for the ETC.

Iapan is the clearest and most important example in this period. Discussions started in 1971 with research co-sponsored by Japan Airlines. Soon thereaf-

ter the ETC discussed whether to engage in joint promotion on the Japanese market, considering film as a medium. The ETC agreed it would take the necessary funds from the American budget allocated for 1973, on the condition that the airline industry would participate financially and costs for ETC would not exceed \$15,000. 151 The film would convey an overall image of Europe, but some members were vehemently opposed, deploring how the Japanese programme was sapping the North American main market. In the words of Dutch representative Strijkers, 'a general film on Europe would be a disaster'. 152 The difference with earlier proposals to include other markets beyond the United States is that the operations in the Japanese market were institutionalised within the ETC. In 1974 it set up a group in Tokyo chaired by Geoffrey Hamilton, the British Tourist Authority representative there. 153

Soon after the discussion on expansion to Japan had started, the ETC considered expanding research to Latin America and Australia in the early 1970s. 154 Discussions soon withered, most likely a reflection of the difficult economic





ETC, Annual Report 1986.

149

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 14 October 1976, Vienna, agenda item no.19.

'Experience', Donald N. Martin Company website, http://www.dnmartinco. com/experience.htm.

151

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 3 October 1972, Ajaccio, sub 6.

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 23 May 1973. Zagreb, sub 5.

153

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 27 May 1974, Istanbul, sub 5.

154

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 2 May 1972, Luxembourg, p.5.

142 Interview with Tom Jenkins.

ETC. Annual Report 1986. p.29

144

ETC, Annual Report 1986, p.29.

145

ETC, Annual Report 1985, p.5

ETC, Annual Report 1989.

147

ETC, Annual Report 1986 In the month, visitorship hit rock-bottom with a 41.6 per cent decline visa-vis 1985.

The group already represented ten countries a year later. ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 12 May 1978, Nicosia, sub 25. Minutes of meeting, 28 October 1977, Seville, p.28.

156

ETC Archives, Minutes of meetings, 6 May 1976, Frankfurt am Main; 14 October 1976, Vienna.

157

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 1 December 1978, Berlin, sub 4.

158

ETC Archives, Minutes of meetings, 28 April 1982, Copenhagen, sub 4; 28 October 1982, The Hague, sub 3.2.

159

Italian representative Bonvecchio. ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 1 December 1978, Berlin, sub 4. The proposal to have a firmer liaison with tourist interests in the Arab World resulted in attempts to contact the ETC's counterpart there, but the minutes of meetings indicate that the Arab Union never responded to the ETC's attempt at contact, until it decided to abandon the effort.

times, which made attempts to conserve the sizeable American market seem much more important. These markets did not seem as promising as Japan. The debate on expansion resurfaced once the immediate economic concerns retroceded into the background. For Latin America, this happened with a bottom-up initiative from eight members of the ETC who had representation in Buenos Aires and created an ad hoc commission for promotion there by 1977. This would soon turn into an operation with similar status—though not in terms of financial resources—as the group in Japan. A less successful example was the suggestion of including South Africa in the programmes, which was raised and discarded in 1976. The key attraction was the potential spending power of white South African tourists, placed in third position worldwide in the mid-1970s. Nevertheless, members decided that the ETC should not be involved at that time, likely a reflection of the status of the country as an international outcast on the international geopolitical stage at that time. 156

By that time, the easing economic situation from the mid-1970s had again provided room for a more solid expansion of the territory for ETC promotion activities towards Canada. ETC President Strijkers had been approached by Canadian Pacific Air with the suggestion to organise a meeting of the Canadian-European travel industries at a seminar at the occasion of an inaugural direct flight between Vancouver and Amsterdam. On behalf of the ETC New York, Bertram indicated opposition to the idea of having separate ETC operations in Canada, but simultaneously declared support for a liaison officer in Canada reporting to the ETC New York. It was to no avail: the ETC decided that Canada would get an Operations Group separate from New York. 157 In an ironic twist of fate, the numbers of visitors from Canada in the economic downturn of the early 1980s dropped so dramatically as to put the existence of the separate Canadian operations under threat. Many at the ETC deemed the budget of this Operations Group too small to do anything meaningful.¹⁵⁸

As time progressed, members became increasingly vocal in their wish to move beyond the American market, considering those areas already under consideration (Australia, Latin America), or adding new ones (Arab world). After the successful spin-off of Canada from the ETC New York, the Tokyo-based

operations also started to function as a stepping stone for geographic expansion. The buoying economy of South Korea and the easing of travel for Koreans effective from 1979, provided a first viable expansion into other Asian markets. ¹⁶⁰ Soon thereafter the ETC churned out desk research reports on Taiwan and Hong Kong as potential markets for tourism to Europe. An informal group started operations in Australia and a budget was made available for research into that market in 1982, following up on the unsuccessful initiatives a decade earlier. ¹⁶¹ A full study of the potential of the South-East Asian market appeared in 1988. A concrete follow-up was the ETC participation at travel fairs in South Korea and Taiwan in 1989, attracting 77,000 and 60,000 visitors respectively. This was by now a tried and tested instrument for the ETC in the American market.

Setting up Operations Groups in markets beyond the United States also created a certain competition between them. In the words of Gareth James, former chairman of the Operations Groups in Australia and Canada,

The challenges ultimately came back to funding. When we had our meetings in different parts of the world, we spent an awful lot of effort in lobbying for money. [...] we wanted to make sure we got our slice. And I think in hindsight, this is a terribly wasteful activity because we spent more money half the time on coming up with smart ways of presenting our arguments than we did spending the money from the ETC. 162

The development of research and activities in other parts of the world notwithstanding, they remained rather modest in comparison with the continued weight of the primarily United States markets for the ETC. The budget proposals for 1978 reflect this. Of a total of \$745,000, over three quarters were reserved for promotion in the United States. In the same proposal, the budget for promotion in Japan stood at \$60,000 (ca. 10 per cent of that sum), and Canada at \$25,000 (ca. 4 per cent). It should be remembered that all of these financial allocations constituted 'seed money', to which private sector funds were added. The United States budget would typically quadruple after further acquisition of private sector funds.

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ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 12 May 1978, Nicosia.

61

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 28 October 1982, The Hague, p.6.

162

Interview with Gareth James.

163

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 25 April 1977, Athens, p.8.

NEW COOPERATION PARTNERS

A final major development in this period concerned the cooperation of the ETC with other international organisations and the distinct rise in importance of the Brussels-based institutions of the European Economic Community (EEC). After consulting with the Belgian minister responsible for tourism. Haulot convened, on 2 June 1970, a preliminary meeting of all ministers responsible for tourism of the European Economic Community (EEC) to discuss the establishment of a common tourism policy and the promotion of tourism. 164 The main outcome of the meeting was twofold. First, the assembled ministers committed themselves to suggesting to their governments 'to establish within the Community a permanent operation for the purpose of handling tourism problems'. 165 Second, in the meantime NTOs were invited to continue their work of drawing up a list of problems common to all six countries. 166 When discussing these developments, ETC members indicated that they fully embraced the benefits of tourism resulting from the process of European integration, but wanted to prevent duplication of work. The ETC should prevent the EEC Tourism Committee undertaking tasks the ETC was already doing or could do better than the EEC. By 1973 the executive director reported, though, that the EEC did not seem overly interested in tourism for the time being. 167 When the option of a tourism organisation within the EEC was proposed explicitly at a meeting in Rome, those assembled did not favour it. 168

Developments inched further though. A group of National Travel Agents' Associations in the EEC at a meeting in January 1974 had declared its wish to establish relations with the NTOs of the, by now, nine EEC member states. The ETC granted Dutch representative Strijkers permission to proceed with these contacts. 169 The ETC meeting in Amsterdam in the spring of 1975 mentioned an earlier meeting in the Dutch capital of the ETC members who were also EEC members. They had discussed two topics, namely to keep each other informed of likely adversarial tax measures, as well as to produce a comprehensive report on the importance of tourism in the EEC, for example for employment and the balance of payments. Yet opinion on the need for a Tourism Unit within the EEC remained divided.

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ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 10 July 1970, Paris, sub 7.

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ETC Archives, Meeting, 2 May 1972, agenda item no.7, Tourism policy in the EEC.

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The six original members were Belgium, France, West-Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and The Netherlands.

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ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 23 May 1973, Zagreb, sub 6.

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ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 18 November 1974, sub 6.

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ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 27 May 1974, Istanbul, sub 7 and annex I, Memorandum. In 1980, the EEC made its first contribution worth \$25,000 to a study by the Institut du Transport Aérien on behalf of the ETC, the first time the Community participated in the work of the ETC. The EEC did remain at a distance, since it did not send a representative to a meeting in Luxembourg (despite being asked to do so), but nevertheless declared after the study *European Tourism: Future Prospects 1980-1990* had been concluded that it was fully satisfied with the results. ¹⁷⁰ The EEC involvement came about the same time towards the end of 1986 when the ETC was giving its research activities a firmer ground through convening regular meetings of members' research experts. At their first meeting they decided to create a permanent Research Working Group, which would set the ETC's research priorities. ¹⁷¹

In 1986, the EEC engaged in the first cooperative effort with the ETC by sponsoring the fall programme of the ETC in the American market with the aim to boost the number of visitors for that year after a year of decline. The EEC grant allowed the ETC to run a revised version of its fall newspaper advertisement in major American cities: Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington. The European Parliament also noted that tourism was developing into an important area of policy in the Community. It identified the

ETC as best placed for the coordination of overseas promotion of tourism to the EEC and announced it would sponsor a campaign to be defined in 1988. While focusing on the 12 EEC member states, the ETC stipulated it expected benefits for all its 23 members. A speech read on behalf of Mr. Ripa de Meana, responsible for tourism within the European Commission, reiterated these promises on the occasion of the Transatlantic Travel Marketing Conference on 18 November 1987. ¹⁷³

The project became an engagement between the Tourism Unit of the European Commission and the Donald N. Martin Company. It resulted in a six-page gatefold insert entitled 'The Grandeur of Europe', appearing in early spring in three major travel-oriented magazines, *Gourmet, Travel & Leisure* and *The New Yorker*. ¹⁷⁴ As activities were slowly building up in Brussels, the European Commission announced that 1990 would be the year of European Tourism with the aim 'to develop the integrating role of tourism in order to create a people's Europe and



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ETC Archives, Minutes of meetings, 3 January 1980, Paestum; 19 November 1980, New York, sub 8.

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ETC, Annual Report 1987, p.34.

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ETC, Annual Report 1986.

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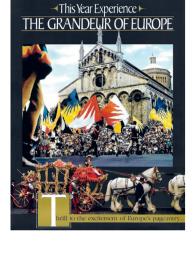
ETC, Annual Report 1987.

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ETC, Annual Report 1988, p.16.

to promote greater knowledge among the citizens of member states, particularly young people, of the cultures and lifestyles of member states'. Additionally, the ETC accepted a recommendation from the European Tourism Action Group (ETAG) that the celebration should *not* be restricted to the 12 EEC member states, but to all of Western Europe.

Established in 1981 with the help of the ETC, the ETAG group formed an association of associations to provide a forum for industry to express its views on tourism and ensure maximum liaisons between these organisations. 176 Members included international non-governmental organisations for transport, for the hotel industry, and associations of tour operators and travel agents. The ETAG dealt with issues that the ETC research had shown could make the life of tourists easier through lowering costs or taking out barriers. Duty-free facilities, economic airline routing, and the harmonisation of VAT levels fitted the former; the facilitation and removal of restrictions to travel, the latter category. According to Lickorish, who had been a driving force behind the creation of the ETAG, the latter could help expand ETC operations and support the organisations not in the least place because the organisation worked on issues the ETC research had prioritised. 177



CONCLUSION

The 1970s/1980s marked a tumultuous two decades in the ETC's existence. Economic downturns gave the development of the numbers of visitors an erratic character. A nuclear disaster and terrorist attacks added insult to injury. At the same time, the period enriched the ETC's institutional collaborations. The modest beginnings of contacts with the European Economic Communities (EECs) became more substantial as the decades progressed. When the EEC allotted a budget for an autumn campaign to combat the slump in American tourism, the subsequent annual report regarded it 'a good augury for the future'. The words would turn out to be prophetic. With its involvement in the creation of the ETAG, the ETC sought to build a platform to somehow manage the multiplicity of voices on European tourism through an association of associations.

175 ETC Annual Report 1989.

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ETAG was later renamed the European Travel and Tourism Action Group.

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ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 3 December 1981, Dublin; Minutes of meeting, 29 April 1982, Copenhagen; Minutes of meeting, 28 October 1982, The Hague.

178 ETC, Annual Report 1986 It allowed the ETC to engage with a wide range of activities. It remained true to its mission of branding Europe beyond the continent itself in third markets. The Donald N. Martin Company would remain a constant factor for the organisation throughout the entire period covered by this chapter. In addition to this geographic expansion, the ETC broadened its thematic horizon by embracing conservation of heritage as a new goal to which it devoted modest, but real, consistent attention and a limited amount of financial means. As a voluntary umbrella organisation for European NTOs, the ETC continued with its function as a platform for professional exchange among tourism experts. It did so on a number of new developments that rocked the travel industry, such as new aircraft and incipient computer-based technologies.

In addition to these expansions, the ETC also expanded geographically beyond its initial Atlantic focus to new markets. The inclusion of Japan in its programme turned out to be the start of a quite considerable expansion of promotional activities and concomitant research in new markets: Latin America, Australia, and Canada (which had already been covered by the ETC New York earlier, but now received separate attention). The geographic expansion of the next period would be of a wholly different kind, namely of the ETC itself.

Lastly, the 1980s brought the passing of generations. The people of the ETC of the first hour were retiring. O'Driscoll stepped down as executive director in 1986 after a 15-year tenure. Robert Hollier succeeded him, moving the headquarters of the Executive Unit from the Confederation House in Dublin to the Rue Linois in Paris. Lickorish also stepped down in 1986, having served the ETC for decades, as president from 1984 to 1986, but mostly as chairman of the Research Committee

of which he had successfully defended its merits.¹⁷⁹ The surviving founding fathers returned to the scene one final time. As part of a general assembly in Oslo, the Norwegian Tourist Board organised a special visit to Stalheim on 25 May 1988 on the occasion of the 40th anniversary.¹⁸⁰



179 ETC, Annual Report 1986.

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ETC, Annual Report 1988.

CHAPTER 5 79

The ETC in Post-Cold War Europe and the Start of the Digital Age

1990 --20





There are several reasons to consider 1990 as the dawn of a new era for the ETC. For starters, on 1 January 1990 the ETC admitted Hungary as a member. It would be the beginning of a new wave of admissions that would characterise the two decades ahead. The reunification of Germany in 1990, the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, and the Single European Market taking effect in 1993 further boosted an overall sentiment of European integration, finally healing the wounds of the Second World War. Such excitement was never fully one-directional. For example, the harmonisation of the business environment in the wake of the European integration process could bring fiscal harmonisation in its wake, including the application of similar VAT on transport and the abolition of duty-free shops, which could potentially increase the costs of tourism and discourage visitors.¹⁸¹

Yet 'the spirit of the New Europe' prevailed. At educational seminars for travel agents in 1991, the ETC showed a 25-minute video tape entitled *Europe - The New Excitement - The New Opportunities*. The response to the fall of the Berlin Wall was to grasp the opportunity of the easing intra-European relations and to point out the opening up of Europe's eastern half to a wider clientele. The 'new' Europe was attractive to first-time and seasoned travellers alike. In the argumentation of the ETC, it doubled the continent at the disposal of the former group, while giving the latter a great opportunity to newly explore Europe. 182 Additionally, as explained by ETC President Klaus Lukas (Austria), the ETC hoped that the opening up of Eastern European destinations would help alleviate the pressures on principal tourist attractions in the original ETC member countries, since they had only a limited capacity to absorb further tourists, while the east still had great development potential. 183

This chapter will look at whether tourists indeed flocked to Europe in increasing numbers as a result of the end of communism in Central and Eastern Europe. It will pay special attention to two large trends running through this period. First, the period marked a new phase in European integration as the European Economic Community (EEC) transformed into the European Union (EU). The institution gained political weight in a broad number of policy terrains and attained a mandate in tourism. Second, after the modest start of computerisation in the 1980s, the digital age got wings with the spread of the

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ETC, Annual Report 1991, p.5.

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ETC, Annual Report 1990, p.16.

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ETC, Annual Report 1990, Preface; p.16; Annual Report 1991, Preface. Internet. This development had a huge impact on the tourist industry and forced the ETC to refocus its attention to online as opposed to off-line strategies.

BACK IN BRUSSELS

The fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 seemed to be the jewel in the crown of 1990 as European Tourism Year, an initiative from the European Parliament sanctioned by the Council of Ministers. 184 Even though, belatedly, to ETC officers it indicated that tourism might finally take its place under the sun within the European Communities. The ETC had lobbied for that recognition for a long while and had monitored activities at the European Commission and the European Parliament from their modest beginnings. Yet the Tourism Unit still remained one of the smallest in the Commission. Now that the atmosphere was changing, the ETC readied itself to take advantage of the new reality.

At the same time, the new excitement and opportunities of the 1989 events were stalled by economic and geopolitical turmoil: the 1990s started with a falling dollar, a recession in the United States, a range of problems in Latin America (by now an established market in which the ETC was active), as well as the Gulf War. In response, the ETC changed the theme of its annual Trans-Atlantic Marketing Conference from 'The New Europe—New Opportunities—New Strategies', into 'Facing Up to the Challenge of Change' in anticipation of the declines in the last quarter of 1990 and the precipitous drop after the outbreak of the Gulf War. 185 To remedy the situation the ETC launched a European Commission co-sponsored 'total-impact campaign' to make sure the level of transatlantic travel bounced back as soon as the war ended. The Research Working Group narrowed all its activities to those market segments that would generate travel once the war would be over, with attitude checks on the US market helping to fine-tune the timing of the campaign. 'Let's Go, America!' represented 'the biggest single all-Europe promotion ever mounted', demonstrating the ETC's ability to catalyse industrial partners in a time of crisis. Total enquiries by telephone and sent-in coupons cut out from magazines amounted to over 214,000. 186

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ETC, Annual Report 1988.

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ETC, Annual Report 1990, p.10. The following conference in 1991 was entitled 'Recovery and Growth: Making the Most of 92', ETC, Annual Report 1991, p.14.

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On a total of 1.34 million ECUs, 0.82 came from ten industry partners after a ten-week fundraising effort, ETC, Annual Report 1991, pp.11–12.

The 1990 European Tourism Year thus embodied all the main elements of the two decades around the turn of the millennium. First, the opening up of Eastern Europe ultimately resulted in a doubling of the ETC membership. 'Europe' as represented in the ETC's promotion used to be de facto restricted to its western half, and this was common for a range of European collaboration efforts. Second, the developments profoundly impacted the cooperation with what would become an essential collaboration partner for the ETC: the European Union. While the roots of that collaboration went back to the previous period, it became closer starting in the 1990s, particularly as of 2009. A third element, not present in the 1990 development, formed a primary target of ETC-EU collaboration. While the dawn of the digital age happened in the previous period, it did not exactly catch on. The exploration of what computer technologies could do for international travel remained modest and certainly not a key priority at the time. Most of what the ETC did continued to build on techniques that had proven themselves in the past: the well-established publicity campaigns in major newspapers and magazines, and events that the ETC had organised or participated in since earlier periods. The World Wide Web changed all of that and it became a vehicle for cooperation with the European Union (EU) and other partners.

At the end of 1992 the ETC investigated whether it would make sense to set up a proper representation in Brussels. The answer was an emphatic yes. Setting up a new presence in Brussels turned out to be a prelude to the 1995 decision to move the ETC headquarters from Paris to Brussels. Invited by Tourism Flanders, the ETC moved into the offices of that organisation in late January 1996, where it stayed until 2003 when major renovations in the building forced the ETC office out to a different location in Brussels. 187 The move coincided with the appointment of Walter Leu, director-general of the Swiss National Tourist Office and former ETC president (1986–1988), as ETC executive director, following Robert Hollier, who had served in that capacity for three consecutive terms. The remaining Dublin Secretariat was dissolved with the retirement of long-time ETC Secretary Eamonn Kearney. 188

With the move to Brussels, the ETC appointed Karel Ooms for a newly created EU Relations post as part of its ambition to play a pivotal role as interlocutor between the NTOs and the

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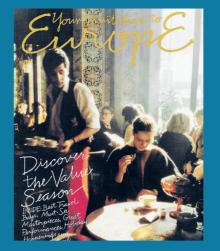
ETC Archives, Minutes of Board of Directors meeting, 13 January 2003, Brussels.

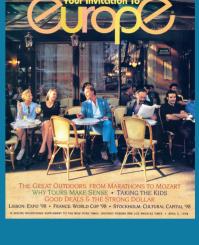
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ETC, Annual Report 1992, p. 36; Annual Report 1995, p.3. European Commission, primarily its new Director General for Directorate-General XXIII for enterprise, and the new head of the Tourism Unit. In the European Parliament, Ooms participated in the Travel & Tourism Platform, previously Tourism Intergroup, as a voice for tourism. ¹⁸⁹ As if fate wanted to underline the necessity of a firm foot in the door in Brussels, the European Commission made a sudden decision to withdraw funds for a campaign in Japan to which it had already committed itself around the time of Ooms's appointment.

In fact, this decision reflected the weak position of tourism, still, within the European institutions. The ETC had long been a voice calling for a more important position of tourism generally, but in the EU specifically as well. The ETAG prepared a memo 'Tourism Policy for Europe in the 1990s' submitted to the Commissioner responsible for tourism in 1990. Creating stronger bonds was sometimes as simple as being physically present in the same rooms. The ETC, along with the ETAG, attended meetings of the Consultative Committee of Directorate-General XXIII for enterprise. Vice versa, European Commission representatives attended ETC assemblies and meetings of the working group formed by the 12 Directors of EU NTOs. And things did improve for travel. The long-cherished prospect of passport-less intra-European travel became a reality with the abolishment of passport controls within the Schengen area. 190 The 12 EEC tourism ministers decided that the destination to be promoted was Western Europe as a whole, including European Free Trade Association (EFTA) member states. 191

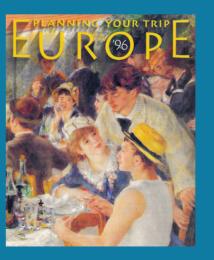
Yet in his preface to the 1997 annual report, ETC President Hans Jakob Kruse (Germany) still felt compelled to express the hope that at the European level, tourism would finally gain the greater recognition it so desperately needed. 'Without this, the goose that lays so many golden eggs will certainly suffer'. ¹⁹² This would happen in 2009 when the Treaty of Lisbon took effect, adding tourism as a policy domain in which the EU could intervene. Article 195 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU now stipulated that the EU would have a supporting competence, helping actions of its members in tourism with the aim to create a stimulating environment, to develop activities in the tourist sector and to stimulate cooperation plus exchange of good practices to boost the competitiveness of the sector. The supporting competence brought substantial funds in its

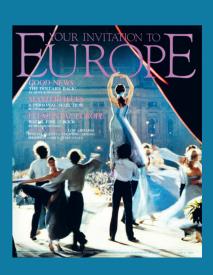














ETC, Annual Report 1996, pp.3, 29.

190

Michael Woolley, '1992 to restore pre-Gulf Europe sales – ETC chief', *Traveltrade* 23 Sept. 1991.

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ETC, Annual Report 1990, pp.37–40.

19

ETC, Annual Report 1997, p.3.

important stakeholder in the strategy to promote pan-European tourism in third markets, the new context created a setting in which the ETC would substantially grow its financial resources as a result thereof. 193

The majority of efforts still went into attracting American travellers to Europe. In 1992 ETC research produced a report 'Todav's Potential US Travellers to Europe: Perceptions and Behaviour', building on earlier surveys from 1982 and 1988. Cities, historic sites, and a beautiful countryside remained primary attractions. 194 The earlier 1988 study 'Current American Attitudes to Travel to Europe and the Possibilities of Attracting the Non-Traveller' had been the highlight of the Transatlantic Travel Marketing Conference 'Positioning Europe in the Nineties' on 16 November 1988 in New York, where 315 travel executives attended. The study had been co-sponsored by the European Commission, Aer Lingus, Continental Airlines, Eurail, Gourmet Magazine, Hertz, Lufthansa, and the NTOs of France, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. 195

These themes were connected to the enlarged setting of Europe in the early 1990s. The 'Let's Go, America!' campaign invited the traveller to 'discover the New Europe', or 'the old World busily re-creating itself'. Travellers did not need to fear that the essential qualities of the continent had disappeared: 'The New Europe has lost none of its Old World charm', claimed a brochure published for the occasion. It listed Budapest, Dresden, and Leipzig as cities to visit, coincidentally all three now in ETC member territory. 196 The hope was that some of the events planned for 1992 could further help overcome the dip as a result of the geopolitical turmoil of the start of the decade. The summer Olympics in Barcelona, the winter Olympics in Albertville, and the World Expo in Seville could all help draw additional visitors. The opening of Euro Disney in Paris and the finalisation of the common market of the European Communities added further causes for optimism. 197 The initiatives were followed up by the regular 'Europe - be part of it' campaign, running from 1993 to 1995. 198

Some pan-European themes already emerged in these stages, becoming much more prominent as relations with the European institutions became closer. The EEC instituted a number of 'European cultural itineraries', covering various time

wake. Since the EU considered the ETC a crucial partner and

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Interview with Pedro Ortún. For a brief episode, the EU seems to have considered 'going it alone'. In 1995 the EU would run an experimental programme of its own. The ETC chairman opposed the idea, claiming two separate campaigns would not be able to match the force of one overall campaign, ETC. Annual Report 1994, p.2.

ETC, Annual Report 1992, p.30

ETC, Annual Report 1988, p.28.

Donald N. Martin Company, Inc., Let's Go, America! Europe 1991.

197

Michael Woolley, '1992 to restore pre-Gulf Europe sales - ETC chief', Traveltrade 23 Sept. 1991; ETC, Annual Report 1992, p.10.

ETC, Annual Report 1995, p.8.

periods and themes, from pilgrim routes and monasteries in the Middle Ages to courts or the (Counter-)Reformation during the Renaissance and Baroque periods. ¹⁹⁹ The initiative built on the work of the Council of Europe, which had launched, in 1987, its first European Cultural Route, 'The Santiago Way' pilgrim route with identical European signposts along its entire length. The hope was to generate interest in restoring and up-keeping the heritage associated with it. 200 While the 1992 annual report described the ETC's role in these cross-continental routes as 'mainly supportive', these routes did later end up in the more pan-European oriented publicity of www.visiteurope.com.

As collaboration with European institutions increased, so did the emergence of themes that were important in the policy context of Brussels, such as sustainability. In late 1991 the ETC took initial steps to establish a working group dealing with ecological problems related to tourism development. Together with the ETAG, the ETC drew up a statement on the subject in 1992, calling for tourism development and the environment to mutually support each other.²⁰¹

Sustainable development also became a key ingredient of the 2005 Vienna Declaration on the Future of European Tourism.²⁰² The Declaration identified sustainable development as one of the areas in which a centre of excellence ought to be created. Another centre of excellence should focus on human resources, providing education and training in order to provide for highly qualified staff working in tourism. A third centre should concentrate on research and development, providing top-notch quantitative research and developing information technologies. In the declaration the ETC described itself as a knowledge-based institution and a pioneer in European cooperation and an effective interface between governmental circles, private enterprise, and the academic world.

In fact, a knowledge base nurtured by research had remained a constant factor next to the new themes that had been added to the ETC agenda. Stability came in the person of Leslie Vella, who became chairman of the ETC's Research Directors' Working Group in February 1997 and continued in that capacity until May 2014, becoming ETC vice-president two years later on behalf of the Maltese NTO.²⁰³ Research also provided the basis for a number of stable partnerships. Publications and research seminars in collaboration with the UNWTO continued; the

ETC, Annual Report 1990, p.41.

ETC, Annual Report 1987, p.40.

ETC, Annual Report 1991, p.38; Annual Report 1992, Preface

ETC, Annual Report 2005, pp.8-9.

203

ETC, Annual Report 1997, p.4; ETC Archives Minutes of meetings, 12 May 2014, Opatija; 12 May 2016, Ayia Napa.

European Tourism Association (ETOA) became a new partner in 2003 for research into branding Europe in North America. The collaboration benefited the ETC in terms of the content of research, but also financially: all research partners together raised one third of the ETC's total research budget.²⁰⁴

THE DIGITAL AGE

The ETC's presence on the World Wide Web started in January 1996 with the launch of www.goeurope.com. The site attracted some 2,500 visits a day and generated a thousand requests for brochures a week. The website referred to the websites of member organisations, ten of which had websites of their own by March 1996.²⁰⁵ The web address was soon changed to www.visiteurope.com with 250 webpages of contents based on the paper guide *Planning Your Trip to Europe*. The original VisitEurope website had been managed from the ETC in New York, but now served as the portal for the entire ETC. The website featured all ETC promotional materials, and was additionally promoted through news groups and directories, such as Yahoo, Webcrawler, Infoseek, and Lycos.²⁰⁶

The website was equipped with new features on a yearly basis: a weather forecast function, calculators for a daily currency exchange rate and city-to-city distances, and a zip code searchable list of travel agents selling trips to Europe. The continuous quest for what worked in the online world was reflected in the theme for the Trans-Atlantic Travel Marketing Conference of 2000: 'Selling Europe in the Dot.com Age'. ²⁰⁷ In addition to the website targeting prospective travellers, the ETC also set up a website for professionals from the tourist industry at www.etc-corporate.org.

In 2006 the website www.visiteurope.com was fully redeveloped. It was launched on 21 March 2006 during a European Tourism Ministers' Conference in Vienna. The cost for constructing and developing the site had been met by European Commission funds. The culmination of two years' work, the portal gave 'Destination Europe' the place it deserved on the World Wide Web. Institutionally, the ETC created the post of a portal marketing executive in support of the existing online marketing manager. The site contained over 8,000 items and appeared in five versions (Brazil, Canada, Latin America, United

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ETC Archives, Minutes of meetings, 23–24 October 2003, Lisbon; 10 June 2010, Brussels.

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ETC, Annual Report 1995, p.12.

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ETC, Annual Report 1996, pp.10–11.

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ETC, Selling Europe in the Dot.com Age, Trans-Atlantic Travel Marketing Conference 7 December 2000. States, and a 'global English' site). NTOs provided crucial input, but the ETC also collaborated with a range of partners to provide additional information and services to visitors: weather forecasts with the World Meteorological Organisation, a currency converter with the European Central Bank, a database of world heritage sites in Europe with UNESCO on the public side; EuroGîtes for rural accommodation, Luggage Forward for a luggage delivery service, and PocketVox for downloadable audio-guides of main cities and regions. For ETC Executive Director Rob Franklin the moment www.visiteurope.com went online was without doubt the ETC's main event in 2006. ²⁰⁸

The site received two million visitors in 2007, a 40 per cent increase in traffic with regard to the year before. The site added a Japanese version to the existing ones and introduced a new pan-European content, of which an interactive map quickly became the most popular item on the website. ²⁰⁹ Collaboration with Pan Parks, Touring Nature, and Ecotrans added sustainability and nature conservation in national parks and to the pan-European themes promoted on the site.

THE GLOBAL CRISIS OF 2008 AND THEREAFTER

In the foreword of the 2008 annual report, ETC President Arthur Oberascher struck an optimistic tone. The ETC and Europe's tourism had seen it all before: 'wars, terrorism, pandemics, dramatic spikes in oil prices, currency fluctuations, and indeed economic crises', yet in the end tourism 'invariably bounced back and continued to grow'. ²¹⁰ In Oberascher's view, a main reason underpinning this resilience was that travel had transformed from being a luxury good to being 'an essential part of life'. Nevertheless, the crisis that started in 2008 as the ETC was celebrating its 60th anniversary, ultimately put the organisation under stress, leading to a new phase in 2012 for which the ground was prepared between 2008 and 2011.

The crisis situation put the ETC finance under strain due to cost-cutting by member organisations, with some members leaving the organisation with the concomitant loss of membership fees. Late payments even briefly spelled the threat of a potential bankruptcy.²¹¹ Two immediate effects of the challenges the ETC was facing were changes to the structure of the

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ETC, Annual Report 2006, pp.6, 15.

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ETC, Annual Report 2007, pp.14–15.

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ETC, Annual Report 2008, p.5.

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ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 8 October 2010, Ghent.

organisation, and a discussion concerning the portal—by now the ETC's main vehicle for promoting Europe yet considered by members and management as too costly and cumbersome. For the organisation, it was experienced as an 'island kingdom' in which the various parts worked too much in their own circle without sufficient interaction.²¹²

In this context, the Marketing and Technology Network instituted a Portal Rethink Group, trying to identify main issues. It had its first meeting in April 2008. 213 A Board of Directors meeting in June 2008—held in Stalheim on the occasion of the ETC's 60th anniversary—and a questionnaire survey sent out to directors of NTOs and members of the Marketing Intelligence Group, Marketing Technology Network, and the Operations Groups resulted in a number of requirements for the new website. Subsequently, three options were sketched from which members could choose. Members discarded the options of a modest revamping or a collaborative partnership with an online travel company. Instead they supported the option of a new, simpler, lower-cost portal using the strengths from the existing website, but less data-intensive, and with lighter editorial work involved. The costs of running such a site were estimated at 40,000 euros/year, after an initial investment of 150,000 euros during 2008/2009. 214 Members from the Marketing Technology Network chose Last Exit as the winning bid from a set of 12 highly competitive proposals in the subsequent tender.²¹⁵

The digital presence of the ETC would soon receive a further boost from the stronger relation between the ETC and EU institutions. Pedro Ortún became the linchpin, announcing his intention to be present, in principle, at all the ETC's general meetings as of the autumn of 2011. At the time he was the director responsible for, amongst other things, Tourism at the Directorate-General Enterprise and Industry. The new legal basis that the Lisbon Treaty had created for tourism was the immediate motive for his presence. Ortún also made a call to promote European tourism to European tourists, but the ETC clearly indicated it wanted to stay true to its mission of focusing exclusively on markets beyond Europe itself. In marketing plans, one central approach was chosen for all markets, with a 'complete focus on pan-European, multi-country, thematic tourism'. The ETC had considerably reduced the number of markets that it was active in. The Operations Group in Australia

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ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 8 October 2010, Ghent.

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ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 10 April 2008, Bled. The MTN was the new name of the former New Media Group, Minutes of meeting, 2 October 2007, Sophia.

214

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 8 October 2008, San Marino.

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ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 3 April 2009 Belgrade.

withered away in the late 1990s and came to a full stop in 2000. Activities in Japan ceased in 2010 as a result of unfavourable market developments. Latin American activities shifted focus exclusively to Brazil, already the largest market in Latin America for a long while. But at the end of 2011 a new Operations Group would open in China, reflecting the tremendous weight that country was gaining in tourism worldwide. 217

CONCLUSION

The period 1990–2011 has been of great consequence for the ETC. Three developments stand out for this decade. First, in 1990 the product that the ETC had promoted for over 40 years doubled in size. Even though the immediate opportunities to exploit this change were limited due to economic and geopolitical circumstances, in the long run it meant that the ETC doubled its membership.

Second, European integration received a new dynamic as well. The creation of the single market kick-started developments that had a great impact on tourism. A range of topics that the ETC had dealt with in its early years were eased to such an extent that the freedom of movement within the territory of the EU became a reality for many tourists. The Schengen agreement created a coherent set of visa and passport regulations and the euro eased the currency exchange situation for travellers. The EU became an increasingly important partner for the ETC, and the 1995 decision to move to Brussels reflected this clearly.

Third, collaboration with the EU moved more and more online. The portal websites of the ETC became increasingly important, particularly after the turn of the millennium. The first website, launched in the second half of the 1990s, formed the beginning of what is currently the ETC's main platform for the promotion of Europe as a destination. The paper-based publicity campaigns, for long a central element in the ETC's promotion efforts, were becoming a thing of the past. But running websites is costly, requiring continuous maintenance of online content in multiple languages and continuous adaptation to new technological possibilities becoming available in the marketplace, and changing habits of the target clientele. These were costs the ETC could ill-afford when the world plunged into yet another crisis in 2008. At the same time, the 2009 decision of

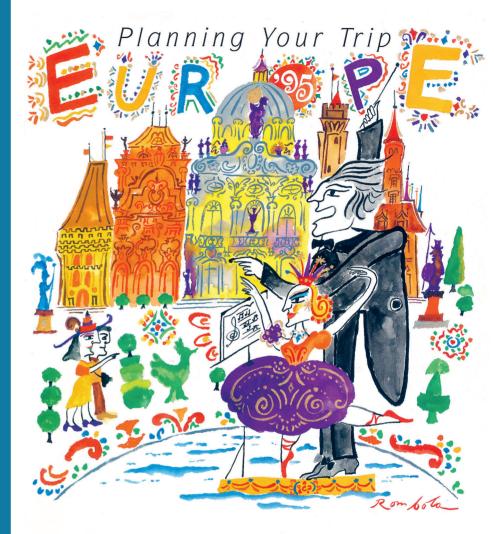
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ETC Archives, Minutes of meetings, 3–4 July 2000, Hamburg; 8 October 2010, Ghent; 20 April 2011, Budapest.

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ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 4 October 2011, Warsaw; 'Coming to a Beach near You: How the Growing Chinese Middle Class Is Changing the Global Tourism Industry', The Economist 19 April 2014; 'Opening the Gates: Chinese Travellers of All Sorts Have Become Ubiquitous', The Economist 17 May 2018.

the EU to add tourism to its mandate would make considerable funds available. This raised the question whether the ETC would be able to use these funds in time for the purpose it had put central since its creation and secure its own survival in what should be considered the most challenging moment in its 60-year existence.



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CHAPTER 6 93

The Restructuration of the ETC: Preparing for the Twenty-First Century

2012 -2018



EUROPE FROM LONG-HAUL SOURCE MARKETS: TRAVEL COMMISSION TRACKING MULTI-DESTINATION TRAVEL IN



In February 2012 the ETC headquarters moved in with Tourism Flanders again at the Marché aux Herbes 61 in the city centre of Brussels, right around the corner from its famous Grand Place/ Grote Markt. 218 The ETC's earlier decision to return from Paris to the Belgian capital, home to many important European institutions, was symbolic and in line with some of the bigger changes happening within the organisation and beyond. Members expressed their appreciation for the strategic choice to move closer to the heart of European governance since it would nurture closer relations with the European institutions.²¹⁹

The relocation notwithstanding, the period in Brussels was initially one of turmoil. Arthur Oberascher's June 2010 farewell address presented the early twenty-first century as a challenging time for tourist organisations. When he became ETC president in 2003, the organisation was still coming to terms with the shockwaves that the attacks of 9/11 in the United States sent through the tourism landscape. When the members accepted the renewal of his presidency in 2007, climate change had really started to make its way into policy circles. Unlike terrorism, epidemics, or spikes in fuel prices, the green challenge was not transitory in nature but will remain on policy agendas worldwide for the foreseeable future.²²⁰ Indeed, current ETC Executive Director Eduardo Santander claims that 'how are we going to be able to change our way of life in a sustainable way' will be 'the change of the [twenty-first] century'. 221 To Oberascher, such events clearly underlined the need for cooperation in 'a potent European effort' to promote 'Destination Europe'. 222 The economic crisis from 2008 onwards put further stress on an already troubled sector.

Additionally, profound technological changes also started to have an impact on the travel industry. Even in the digital age, the 'real conscious encounter' with new people and places remained at the heart of tourism, which 'if the experience is authentic, [can] transform you on a human level', according to current ETC President De Wilde. 223 ICT technologies remained ancillary to tourism. Nevertheless, the brochures, newspaper supplements, and booths at travel fairs that had been at the heart of the ETC's marketing strategies for decades, had become obsolete almost overnight in the digital age. In combination with the financial crisis, it led to the severing of ties, such as the end of the 20-year collaboration between the Canada

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ETC Archives, Minutes of Board of Directors meeting, 16 January 2012. Brussels. Peter De Wilde indicated the ETC could stay as long as Tourism Flanders would lease the premises.

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See SWOT analysis 2014.

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 14 October 2009, Budva.

Interview with Eduardo Santander.

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 10 June 2010, Brussels.

Interview with Peter De

Operations Group with Motivations International, a marketing firm. Simultaneously, there were problems with the digital means as well. The VisitEurope.com website was somehow too cumbersome, its contents unsatisfactory, its maintenance too expensive. Digitalisation provided many opportunities, but change was coming faster than many of the stakeholders in the industry, or the ETC itself for that matter, could cope with effectively.

As these multiple challenges manifested themselves, France and the United Kingdom, NTO members of the first hour, left the organisation in 2011. In the words of then ETC President Petra Hedorfer (Germany), trying to grapple with the loss of highly appreciated members, requirements of 'cost-cutting programmes, financial control, transparency and performance monitoring' were creating 'extremely difficult financial situations' for all the NTOs. 224 For those choosing to leave, the benefits of the ETC membership no longer outweighed the costs. The loss of the sizeable contributions from members like France and the United Kingdom hurt the ETC's financial position, and perhaps more importantly dented the representation of Europe as a whole, a representation that the ETC had managed to set up with the expansion of its membership in the wake of the fall of the Berlin Wall.²²⁵ The changes in membership also created challenges for the board of directors, in which both France and the United Kingdom had had permanent membership. It reopened a discussion on membership fees that the ETC had seen before, namely whether all the members should pay the same fee establishing a one-member-one-vote principle that would abolish the permanent memberships of the board of directors, or whether a specific formula should be used to calculate the fees and rotation should continue.

The ETC embarked on a course of change to turn things around. In the words of ETC President Hedorfer, '[i]n a comparatively short space of time, we turned the ETC into a modern and powerful marketing organisation with a lean internal structure, clear responsibilities and a new executive director.'²²⁶ The closer collaboration with the European Commission provided a lifeline that drastically improved the financial situation, but also allowed what may result in a paradigmatic change in the methods to sell Europe in third markets. The challenges have kickstarted a systematic soul-search for the organisation since 2012.



As a matter of fact, when Paris renounced its membership at a general meeting early 2010, its representatives announced they might return to the organisation in 2011 on the condition that administrative needs would become smaller. Budgetary considerations seem to have played a significant role in the decision to leave the ETC.

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ETC Archives, Board of Directors, Minutes of meeting, 16 January 2012, Brussels, sub 3. The leaving of France and UK alone slashed 200,000 euros from the ETC budget, Minutes of meeting, 8 October 2010, Ghent, p.7.

226

Interview with Petra Hedorfer.



When Rob Franklin stepped down as executive director at the end of June 2010, Raf De Bruyn succeeded him ad interim. He became the new executive director in April 2011, having been selected from 36 possible candidates. Only half a year later, he returned to Tourism Flanders and ended his directorship as per 1 October 2011. A steering committee started looking for a new executive director. Nicholas Hall, until then head of marketing, took over during the transitional period at the end of which the current Executive Director Eduardo Santander was appointed and assumed his duties on 16 April 2012.

When Santander took over the Executive Unit, Petra Hedorfer still acted as president, but declared her intention to step down at the October meeting of 2012. After an interim year under the presidency of Manuel Butler, Peter De Wilde took over the post in January 2014, fully embracing the pan-European agenda that had by then acquired much more weight within the ETC. De Wilde, Santander, and their staff embarked on a series of discussions with members and others, transforming the ETC in the process. It is still too early to draw up a full assessment of the impact of the past six years on the future of the organisation, but this chapter offers some glimpses of the changes that are bound to leave their mark on the decade, if not decades, to come.

The institutional set-up of the ETC built up over its many years

The central goal of the restructuration was to provide a more

The member consultations requesting input on how to open up the organisation supplied two clear suggestions. First, several members suggested the ETC should reach out more to the private sector. In response, the ETC set up an associate membership programme. The organisation welcomed its first associate members from the private sector in January 2016. Associate members currently include companies that have left their mark on the digitalisation of the travel industry

THE ETC'S RESTRUCTURATION

of existence had resulted in an island kingdom of sub-units that operated semi-autonomously. The circumstances made it difficult for anyone to have a full oversight of the organisation as a whole.²²⁷ Therefore, with the new set-up, power was much more centralised in the Executive Unit functioning as a body to keep this oversight. The Operations Groups had been rather independent, reporting to the Executive Unit, but having their own accounts and taking their own decisions. Under Hedorfer's presidency all these functions became a prerogative of the Executive Unit. With the new set-up, the members—represented by the General Meeting and the Board of Directors—gained more control over the marketing plans. Research activities, at the heart of the ETC's work for a long time, were concentrated in a newly revamped Market Intelligence Group (MIG), while the advertising efforts were concentrated in the Marketing Group (MKG).²²⁸ They too were made more responsive to the whole organisation. Previously marketing and research activities were totally separate and did not feed each other, as they do today.

transparent organisational structure. The Board of Directors and the Executive Unit acquired a much clearer central position than before. In preparation of the restructuration, members were systematically consulted. The new leadership set out to expand and professionalise the Executive Unit. Pedro Ortún indicated that the European Commission was in full support of 'a new team, a younger team, [...] more proactive, more efficient, [focusing] on concrete projects'. 229 The overall aim was to move the ETC from being a relatively inward-looking body with fixed ways of conducting its business towards a more externally oriented organisation providing clear benefits to its members.²³⁰

(Adara, Amadeus, Sojern), those offering transportation services (Emirates, Eurail Group), travel agents (Expedia, HiSeas International Travel Group), a certification agency (Welcome Chinese), a tax refund (Global Blue), and a retail company (Value Retail). The willingness of private sector companies to sign up for the associate membership programme is a clear sign they perceive certain benefits to becoming engaged with the ETC. 231

Second, members suggested advocacy work as a fruitful addition to the workload of the ETC. The closer relations with European institutions, the European Commission in particular, created a setting in which this type of work could be taken up, often jointly with other organisations. At the end of the day, Brussels has decisively become the main stage for multiple platforms to discuss European-wide policies on a range of issues, including those related to tourism. The General Meeting decided that the advocacy work should have three pillars, namely sustainability, visa facilitation, and (inter)connectivity. 232 A concrete manifestation of this work followed soon at the end of 2015 when the ETC took the initiative for the European Tourism Manifesto for Growth and Jobs. The recent addition of advocacy work is in a way a return to a past in which the ETC also acted as a paragon to ease visa formalities in the early days of its existence.

EUROPEANISATION IN THE DIGITAL AGE

As the ETC was dealing with these organisational issues, the fact that the European Union (EU) with the Treaty of Lisbon had obtained a legal basis to deal with tourism started to have an impact. The 2007 Treaty of Lisbon created a so-called 'supporting competence' in tourism for the EU, not as strong as the shared or exclusive competences, but a competence nonetheless. The treaty stipulated that this entailed 'promoting the competitiveness of Union undertakings in [the tourist] sector' by 'encouraging a favourable environment' and promoting member state cooperation, particularly the exchange of best practices.²³³ The Commission then made these generic concerns more concrete in a list of 21 actions that would help to realise the goals.²³⁴ A set of actions called for '[consolidating] the image and profile of Europe as a collection of sustainable and high-quality tourist destinations'.235

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Interview with Tom Jenkins.

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 22 April 2015, Riga.

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Articles 2E, and 176B, Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty of the European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community, signed in Lisbon, 13 December 2007. Implementation Rolling Plan of Tourism Action Framework (COM(2010)352)/Update: 6 May 2013).

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Implementation Rolling Plan of Tourism Action Framework (COM(2010)352)/Update: 6 May 2013).

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COM (2010) 352, title III.

Ghent.

227

ETC Archives. Minutes of

Meeting, 8 October 2010,

The MKG integrated, among other things, the prior activities of the Marketing and Technology Network.

229

Interview with Pedro Ortún

Interview with Peter De Wilde

The ETC was a natural partner to engage with these actions, and Pedro Ortún became a regular participant in ETC general meetings on behalf of the European Commission. His position within the European Commission helped forge a strategic partnership between both organisations that was beneficial to both. Antonio Tajani, the European commissioner responsible for tourism, was convinced of the importance of the sector and saw the ETC as a reliable partner. These developments opened a new, qualitatively different phase in the collaboration between both institutions.²³⁶ The European Commission signed a joint declaration with the ETC to collaborate in order to promote 'Destination Europe' on 6 October 2011. The declaration listed a number of activities in which the ETC had already built up a formidable track record, such as research, sharing best practices, and above all the promotion

But the marketing focus was clearly shifting to emerging middle classes in upcoming economies, such as in the BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, China) countries. This was fully in line with the recommendation from a Task Force set up in 2010. To this aim, the General meeting set up a Strategic Work Group in October 2010, when the Board of Directors simultaneously decided to cease all activities in Japan. China stood in the limelight and a memorandum of understanding with the China National Tourism Administration was proposed. The rise of China as an important market culminated in the 2018 EU-China Tourism Year, in which the ETC acted as a strategic partner for the EU. The aims of the initiative included elements for which the ETC had strived since its creation: facilitating visas, ensuring sufficient air connectivity, and the promotion of lesser-known destinations.²³⁷

Thematic itineraries criss-crossing Europe or pan-European cultural routes were deemed especially appropriate in order to attract the rising middle classes from the BRIC countries.²³⁸ For intercontinental travellers Europe was the destination, not the individual national destinations as represented by the ETC's membership.²³⁹ The partners from the European Commission had explicitly invited this change in content of the touristic product. They consistently underlined the importance of a pan-European approach in their input for the ETC and made pan-European output a requirement for some of the EU grants that the ETC received for its work.²⁴⁰

of 'Destination Europe' in long-haul markets.

Interview with Pedro Ortún

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Website '2018 EU-China Tourism Year', https:// ecty2018.org.

On how to market such routes, see ETC, Handbook on Marketing Transnational Tourism Themes and Routes (Brussels, 2017).

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Interviews Tom Jenkins; Eduardo Santander; Peter De Wilde

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Minutes of meeting, 4 October 2012, Madrid



The new leadership of President Peter De Wilde and Executive Director Eduardo Santander fully embraced it. With full consent from the guiding bodies of the restructured organisation, continental, cross-cutting themes were placed on the foreground instead of the representation of Europe as a collection of national destinations that happened to be together in one continent. European gastronomy provided one concrete example around which such a pan-European thematic could be build up, for instance Europe's various beer cultures. The ETC also won a specific EU grant to create a website around European gastronomy.²⁴¹ The change in focus also entailed having a relatively unitary approach for all markets, ²⁴² while in the past the strategies of the different Operations Groups could exist rather independently from one another, even in competition to one another because the financial means were limited.²⁴³

The short film Roll the Dice even more forcefully embodies a pan-European approach by making the kind of trip to be made dependent on chance. The film was the winning project of the EuroShorts A Never Ending Journey video campaign contest in 2013. In a visually overwhelming diversity of landscapes and settings, the directors invite travellers to set up their trip as a three-step tango. You first pick a starting point. You then roll the dice a first time to obtain a direction, the 1-12 summation of the dice corresponding with the hands of a clock. When you roll the dice a second time, the summation then corresponds with the number of centimetres to be measured on a map of 241

Interview Eduardo Santander; Minutes of meeting, 15 October 2013, Vilnius.

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 4 October 2011. Warsaw.

Gareth James, former chairman of the operations groups for Australia and Canada, lamented that the continuous struggle for money was a drain on actual marketing. When he chaired the Canada Operations Group, he would often foreground the perspective that operations there delivered more than the costlier campaigns. Such claims for return on investmen meant the Operations Groups competed to a considerable extent. Interview Gareth James A major change was that through the successful acquisi-

The digital age brought with it a range of challenging in Chinese on 1 December 2011.

CONCLUSION

In April 2013, Mauro Maiani, the representative of San Marino, made the observation that when he joined the ETC in 2006, it was a club of friends. In his view, by 2013 it was clear that

Europe from the starting point in the direction of the first roll of the dice. The last two steps can be repeated ad infinitum.²⁴⁴ The idea was later turned into an actual game that travellers could play in order to stimulate their travel enthusiasm.

tion of EU funding the ETC was able to expand its staff base. After Eduardo Santander had taken office, the number of staff rose from four full-time employees in 2011 to eleven in 2018. This was a new situation, as the Executive Unit had had only a few employees for a very long time. A sizeable group of trainees remained a well-established feature of the organisation.²⁴⁵ For example, two of the positions that Santander announced since he took office were taken by professionals who had previous experience with the ETC as trainees. The expansion of staff was a concrete way in which the European Commission boosted the ETC as an organisation. But in fact, the Commission provided fully-fledged support for the ETC as an organisation across the board: upon extending its second grant to the ETC it declared its full support for further consolidation of the Executive Unit, further stabilisation of ETC governance, and much more joint action in the future.²⁴⁶

issues to tackle. When Jan Rudomina, then head of the US Operations Group, proposed a newsletter opening rate of 15 per cent as a target for the year 2011, the meeting considered this not very ambitious. Yet at that time, the percentage of newsletter recipients who actually opened it stood at only 6 per cent.²⁴⁷ Given that situation, the question was what would constitute a realistic strategy. The ETC, as well as the tourist sector as a whole, were grappling to deal with the shifting digital landscape in order to be a meaningful organisation adding value to what their members were doing. The aim to give new, emerging markets a more important role in the ETC's work also influenced the ETC's digital work. The ETC launched a web portal for China

2013, Vilnius.

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ETC Archives. Minutes

of meeting, 15 October

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 4 October 2012, Madrid.

ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 30 January 2014, Brussels.

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ETC Archives, Minutes of meeting, 20 April 2011, Budapest, p.4.

the ETC was becoming something else, a much more 'serious organisation'. This professionalisation was intentional in response to a number of difficult years and as a result of the growing collaboration with the European Commission. It led to change in the organisation. As the initial EU grant was secured, the ETC restructured and started to expand quite significantly under the leadership of Peter De Wilde as president and Eduardo Santander as executive director. The new ETC, while still serving traditional markets, broadened its horizon towards new emerging markets.

Some of the change implied a return to things that had been important in the past, and one of these was advocacy which has recently been added, once more, to the ETC agenda. In the early days before the ETC became much more focused on research-based marketing, the ETC had already made its voice heard in order to cut some of the red tape that was making travelling on the European continent tedious and difficult. The organisation was vocal in denouncing the detrimental effects of visa and other border formalities, and the work delivered the intended results. The ETC moved on to doing what it did best: promoting Europe as a desirable tourist destination in third markets beyond the continent itself. In 2018 visa facilitation has returned to the ETC agenda as part of its advocacy work.

The advocacy work relates to Europeanisation as one of two larger trends that define the years this final chapter has dealt with. 'Europeanisation' in this context refers to the growing importance of EU funds as a source of ETC revenue. At the same time, it indicates the increasing importance of a pan-European approach in marketing Europe as a desirable tourist destination. EU funds have been used to translate the pan-European messages the ETC currently finds important to the digital world. Digitalisation has shaken up the tourist business. It has largely cut out the middlemen. Whilst a significant part of ETC efforts in the twentieth century would typically go into reaching out to tourist agents and other institutions mediating between offer and demand, the digital age creates much more direct connections between individual consumers and tourist businesses. The digital age will hold challenges for the sector for decades to come, but as a more open externally oriented organisation, the ETC has certainly become more agile in order to deal with them.

Conclusion

This book has analysed and highlighted the ETC's mission and its key achievements and impact in the field of tourism. It has examined how the organisation works—internally, and with its numerous partners—and how its activities, as well as its relationships with governments, tourism organisations, the EU, and private partners, have evolved from 1948 to the present. This book has paid particular attention to a period that previous studies have generally neglected: the organisation's first three decades. The documentation of this period is scarce and scattered across numerous archives; by bringing these sources together, this book offers a history of the ETC that demonstrates how its early history established the foundations for its present activities.

Since its inception, the ETC has focused on three major fields of activity: marketing, research, and advocacy. These fields came to define the ETC's work and its relevance to the broader European community. Continuity is key here, as the ETC pursued similar goals over the years. At the same time, the organisation's historical context has also framed and delineated the scope of its activities. Indeed, tourism went through tremendous changes in the 70 years since 1948, transforming from a predominantly transatlantic, or even European, matter to a truly global, diversified, and intertwined industry that encompasses a multitude of interests and actors all across the world. Numbers put this into context: in 1989, seventy per cent of international travel took place within the European Community, while if Europe remains today the most visited region in the world its market share tends to diminish, favouring Asia, the Pacific region, the Americas, and, more modestly, the Middle East and Africa as well, decreasing from 60 per cent to 51 per cent in terms of international tourist arrivals between 1995 and 2014.²⁴⁸

In 1948, the ETC benefited from its status as an offshoot of the Marshall Plan and as one of the few tourism associations with a pan-European mission. From the 1960s onward, the field in which the ETC worked grew increasingly crowded and competitive as scores of new tourism-related associations emerged. At times, the organisation had not positioned itself actively within this changing landscape, whether due to divergences in the interests of its national members or to managerial challenges. However, in 2018, the organisation is well positioned

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Richard Ivan Jobs,
Backpack Ambassadors:
How Youth Travel
Integrated Europe
(Chicago: University
of Chicago Press,
2017), p.239; Maria
Juul, Tourism and the
European Union: Recent
Trends and Policy
Developments (Brussels:
European Parliamentary
Research Service, 2015),
pp.6–7.

to reinforce its position as the 'voice of tourism in Europe', as its current President Peter De Wilde stated in the ETC's 2017 annual report.

The Marshall Plan and its role in Europe's post-war economic recovery gave a strong transatlantic focus to the ETC's early activities. During this early period, the main goal was to bring as many American tourists as possible to Europe. Their presence would not only help to create a better understanding between Americans and Europeans and promote peace in general—or so the thinking went—but also stimulate European economies and, by helping develop tourist infrastructure, foster intra-European tourism. Beginning in 1949, the ETC's joint publicity campaigns in the US became the organisation's flagship activity, and even after the diversification that took place in the 1960s, persuading people to visit Europe remains central to its mission. In this sense, the ETC's role in framing a concept of Europe, and European identity, is crucial to positing it as 'a unity destination in nearly any long-haul market' (see the interview with ETOA CEO Tom Jenkins). Nevertheless, branding Europe for foreign markets was, and remains, a challenging project, requiring extensive networks and partnerships. Before the 1951 creation of the European Coal and Steel Community, the ETC set an example of how national organisations (in this case, national tourism organisations), policymakers, and stakeholders from the private sector could collaborate and pool resources to execute projects. Through these efforts, a positive image of Europe, geared towards potential tourists, underscored what to see and when to visit.

The vast network of personalities, stakeholders, interest groups, and other organisations (such as Europa Nostra and the European Commission) that clusters around the ETC is in itself remarkable and has helped the ETC do a great deal with limited means. For instance, while its marketing budget for publicity in the United States has always been modest, the ETC has networked very shrewdly and remained active in various public-relations activities, often resulting in free publicity for the organisation and its members. Indeed, many smaller countries with limited marketing budgets saw in the ETC an opportunity to reach out to the American market. Yet the diversity in its members' financial means has also had limiting consequences. At times, when proposals pushed for larger

budgets (and larger contributions from its members), larger and wealthier countries threatened to leave the organisation and fund national publicity work independently. At the same time, increasing membership fees risked pushing out smaller countries with limited means.

The ETC acts as a powerhouse for networking and information, work that has shifted in accordance with the growing importance of the Internet. Digital media have considerably changed how tourism marketing operates. Collaboration with private partners remained crucial in integrating marketing, technology, and information services more deeply within networked media. The ETC's recent associate membership programme has had, since 2016, partners with a strong digital presence such as Amadeus, Sojern, Expedia, Welcome Chinese, Value Retail, HiSEAS, and Adara. There is the contemporary manifestation of past collaborations with major transportation companies such as KLM, SAS, Pan Am, Trans World Airlines, and tour operators such as Thomas Cook and American Express, as well as marketing agencies such as the Donald N. Martin Company, which has spearheaded the ETC's marketing efforts on the American market for decades.

While these partnerships are concrete evidence of the ETC's success, the organisation's direct role in increasing tourism in Europe is harder to measure. Over the course of its history, the ETC has been one among many organisations advertising tourism in Europe and/or specific European regions and countries. Yet there is no doubt that the ETC's initiatives have positively contributed to making Europe a prime destination for tourists. This 'desirable destination' status was gained through tremendous and continued efforts, and by contending with financial, marketing, and administrative challenges, as well as with natural disasters, wars, and terrorism. The ETC has persistently weathered these 'storms'—among them the Suez Crisis in 1956, the 1973 oil crisis, the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear accident—by providing updated information to individuals, tour operators, and its members. The most recent example of this strategy is the 2014 brochure entitled European Tourism amid the Crimea Crisis.

While the ETC grew in a context largely favourable to mass tourism, the immediate aftermath of the Second World War did not look bright for this sector's development. In this chaotic period, the organisation quickly realised that a detailed research

would be an essential way of assessing available resources for tourism, persuading governments of the importance of tourism, and rebuilding Europe's tourism capacity. Working very closely with the OEEC, the ETC tracked and compared statistics on international visitors, and produced voluminous reports on tourists coming from the United States, and, later, from other long-haul markets. Thus, the ETC became a 'data-conscious' organisation, which helped build empirical knowledge and identify factors impacting the flows of tourists, which in turn substantiated the ETC's advocacy actions. Because its purpose was to stimulate international travel to Europe, these included arguing for the abolishment of currency allocations and liberalising visa and customs policies, topics the ETC worked on in close collaboration with the OEEC Tourism Committee. Once the quasi-general abolition of visas in the early 1950s made intra-European problems more manageable, the ETC focused more exclusively on marketing, demonstrating its shrewd decision to specialise its work as a way of remaining relevant and efficient. Nevertheless, the ETC is not only an umbrella group for NTOs, but has been, for most of its existence, a relatively small organisation with just a few full-time employees.

The ETC's advocacy work never totally vanished. In 1968, for instance, after President Lyndon Johnson's proposal 'to defer non-essential travel outside the Western hemisphere' for a period of two years in order to rectify the USA's balance of payments, the ETC published the brochure Freedom to Travel, a common declaration by its 21 members. In tune with its early advocacy efforts, this publication emphasised the global role of tourism and the fact that freedom to travel was recognised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and argued that restrictions on tourism should not be considered as a way to improve an adverse balance of payments. Advocacy has recently returned in force: The European Tourism Manifesto for Growth and Jobs, for instance, published in 2015, brought together 24 public and private tourism stakeholders to sketch a broad blueprint for tourism's future. By mid-2018 forty-three stakeholders had joined the initiative against the backdrop of twenty-first century challenges, among them the renewed imposition of visa requirements. Such challenges require a strong intra-EU collaboration, in which the ETC has been a leader. The organisation began cooperating with the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973, and the *Destination Europe 2020* campaign, conceived jointly with the European Commission, was inaugurated in 2011. In light of that, it is worth remembering that the ETC has always been about more than just marketing. This is emphasised by its collaboration with Europa Nostra and the European Cultural Tourism Network during the 2018 European Year of Cultural Heritage.

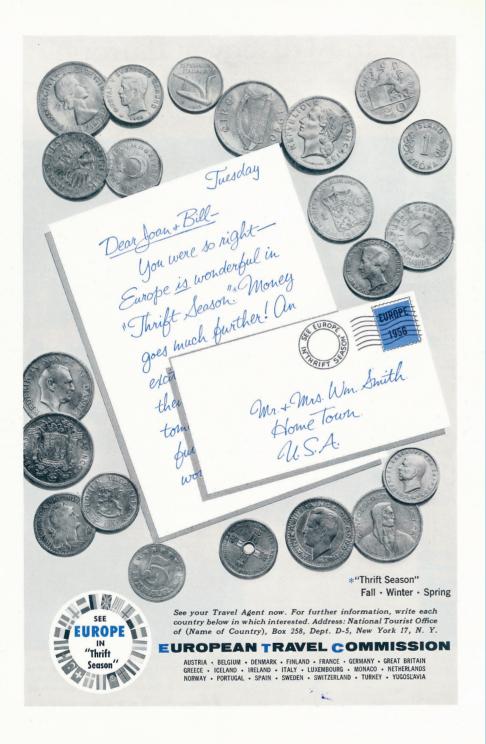
The ETC's foundational global aspirations remain entirely relevant today. The organisation turned into a global player when it expanded its activities to Japan in 1974 and to Latin America, Australia, and New Zealand in the late 1970s and 1980s, establishing regional working groups who had to penetrate these markets. While the ETC's focus has since changed (its Operations Groups currently focus on Canada, the United States, Brazil, and China), its capacity to act on a global level has remained strong since its initial expansion to Japan. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the subsequent transition towards market economies in Central and Eastern Europe, the ETC's membership grew significantly, starting with Hungary in 1990, and gradually adding most Central, South-Eastern and Eastern European countries. In 2018, this brings the total number of NTOs to 34. The ETC's response to the systemic changes in Europe's eastern half reflects the organisation's remarkable capacity to evolve and take advantage of new opportunities.²⁴⁹ As inhabitants of an increasingly large number of countries travelling abroad as tourists, the ETC has focused on emerging markets (Latin America, Middle East, Russia, and Asia). In this context, it comes as no surprise that the European Commission declared 2018 the EU-China Tourism Year and named the ETC a key strategic partner in the year's success. Research shows that Chinese tourists are likely to visit Europe in larger numbers. The annual number of Chinese citizens travelling abroad is currently about 130 million, but recent reports estimate that it could reach 200 million in 2020.²⁵⁰ Given this, the ETC and its partners are working to ensure that the trips of these tourists to Europe will take place in a pleasant, sustainable, and respectful framework for both hosts and guests. As it has done throughout the numerous political and cultural shifts of the past 70 years, the organisation is looking toward to the future and preparing Europe for the benefits and challenges of tourism in the twenty-first century.

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Even before this point, the ETC was open to work with socialist countries. In addition to Yugoslavia's membership in 1951, contacts about potential membership were initiated with the Soviet Union, Poland, and Romania in 1955. While these amounted to little. the ETC remained in contact with socialist countries over these years, for instance inviting the Soviet Union to observe its meetings.

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'Chinese Travellers of All Sorts Have Become Ubiquitous', *The Economist*, 17 May 2018.



Interviews

Frank Schipper has conducted all interviews except for the one with Peter De Wilde, which was conducted by Eduardo Santander. All interviews were conducted over the phone except for the ones with Petra Hedorfer (written questions and answers per email) and Eduardo Santander (in person). Interviews lasted 30-45 minutes, except for the one with Eduardo Santander (a full hour). The versions underneath are abbreviated versions capturing the essence of the interviews.



Email Interview with Petra Hedorfer, current CEO of the German National Tourist Board and former ETC President (2010–2012), 16 May 2018

What have been your main accomplishments and challenges?

It was a great honour for me when I was elected president of the ETC on 11 June 2010. The context for its mission has changed considerably over almost 70 years—with the fall of the Iron Curtain, for example, Europe has become a bigger and more diverse tourism destination. At the same time, global competition has intensified with travel destinations in the Americas and Asia entering the fray. On the other hand, new source markets have become established overseas. China, for example, has only recently opened up as an outbound travel market following the lifting of visa restrictions on its citizens, and now—several years later—it is one of the major contributors to the worldwide flow of tourists.

This has resulted in a variety of challenges. The extension of the cooperation between the ETC and the European Commission, at the time represented by European Commissioner Antonio Tajani, provided the opportunity for EU funding that could be used to strengthen tourism to Europe in the face of these new market conditions. A further challenge was the organisational restructuring needed to prepare the ETC for the new market requirements.

How would you characterise the 2012 restructuration of the ETC and the Executive Unit?

In a short time, we turned the ETC into a modern and powerful marketing organisation with a lean internal structure, clear responsibilities, and a new executive director. We expanded our focus to include the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India, and China). The national tourist boards that constitute the ETC launched www.visiteurope.com, initiated joint market research projects, organised sales events overseas, and prioritised training for employees in the travel trade in relevant markets. This revamp enabled us to lay the foundations for the successful development of tourism to Europe for years to come.

What is the relation between the German National Tourist Board and the ETC?

Today, the ETC facilitates modern, professional marketing of Europe as a travel destination in defined overseas markets. It provides a shared platform for its members and in many cases complements the individual marketing activities of members with local offices. It also fosters close cooperation in market research, a constructive dialogue about the future of destination marketing and a close network with decision makers in the industry. As a member with a seat on the board of directors, the German National Tourist Board is actively involved in the ETC's work.

You initiated the first major cooperation between the ETC and the European Commission. How has it been beneficial for the ETC and its members?

The ETC's efforts to promote tourism to Europe are widely recognised and valued, and this is reflected in its close working relationship with the Commission today. The available budgets have increased considerably thanks to the extra money from EU grants. In 2011, the Commission agreed to the first grant of D1 million for an 18-month period, earmarked for marketing activities to strengthen Europe's position as a travel destination in the BRIC countries, in particular China and Brazil. We signed a cooperation agreement with the European Commission in October 2011, which in turn allowed the ETC to create added value for its members through increased marketing activities. A further milestone was the memorandum of understanding with the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) in March 2012 in which the parties agreed to cooperate closely on analysing global trends, market research, benchmarking, sustainability, and crisis management.



Interview with Gareth James, retired, former Chairman Canada Operations Groups (1992–1995); Australia Operations Group; Secretary ETAG (2007–2013); former employee British Tourist Authority, 4 April 2018

What have been your main accomplishments and challenges?

I was chairman in Australia and Canada for about ten years. We raised the profile of Europe with magazine supplements. ETC funds paid, for instance, for a map and general European themes, and the pages on each country could be augmented if members funded them. We also organised trips for journalists. Probably the best thing the ETC has done throughout its existence is its joint research programme. It meant that instead of just talking about icons like Rome, or the Eiffel Tower, we spotlighted themes: gastronomy, cycling, nature. We need much more of that.

Funding remained one of the most important challenges. Some NTOs financed more than others; there was a tension between larger and smaller members. If somebody goes to Malta, they're likely to go somewhere else in Europe as well. Even if they don't, they're going to come back to another European destination. Getting people to somewhere in Europe was the point. So, the small countries were more grateful, but did not pay as much as the bigger countries. We put a lot of effort in lobbying for money. In hindsight, this was terribly wasteful. Many meetings that should have discussed new markets or setting up a joint office in, say, South Korea, were spent arguing about money the whole time.

There was also a difference between those who wanted to see direct results, and others who saw the ETC as an act of faith. The latter did not need to know how many extra people came to Europe, or whether Malta got more visitors. I also do not fear losing market shares. Until 2000 one fifth of the planet did not travel at all. Booming travel in Asia affects the market share, but it is jobs and income that really matter. I believe in promoting Europe as a destination, moving away from

measuring everything in the short run. A lot of things cannot be measured. If I told you how lovely it is where I live in Cornwall, you might not come in ten years' time. But I can't claim a direct relationship between that conversation and you turning up. Many factors influence such choices.

How was the relationship between the Operations Group and the Executive Unit?

The Executive Unit was small. It did the best it could but needed to be lobbied to make sure that we weren't forgotten. In Canada, we felt that the US got all the attention and funding. When you do anything in America, it costs a fortune. We always argued that operations in Canada were more cost-effective.

What are your reflections on the relationship between the ETC and the ETAG?

The Executive Unit was also crucial for the ETAG since we had no office in Brussels. We were small and quite impoverished. The idea of the ETAG was to involve the private sector. Leonard Lickorish and Bill Richards pressed for this. The private sector could keep public sector spending in check. The airlines and tour operators already had their own groups, so many potential members weren't interested. The ETAG was an association of some 12 associations representing thousands of small-and-medium tourism enterprises under ten employees, 80 per cent of all tourist enterprises in Europe. For our ETAG meetings in Brussels we had speakers in an informal setting. To keep costs low I invited them to breakfast in hotels near the Commission. We had the chairman of the tourism and travel committee from Parliament, we had Commission people who dealt with the environment, thinking of tourism as an enemy of theirs. I thought it was very fruitful to talk to them about how tourism funds the very things environmentalists were keen to support.

After Len and Bill had run the ETAG, Bill asked me to do it. I was very happy to meet my European colleagues, go to the European research and general meetings, run our ETAG meetings, meet up with the ETC Executive Unit, and further the cause. I was retired, so I did not need to be paid, just my Eurostar expenses. I often stayed with Rob, so it was a very low-cost effort. We did it on a shoestring, but it was untenable in the long run. Yet I was happy, because they were good people, I liked working with them, and I believed in what we were doing.



Interview with Tom Jenkins, current CEO of ETOA, 10 April 2018

What is the relationship between the ETOA and the ETC?

We have worked very closely with the ETC over the last five years. The ETC as an umbrella group for NTOs is a public sector organisation. In contrast, the ETOA's ethos and attitude are wrought much more in the private sector. We have a really good symbiotic relationship. Today we are looking at a much more dynamic ETC with whom the ETOA partners in research and projects.

In the last 20 years, the private sector has been good at blurring 'hypothecated' marketing: 30 years ago, tour operators would publish travel brochures, in fact the ETOA was founded largely by such tour operators. They specialised in one market only, the North American market, or the South American market, etc. Today, wholesalers, the dominant force in the last 15-20 years, really don't care where their customers come from. They make their product available on the web and they have customers coming from anywhere as long as they can read their website. NTOs still need to catch up with the fact that intermediation can shift to any country that can process that booking and add the value of intermediation most effectively. Of course, in this fast-changing market the ETOA does not pretend to know all the answers. As a spokesperson for the private sector we do welcome the fact that the ETC now accepts private companies as associate members. The more the private sector gets involved with publicly funded marketing, the better it tends to be.

How has the ETC in your view operated in the digital age?

Change happens faster. It's become very easy for travellers to access products, and for intermediaries to tailor and adapt products to individual needs. The rapidity makes it difficult for organisations like the ETC and the ETOA to embrace this change. You may just as well go out and embrace a storm. This is a kind of force that is happening rather than something that you can engage with in a reciprocal manner. There are certain things that you can do. The change affects both the distribution of products and the product itself, the way in which consumers experience and enjoy their time in Europe. I think that it's possible, though not likely, that people would access certain attractions more coherently using smart technology, particularly those difficult to get into (the Alhambra, the Sistine Chapel). Information delivered by smart technology may transform the way in which you eat, shop, and enjoy yourself. People still go to Europe because they like it. They want to see the Louvre. The appeal of Europe will largely remain the same.

Secondly, I think that the ways to add value will change. In 20 years' time there will still be river cruises, escorted tours on buses, or the equivalents of Eurail passes. And people will still be seeking personal insights from local people or people who know Europe. But I do anticipate a transformation in the way in which online travel agents function. In this context, NTOs project national identity and self-esteem. Every country has a self-perception and it's good to have a nationally funded body that projects it around the world and tries to attract visitors to come and endorse it. Self-esteem can also be delusional; the NTOs have an important role in order to explain what works to have a global appeal. I remember years ago that a tourism minister profoundly disagreed with the projection of

his country as a place to enjoy the sights and smells of the souk. He wanted his country projected as modern, with a fully integrated steel plant. One image sells holidays, the other doesn't.

Is the whole larger than the sum of its parts at the ETC?

Oh, goodness gracious me, yes! The ETC's role is vital. Europe is perceived as a unity destination in nearly any long-haul market. If you ask someone from North America where they might go on holiday, they'll say Europe. You can tell this immediately when something goes wrong: if that happens in Paris, people will still say: 'It's not the time to go to Europe'. To a certain extent people are attracted to individual phenomena: they want to see Amsterdam, the Eiffel Tower, stand in front of Pisa's leaning tower. But it's Europe that they visit, multi-country visits happen more and more. One of the best things that ever happened to the ETC was the Schengen Agreement and the arrival of borderless travel within Europe and the Schengen visa.

The ETC celebrates its 70th anniversary; the ETOA is younger. Does age matter?

What does a 30-year-old tell a 70-year-old? I think that unlike people, when an organisation gets older than 25, you're old enough. It's nice to look back on a long list of achievements, yet the past really doesn't matter. It's a fun thing to have in the background, and it provides some context for what really matters; namely the future.



Interview with Pedro Ortún, former Director Responsible for Tourism (2001–2015), European Commission, 5 June 2018

How would you characterise the relationship between the ETC and the European Union (EU)?

I think it has been globally positive for both. I see two main periods during my tenure. The first runs from 2001, when I took over, to 2009 with the creation of a direct competence in tourism in the Lisbon Treaty. The second period started in 2010. During the first period budgets for tourism were small, both at the European Commission and at the ETC. Common projects were limited. During this time the Commission financed the revamping of the old ETC portal and we established a useful collaboration in market research. We were not much involved in the joint promotion of European destinations, but that changed with the Lisbon Treaty and the establishment of the new Commission in February 2010. European Commissioner Antonio Tajani gave a big boost. The ETC progressively became an important international stakeholder. We started in 2012 with 1 million euros, enabling important joint actions and allowing a full revamping of the portal. We started to develop, within the portal, some joint ad hoc projects like Tasting Europe, and co-financed in markets like Brazil and China. I participated in general assemblies and got along well with ETC presidents Petra Hedorfer and Peter De Wilde. Cooperation with the ETC board and staff was easy and open.

What are your reflections on the restructuration of ETC around 2012?

I remember it quite well. We tried to help, starting with a financial reinforcement. The ETC got a new, younger, more proactive team focusing on concrete projects. The main role remained the joint promotion of pan-European (not national) tourism products. We established cultural routes in cooperation with the Council of Europe. We wanted to focus on two areas: pan-European themes and raising the importance of tourism as a policy area. We believe in tourist trips as an important tool for consolidating European citizenship, but of course that intra-European dimension is beyond the ETC mandate. The ETC should remain an important stakeholder of the international dimension. The United States has created a public budget and a 'brand USA', which constituted a good cooperation between the American tourist industry, the Obama administration, and the states. Its substantially increased budget came from half of the receipts of the Electronic System for Travel Authorization (ESTA). Within the Commission, I have also tried to progressively increase income for the sector.

Can the ETC help transcend national borders?

It did not become a full success, but tourism is a complex sector, in which the local and regional levels also matter. In fact, in most member states tourism policy is a regional competence. I have worked in many sectors but consider tourism the most complex. The sharing economy is making things even more complex. For policy, we have accomplished some things. The portal is in good shape. We do not yet have a full grasp of its impact and maybe ought to evaluate how much increasing volumes are due to the improved portal, or collaboration. In any case, it has at least improved the cooperation mood between public officers with tourism ministries, regional tourist offices, and companies.

How would you assess the ETC's relationship with European institutions?

In terms of collaboration with European institutions, the European Commission and European Parliament stand out. The Council of Ministers is involved, but less than the two others in the sense that the member states and the regional authorities are more involved, and responsibility in policy tourism lies within the member states. Regions and networks of regions have a larger role. The European Parliament is clearly taking a stronger role than has been the case before, which is good. I hope this will ultimately translate in a higher importance given to education through tourism: on cultural issues, vulnerability. This would be easier, or less difficult, if all citizens, particularly the young, were educated in good examples, engaging with tourism through the Erasmus programme, or as transnational young entrepreneurs.



Interview with Eduardo Santander, current ETC Executive Director, 26 February 2018

What do you consider your main accomplishments?

When I arrived six years ago, the ETC was having a small crisis. Our members found turbo digitalisation a challenge. The information out there makes our job somehow easier, but also makes it more difficult to justify why we would publish a brochure. We used to provide information for tourists coming to Europe. That information is publicly available today on the Internet. We had to do something.

ETC research has probably been state-ofthe-art for decades. There we could build from strength. We have a special collaboration with the UNWTO and the OECD. Research provides the scientific basis to indicate that the ETC does make sense. Market research has suggested that we are right about third markets which see Europe as a whole, as a destination with a range of experiences to be enjoyed: gastronomy, heritage, shopping. In 2012 we launched 'Destination 2020' for Europe to demonstrate that a transnational pan-European approach was the solution for the loss of market share for Europe as a tourist destination. It is not bad to lose market share per se when other parts of the world are developing. Competitiveness is the key point. The only way for the ETC to become competitive is to bundle our efforts. We needed to find a common ground and provide a benefit to members. We are not only a group of good friends who meet every quarter. I am proud we gave the ETC its awareness back, and bringing it in the minds of members, policymakers, and the broader public. Many saw tourism as a residual factor of the economy, yet it represents 10 per cent of European GDP and employs almost 30 million people, most in small-and-medium-size enterprises: bed & breakfasts, restaurants, ski rentals, tour operators, travel agents.

Europe should become the most welcoming destination in accepting differences; you cannot treat a Chinese guest the same way you treat Japanese or South American guests. If Europe wants to remain competitive in the world, we need to be the most adaptable. I think we have 10-15 years to go before we have a whole new paradigm of tourism promotion. As Europeans we are a bit Eurocentric. We hope that visitors understand us, our languages, our socio-economic idiosyncrasies: Schengen/non-Schengen, euro/non-euro, cultural customs differences. Knowledge is the way to cope with this. The ETC has been keen on investigating what third markets think of us and to cater for that. In the past 70 years, we have been selling the Europe that we wanted to sell, but not the Europe people wanted to consume. So, market research has again become the central part and the basis of our marketing activities promoting the new transnational, thematic Europe. People should not come here with a bucket list of countries but with a bucket list of experiences. Europe is the continent with the biggest connectivity in the world. We have enough natural historical routes, but you can also create new ones, say a transnational route of the most iconic mountains of Europe. People will look for this more and more, they will care less and less in which country it happens.

What does the Executive Unit do to enhance collaboration?

We have to create an environment of cooperation. This includes the private sector for which we created an associate membership programme with the aim to learn from them. As an association, the ETC needs to show members the value it adds to their efforts. We need NTOs and an ETC which is useful, adding value to society as such, adding value for visitors, and for the locals serving them. Through market research we can monitor travel peaks, detect a lack of positive perception, and intervene. We cannot create marketing without having done research, we cannot have advocacy without proper marketing. So, for me everything comes back to knowledge. You can spend tons of money and have zero effect. But you can also spend very little money and have a huge impact. This is where the ETC is helping adding value to our members, to spend their money wisely without duplicating efforts. Everybody trying to send out the same message in the same market creates confusion, so why not simplify the message? We collaborated with the EU and moved our headquarters to Brussels close to the European institutions. We signed a memorandum of understanding with the Commission in 2012. The EU had the means but did not have the knowledge or the network. We needed more people to deal with the growing workflow. We added advocacy as a task after long discussions. We need Europe to be not only a leader in numbers, but also in policies. For some members we should only be a marketing organisation, but capitalising on our location in Brussels, it is essential to have an advocacy agenda to obtain EU funding, and also to be part of the dialogue about tourism and its implications for the future of Europe.

What do you consider a challenge?

Sustainability is the challenge of this century, and it is a tricky issue. We have to be honest to ourselves: planes pollute, even though technology is improving. We need to talk directly with the aviation industry and set goals. More direct flight routes help. Maybe the era of cheap travel should end. And there's more pollution than just planes: water, resource depletion, food. My answer to this puzzle is that we have too much impact on certain points of the continent. We could distribute flows in a different way. We should educate people on sustainability. Come here and use a bike. A bike traveller also spends more than somebody in a car. We have to create sustainable systems and strategies that are environmentally sound, socially responsible, and that make economic sense. Why not use the facilities to capacity, and not just three months a year in the season? That can be part of a move from a fast-profit neo-liberal society to tourism as part of the circular and sharing economy.

How can the ETC help dealing with local backlashes against tourism?

The problem is not having too many tourists, but not being able to manage them. Amsterdam and London are hubs with main airports. There is potential to distribute tourist flows, but you need to educate visitors that there are many beautiful second-tier cities. For third markets a two-hour drive is absolutely nothing. Part of our effort is to bring people from third markets to the inner parts of the country. What kind of experience is it to queue three hours in front of the Eiffel Tower surrounded by Chinese people if you are Chinese? At the same time, we should prevent destroying an idyllic little mountain village, even though it too needs income.

Which is an example NTO to you?

We have major legacy NTOs with a long track record from the creation of the ETC in 1948. We currently see Eastern European destinations develop fast. They have a very holistic approach to tourism: creating ministries for tourism, viewing it as a real sector of the economy at the level of energy or education. Croatia was a non-destination after the Yugoslav wars, but now it is a leader selling itself as the Mediterranean as it once was. Estonia, unknown 15 years ago as a tourist destination, is now the most digitalised country of the world where you can do everything online.

Any final thoughts?

Travel has made a huge contribution to wealth and peace. People who travel are often more open-minded, therefore less aggressive. Probably through tourism we are creating a more peaceful world. We cannot measure its exact impact, but I think that when people meet each other and understand each other, or try to understand each other, there is also a pattern of human behaviour that makes you respect each other. Ultimately, we cannot learn just from books, we have to experience what tourism is about ourselves. The ETC strives for an open Europe. It was created 70 years ago to obtain the best for humanity, to rebuild a Europe in crisis with something that was good for everybody. Seventy years later we are talking about exactly the same issues: crisis in Europe, lack of identity, and so on. Some people think tourism could again be a catalyst. If we are able to avoid a Third World War in Europe, we will also be able to solve other great challenges. The crucial thing is to work together.



Interview with Peter De Wilde, current ETC President, 15 March 2018

What have been your main accomplishments and challenges?

We brought the ETC into the twenty-first century with the help of the Executive Unit. When I joined, all we did was discuss the statutes. It did not motivate those who wanted to work on the common project of defining 'Destination Europe' and translating it into new marketing strategies, a different type of research, and the need for advocacy. The main challenge was to start looking at Europe, and deal with global competition, and try not to become complacent or inward-looking.

How would you characterise the 2012 restructuration?

It started with a change in the board and the search for a new director. Eduardo Santander walked into our trap! His first mission was to build a stronger Executive Unit. He gradually found out that the ETC had its own traditions. We supported him, made sure he did not encounter too much red tape. He built a good team. The commitment, experience, and expertise he brought were crucial.

Please define the ETC's relationship with the EU.

There is a precarious balance between a membership organisation and the increased structural support from the EU, which of course we are very grateful for. We convinced the Commission of the need to keep a fine line between a joint mission and safeguarding the interests of individual members. We convinced our members to work with the Commission. In the past we simply put the national interests on a big pile that supposedly amounted to a European interest. Now we start from Europe as one destination responding to real needs of different visitors, while taking local populations into account.

What has been the impact of working with other partners, including the private sector?

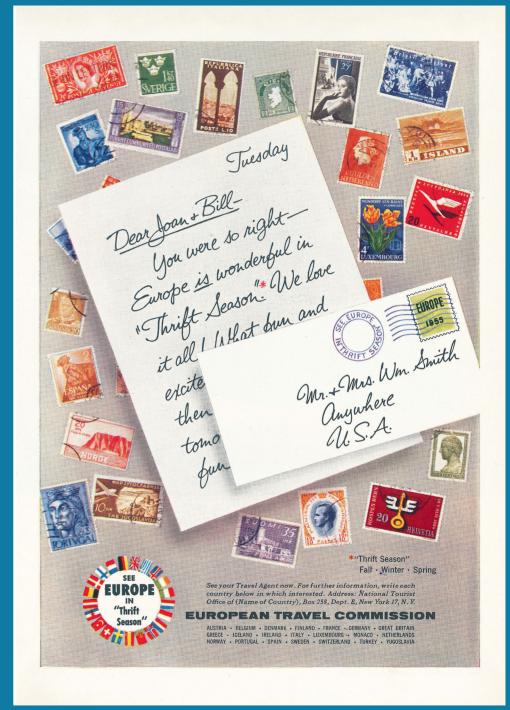
I think the private sector saw that we gained an edge with a more professional team. There was a real interest in finding a common vision on 'Destination Europe'. The big partners who work throughout Europe and the world felt a lack of an interlocutory on a higher level. The European Commission has no tourism agency and has no desire to create one. I think the increased investment from the private side has resulted from the fact that the Commission considered the ETC a mature partner in tourism policy.

What is your view on tourism in the digital age?

If technology means increasing the quality of the authentic experience, then I embrace it. If it just supplants information sources and real experiences, then it is not compatible with what tourism is all about: sharing opinions, colliding opinions, meeting people. I have always had a very hard time when I see—and I used to be like that myself a little bit, I'm afraid—people who are somewhere taking a picture and thinking 'I can look at it later'. A real conscious encounter with your environment and other people, that is crucial to tourism. If the experience is authentic, it can transform you on a human level.

What is your perspective on the future? Is the ETC going in the right direction?

For me 'Destination Europe' is still an upcoming destination with a lot of promise. I am not a cultural pessimist who thinks the end of the West is near with the rise of China and others in the world. We are a well-developed region with a rich history, culture, and heritage. We need to define a common identity to make Europe stronger in the long run. If in a few years we will only represent 5 per cent of the world's population, I think that the common project that needs to tie us together needs to be clearly defined. I want to be among those who help define it or help those who are better at defining it find their way. I believe in 'Destination Europe' and in Europe as a common project, a peace project even. We have been at peace since the Second World War, that's not a minor feat. We need to go further on that track.



The History of the European Travel Commission

1948 --2018 The interwar years (1918–1939) had witnessed several attempts at European collaboration on tourism matters, but it was not until the end of the Second World War and the founding of the International Union of Official Travel Organisations (IUOTO) in 1948 that real international collaboration to promote tourism took off. The European Travel Commission (ETC) was established in 1948 as a regional commission for Europe under the IUOTO amidst these chaotic, yet also energetic and increasingly optimistic, years of post-war reconstruction in Europe. The ETC was closely intertwined with the Marshall Plan. The first chapter therefore concentrates on the period between 1948 and 1952, the year when the Marshall Plan ended.

In the beginning, the ETC had virtually no financial means at its disposal. Its achievements were fully dependent on the efforts and commitment of the individual representatives from the member states. They viewed their task as having to identify common European problems, gather information from all the member states, and suggest solutions that would benefit everyone in the long run. From its inception, the ETC sought to facilitate travellers' mobility, and it remained committed to the liberal ideals at the heart of the Marshall Plan and the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC).

Key ETC individuals carried out their ETC-related work as national tourist organisation (NTO) or government representatives and also participated in the work of the OEEC Tourism Committee and the IUOTO. Undoubtedly, the ETC was influential among member states, but there is rarely a paper trail that proves a direct link between the ETC and the policy changes introduced by the member states. When Arthur Haulot, the second ETC president, summed up the ETC achievements in 1951, he stressed the importance of domestic lobbying towards national governments. He also highlighted the ETC's collaboration with the Marshall Plan institutions, the OEEC, and numerous industry organisations in its efforts to ease mobility and promote tourism. While the ETC had no formal power, it provided an arena where tourism officials and business professionals could meet and collaborate. The organisation connected experts and stakeholders with a shared vision, which they tried to promote in all the arenas where they worked.

The second chapter examines the ETC's joint publicity campaigns in America from their inception in August 1949 to 1964. Initially bringing together 18 NTOs, and then 21 in the early 1950s, the collective publicity campaign grew in importance and efficiency over the years, and became the flagship activity of the ETC. Numerous partners made these joint publicity campaigns a success. In addition to the OEEC/ OECD's formal supervision until 1963, joint publicity campaigns were organised with the help of private partners such as travel agencies, maritime, rail, and air carriers, the oil industry, and marketing firms such as the Donald N. Martin & Company, Inc. This network shows the ETC's remarkable ability to build extensive networks and partnerships, and to ensure a continued dialogue with the private sector.

Each year, the ETC and its partners produced high-quality, eye-catching promotional material (brochures, guidebooks, print advertisements, travel shows, window displays, radio broadcasts, television advertising, short films) which branded Europe as a unity destination. While challenging from a financial and organisational perspective, the collective publicity campaign scored significant successes in a context during which pivotal transportation, financial, and technological changes occurred (tourist-class airfares, possibility to travel on credit, the introduction of commercial air jets in the 1950s). The ETC publicity became well-known in the US and undoubtedly sparked interest in Europe among Americans. The growth is noteworthy: between 1949 and 1963, the number of US visitors in Europe grew from approximately 270,000 to 1,117,000. The joint publicity campaigns continued after 1963, but under the aegis of the ETC alone. As the ETC broadened its action, the goal of persuading people to visit Europe remained central in the ETC's mission, and joint publicity campaigns in America took place, from the 1970s onwards, alongside separate actions in other long-haul markets (Japan, Latin America, China).

The third chapter depicts the work of the ETC in the 1950s and 1960s beyond its publicity campaigns. In these years, the ETC fruitfully collaborated with other international organisations. It acted, for instance, as technical adviser in the OEEC/OECD Tourism Committee and worked with the Inland Transport Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe to deal with transport infrastructure development in support

of tourism. In all these activities, the overriding aim of the ETC was to make passing national borders easier through the reduction or abolishment of visas and other frontier formalities. This work culminated in the 1963 United Nations Conference on International Travel and Tourism, in which ETC key individuals played a major role. In 1956, the ETC also became independent from the IUOTO. The latter created a new Regional Travel Commission for Europe, which included both Western and Eastern European countries.

The ETC also called for more coherence in tourism policy formulation in Europe. To this end, the ETC published, in 1956, a *White Paper on a Tourist Policy in Europe*. Policy coordination came sometimes at moments of distress, for example during the ad hoc actions dealing with the negative effects on travel following the Suez Crisis in 1956. Such crisis situations aside, the ETC called for tourism policies to stimulate the growth of the tourism sector, and to better spread visitors over the year and over the continent by developing new itineraries. Willing to act as a liaison for the various organisations active in the field, the ETC further developed research activities in support of these aims. For instance, the ETC led surveys and research to better understand American travellers' preferences.

The collaboration with the Donald N. Martin Company was not only significant for the publicity campaigns as the company also launched the idea of regular conferences for professionals. The first Transatlantic Travel Congress took place in New York in 1966 and became a recurring annual event. Underlining the transatlantic bonds was important because President Lyndon B. Johnson suggested in 1968 that the US could impose restrictions on foreign travel. The ETC quickly responded with a declaration on the freedom to travel, above all identifying the freedom to travel as a basic human right, to be enjoyed without restriction or discrimination.

The fourth chapter starts with the expansion of the ETC: newly independent Malta and Cyprus joined the organisation in 1971 and 1973 respectively, and the ETC branched out into new activities. It started an active engagement with the work of Europa Nostra in the preservation of cultural heritage as a tourism asset. The memberships and activities were managed through a leaner organisational structure, a permanent secretariat located in Europe, and an affiliate office in New York

as a liaison with the Donald N. Martin Company. Timothy O'Driscoll, a seasoned participant in the work of the ETC, became the first executive director. Overall the organisation managed to keep its overhead costs effectively under control: at some 6–7 per cent of the total budget, they compared favourably to those of some of its sister organisations on other continents.

In its work, the ETC continued its research-based readying of its members for new opportunities and bracing them for challenges. It kick-started discussions on new technological developments, such as the introduction of new aircrafts in the 1970s that could lower the cost and thus drastically increase transatlantic travel, and tracked the modest start of computer-based technologies in the early 1980s. The ETC also sought to help members deal with the shockwaves sent through the tourist landscape by terrorist attacks, or the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear accident, and kept track of the economic woes of the 1970s and 1980s.

The 1986 fall programme on the American market brought together the European Economic Community (EEC) and the ETC with the aim to boost the number of visitors in Europe. Such a collaboration was another concrete way in which the organisation contributed to the attenuation of a dip in numbers of visitors coming to Europe in the mid-1980s. Diversification of the long-distance markets in which the ETC operated was a further strategy to grasp opportunities and become less susceptible to crisis. Within the United States, the ETC's original target market and certainly the main one until the 1980s, the ETC embarked on a modest expansion from its north-eastern base to the mid-west and the Sunbelt. Simultaneously, the ETC also decisively moved beyond the United States and set up operations in Japan, Latin America, Australia, and Canada.

The fifth chapter opens with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, a very consequential event for the promotion of Europe as a tourist destination. It was instantly the icing on the cake for 1990 as the European Tourism Year. This same year the ETC admitted Hungary as a new member, and the most significant wave of new memberships since its creation in 1948 followed.

The last decade of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century were characterised by two major developments. First, the European Economic CommunityEEC became the European Union in the early 1990s and expanded

its tasks and membership. The increased weight of the EU was instrumental in the ETC's return to Brussels and much closer ties between them followed. The ETC continued its quest to get tourism accepted as an important sector of the European economy with a concomitant policy mandate and financial resources. The ultimate goal was ultimately reached in 2009 in the Treaty of Lisbon, with the creation of a firm mandate in tourism policy for the EU. The second major development was the continuation and dramatic expansion of the digital age. The ETC and the member NTOs were seeking to exploit the digital opportunities that presented themselves, but the new conditions were challenging as well. Initially based on the paper guide *Planning Your Trip to Europe*, the website www. visiteurope.com was, however, improved, and the ETC increasingly attuned itself to the digital world. It is noteworthy that the European Commission co-funded several of these World Wide Web ventures.

The economic crisis of 2008 and its aftermath turned out to be one of the most challenging phases in the existence of the ETC. The financial crisis not only impacted international travel, but also the financial situation of the ETC members. The ETC's digital presence was not deemed appropriate in order to curb the challenging situation, but the newly created mandate for tourism in the European Union offered a lifeline.

That lifeline was consequential for the organisation, as the sixth chapter explains. The organisation morphed from an island kingdom of semi-autonomous units to a more centralised organisation in which an enlarged Executive Unit could have more oversight and provide clearer support for decision-making. In terms of its membership, the organisation grew further in the direction of the private sector, for which an associate membership was set up. Companies active in IT for the travel industry, transportation, travel agents, tax refund, and value retail have since joined the ETC. With consent of a majority of its members and in line with the opportunities offered by its location in Brussels, the ETC once again became officially active in advocacy, as it had done at its creation.

The last five years further fortified the two larger trends that had already characterised the ETC's situation around the turn from the twentieth to the twenty-first century. The ties with the European Union became much more significant,

and financially important. With the support of the European Commission, the ETC could embark on the full revamping of the website to attract travellers. The contents changed towards a much stronger focus on pan-European themes and itineraries, in line with the ambitions with which the organisation was set up in 1948. As it has done throughout the numerous political and cultural shifts of the past 70 years, under the leadership of current ETC President Peter De Wilde and Executive Director Eduardo Santander the organisation is looking toward the future and preparing Europe for the benefits and challenges of tourism in the twenty-first century.

TIMELINE 131

1948 Sixteen founding fathers establish the ETC as a regional commission of the IUOTO during the Oslo-Bergen 3rd International Conference of National Travel Organisations and 14th General Assembly of the International Union of Official Travel Organizations (in Stalheim, 18 June 1948).

1949 The ETC organises its first publicity campaign in the United States.

Late 1940s-early 1950s

The ETC works closely together with the OEEC Committee for Tourism to analyse visa and passport regimes, study transportation-related issues, and encourage the development of tourism at large.

- **1950-51** The accession of West Germany, Finland, Spain, and Yugoslavia to the ETC raises its members to 21 NTOs.
- On 10 May, ETC representatives meet with US President Dwight Eisenhower and hand him a scroll highlighting the ETC principles.
- 1956 The ETC decides to become independent from the IUOTO but continues to work closely together with the IUOTO and its successor, the UNWTO.
- 1956 The ETC publishes a White Paper on *Tourist Policy in Europe*, taking stock of what had been achieved
 and setting an agenda for the immediate and
 more distant future.
- The ETC acquires legal personality in the state of Belgium by Royal Decree of 3 November 1958, according to *Moniteur Belge*.
- 1961 On 29 June, Manolita Doelger, the ETC New York chairwoman, meets with President John F. Kennedy at the establishment of the United States Travel Service Office.

1963	The ETC organises its last publicity campaign in the US within the framework of the OECD, the successor to the OEEC. Campaigns continued, but under the aegis of the ETC alone.
1964	End of Arthur Haulot's presidency (1949–1964), the longest to date. Haulot is replaced by Timothy J. O'Driscoll (1965–1970).
1965	The ETC's Executive Unit transfers to Dublin, Ireland.
1968	The ETC publishes a declaration regarding the 'Freedom to Travel' in February after US President Lyndon B. Johnson declared a willingness to impose restrictions on travel in his State of the Union address, as a way to redress balance-of-payment issues.
1973	The ETC organises the conference 'Working Together— Tourism and Conservation' on 26–27 November in Copenhagen, jointly with Europa Nostra. The event marks the rise of conservation as a key issue for the ETC.
1974	The ETC sets up an Operations Group in the Japanese market indicating its transformation into a global player. Later Operations Groups were created in Latin America (1977), Australia (1982), and Canada (1988). ETC Operations Groups are currently active in Brazil, Canada, China, and the United States.
1981	The ETC is one of the co-founders of the ETAG, an association of associations advocating the importance of Europe as a tourist destination.
1986-87	Set-up of regular meetings of member NTOs' research experts, typically NTO research directors, with the goal to decide on future research plans and priorities (replaced by the Market Intelligence Group in 2006). Creation of a smaller Research Working Group in early 1987 to run day-to-day business (replaced by the Market Intelligence Committee in 2006).

1990s	The accession of Hungary in 1990 starts off a new
	wave of membership expansion, leading up to the
	unprecedentedly high current number of 34 NTOs.

- The launch of the VisitEurope.com website inaugurates the ETC's online presence. The website had previously been used by the United States Operations Group, but became the site for branding Europe overall, as well as a platform to access NTO websites.
- 1998 The ETC establishes a New Media Group (renamed the Marketing and Technology Network Group in October 2007), another sign of its promotion moving increasingly online.
- 2005 The ETC issues the Vienna Declaration on the
 Future of European Tourism in October. This calls for
 centres of excellence in research & development, human
 resources, and sustainable development to enhance
 the competitiveness of the European tourist sector.
- The ETC and the EU start collaborating more closely under the EU mandate for tourism established in the 2009 Lisbon Treaty. The ETC concludes a grant agreement with the European Commission in 2011, leading to a fully rebuilt VisitEurope.com website.

 The grant arguably initiates a new phase, although collaborations between the ETC and European institutions go back to the 1970s.
- 2012 The Executive Unit is restructured under a new executive director, Eduardo Santander. The Executive Unit assumes a crucial position in a more centrally-led organisation, starts to grow, and develops several new initiatives.
- 2015 On 9 December, the ETC and a range of other stakeholders launch the European Tourism Manifesto for Growth and Jobs. A total of 44 stakeholders signed the Manifesto.
- 2018 The ETC celebrates its 70th anniversary on 21 November 2018.

Austria	1948
Belgium	1948
Bulgaria	1993
Croatia	1997
Cyprus	1973
Czech Republic	1995
Denmark	1948
Estonia	1998
Finland	1951
	1948–2011
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) _	2008-2010
_	2007-2010
Germany	1950
Greece	1948
Hungary	1990
Iceland	1948
Ireland	1948
_	1948
Latvia	2002
	2002
Luxembourg	1948
Malta	1971
Monaco	1948
Montenegro	2006
Netherlands 1948-1992; 1	997-2011; 2018
	1948
Poland	1994
Portugal	1948
Romania	2000
San Marino	2006
Serbia	2006
Slovak Republic	2001
Slovenia	1993
Spain	1951
· .	1948-2015
Switzerland	1948
Turkey	1948
Ukraine	2006-2010
United Kingdom	1948-2011
Yugoslavia	1951-1992

ECA	Economic Cooperation Administration
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
ESTA	Electronic System for Travel Authorization
ETAG	European Tourism Action Group
ETC	European Travel Commission
ETOA	European Tourism Association
	(orig.: European Tour Operators Association)
ETPC	Coordination Committee for
	European Travel Promotion
EU	European Union
IAH	International Hotel Association
IATA	International Air Transport Association
ICAO	International Civil Air Transport Organization
IUOTO	International Union of
	Official Travel Organizations
IYHF	International Youth Hostel Federation
NTO	National Tourist Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation
	and Development
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic
	Co-operation
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum
	Exporting Countries
TOU	OEEC/OECD Tourism Committee
UIOOPT	Union Internationale des Organes Officiels
	de Propagande Touristique
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization

ON THE ETC'S HISTORY AND THE ARCHIVAL SOURCES USED IN THIS STUDY

From the outset, the ETC has nurtured an awareness of its history among its members and the wider public. During the organisation's earliest years, its president, Arthur Haulot, always recounted its origins when presenting the ETC's annual reports to the IUOTO congresses. In 1960, Siegfried Bittel wrote a historical account of the ETC's ten years of publicity campaigns in the US (Ten years of joint publicity for European tourism in the *United States*). Bittel's text was published in French and English in the IUOTO journal World Travel (no. 40). It was one of the key sources used by Timothy O'Driscoll in 1988 when he produced a concise history of the ETC for the 40th anniversary (40 Years of Joint Action 1948–1988). In 2008, Nick Markson of the British Tourist Authority in Brussels produced a slim brochure on the ETC's history for the 60th anniversary (60 Years of Joint Action 1948-2008). However, the reports by O'Driscoll and Markson were not based on archival research, and they offered little historical analysis. It also worth noting that the ETC has rarely been taken into account in professional research on tourism history, where—with notable exceptions, among them the work of Eric G. E. Zuelow and Christopher Endy—it has been mentioned only briefly.

The ETC was born on the move, and its headquarters followed suit. This means that the ETC's own archival records are spread across several countries. Documents pertaining to its earliest years (1948–1956) are kept by the UNWTO archives in Madrid. The current ETC office in Brussels holds a modest archival fund containing minutes of ETC meetings and travel conferences dating back to 1965, various photographs pertaining to the ETC's activities, and mixed publications and internal documents (mostly from the 1980s onwards). The files of the OEEC/OECD Tourism Committee, as well as reports and files relevant to the ETC's joint publicity campaigns in the United States until 1963, are available at the OECD library and archives in Paris. Additionally, the OEEC files in the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs archives, which contains OEEC material as well as correspondence and various Scandinavian analyses of ETC and OEEC actions, have been examined.

The history of European interwar tourist cooperation is based on published conference proceedings held by the UN library in Geneva and contemporary newspaper coverage accessed through the Dutch digital newspaper database, www. delpher.nl. Gunnar Lampe's 1953 anniversary book for the Norwegian NTO (*Reiselivet i Norge gjennom 50* år) also recounts his interwar experiences with the Union Internationale des Organes Officiels de Propagande Touristique (UIOOPT) and the founding of the ETC.

Newspaper coverage of ETC actions was primarily retrieved through the Danish and Swedish digital newspaper databases, http://www2.statsbiblioteket.dk/mediestream/ and https://tidningar.kb.se/.

We are thankful to Eric G. E. Zuelow for sharing with us his findings on the ETC in The National Archives of Ireland. We are also most grateful to Maria Ángeles Prieto for her committed assistance during our research at the UNWTO archives in Madrid. We also want to underscore the outstanding support we received from the ETC staff in Brussels as well as help from the staff and archivists at the OECD archives in Paris.

ARCHIVES CONSULTED

UNWTO Archives (Madrid)

Archives of the International Union of Official Travel Organizations (IUOTO) (1945–1975) Files IUOTO 38-40, 111-112, 295-307, 566.

OECD Archives and Library (Paris)

Files 299 (Directorate of Trade and Finance/Tourism Committee Secretariat/Tourism Committee/Working Documents, 1952–1960); 300 (Tourism Committee/Working Documents, 1948–1969); 301 (Tourism Committee/Working Documents, 1954–1960); 1387 (European Travel Commission, relation of the Committee with the ETC, 1949–1964); 1388 (Publicity campaigns in the USA, 1949–1962); 1487 (tourist propaganda, 1961-1964).

ETC Archives (Brussels)

ETC Minutes (1965 to the present) and various documents and photographs pertaining to the ETC from the 1950s to the present.

Danish National Archives (Copenhagen)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs archives, Gruppeordnede sager 1909-1945: 90.C.12 (Conseil Central du Tourisme International). Gruppeordnede sager 1945–1972: 73.C.41.21.a (OEEC. Turistkomitéen); 106.K.16 (OEEC. Turistkomitéen).

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'The swing is to Europe'. ETC advertisement from 1950 Source: ETC Archives, Brussels

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'See Europe in "Thrift Season", ETC advertisement from 1955 Source: ETC Archives, Brussels

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Portrait of Gunnar Lampe in the 1930s. Credit: Anders Beer Wilse. Oslo Museum

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'Europe offers you more in the thrift season', ETC advertisement from 1951. Source: UNWTO Archives, IUOTO 295

Example of 'Pic-Tour' drawing from the early 1950s. Source: UNWTO Archives, IUOTO 295

Haulot and Nordholm in the early 1950s. Note the slogan 'Understanding through travel is the passport to peace' in the background. Source: Travel Key to Europe (New York: This Week Magazine, 1952), 7.

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The importance of cars among tourists grew in the late 1950s. First published in 1958, Europe Motorists' Paradise was a successful ETC publication, and was rereleased on several occasions. Here is an example of the Europe Motorists' Paradise brochure cover.

Credit: Photo courtesy of Donald N. Martin Company, Inc. http://www.dnmartinco.com

An example of an ETC advertisement by the Caples Company in 1959

ETC delegates at the White House in May 1954. Source: ETC Archives, Brussels

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An example of an ETC advertisement stressing the advantages of the fall season in Europe, 1960

President Kennedy and others (including Manolita T. Doelger, chairwoman of ETC New York) at the signing of the Act establishing the United States Travel Service. 29 June 1961. Credit: Abbie Rowe. John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum.

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Cover page of the 'Travel Europe' magazine from 1965. Credit: Image courtesy of the Donald N. Martin Company, Inc. http://www.dnmartinco.com

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Cover pages of 'Your invitation to Europe' brochures from 1964-1981 Credit: Photo courtesy of the Donald N. Martin Company, Inc. http://www.dnmartinco.com

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The ETC sponsored the Trans-Atlantic Travel Congress, during which 435 leaders of the tourism industry met in Dublin, October 1967 Source: ETC Archives, Brussels

Cover page of the 'Freedom to Travel' brochure (1968); editions of this brochure in French and German were also published. Source: ETC Archives, Brussels

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Cover page of the 'Travel Europe' magazine from 1964. Credit: Image courtesy of the Donald N. Martin Company, Inc. http://www.dnmartinco.com

Cover page of the 25th ETC Anniversary Booklet from 1973 Source: ETC Archives, Brussels

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ETC meeting at the hotel Dolder, Zurich, 29 November 1971 Source: ETC Archives, Brussels

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ASTA President Carl Helgren (centre) tapes report on travel to Europe for ETC radio promotion in 1974. In this report he described a European vacation as 'excellent value for your money' and reported that travellers were virtually unaffected by the energy crisis. To his left is ETC New York chairman Heinz Patzak. Standing is Don Martin of the Donald N. Martin Company, Inc. Source: ETC Archives, Brussels

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'Europe Comes to You' Travel Supermart in San Francisco in 1978 Source: ETC Archives, Brussels

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Timothy O'Driscoll speaking after presenting flags to Edward Koch, mayor of New York, during the ETC meeting in New York in 1979. Also present are Robert Tisch of the Loews Corporation and former US postmaster general (second from right), and Charles Gillett of the New York Convention and Visitors Bureau (far right). Source: ETC Archives, Brussels

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Panellists from the tourism industry (Trans World Airlines, Delta Air Lines, Costa Cruises, Contiki Holidays, Alitalia, ASTA, American Express Europe) at the 1985 Trans-Atlantic Travel Marketing Conference. Source: ETC Archives, Brussels

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Cover Page of 'This Year Experience The Grandeur of Europe' brochure Credit: Photo courtesy of the Donald N. Martin Company, Inc. http://www.dnmartinco.com

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Representatives of NTOs and Operations Groups at the ETC's 40th anniversary in Oslo, May 1988 Source: ETC Archives, Brussels

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Cover page of 'Your invitation to Europe' magazine from 2001 Credit: Photo courtesy of the Donald N. Martin Company, Inc. http://www.dnmartinco.com

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Cover pages of 'Your invitation to Europe' and 'Planning your trip to Europe' brochures from the 1990s Credit: Photo courtesy of the Donald N. Martin Company, Inc. http://www.dnmartinco.com

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Cover page of ETC handbook 'Tracking multi-destination travel in Europe from long-haul source markets: US, China, Japan and India', 2018. Source: ETC Archives, Brussels

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Executive Director Eduardo Santander and his team in Brussels in June 2018. Source: ETC Archives, Brussels

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ETC President Peter De Wilde speaking at ETC General Meeting in Porto, 2017. Source: ETC Archives, Brussels

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'See Europe in "Thrift Season", ETC advertisement from 1956 Source: ETC Archives, Brussels

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Portrait of Peter De Wilde Source: VisitFlanders

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'See Europe in "Thrift Season", ETC advertisement from 1955 Source: ETC Archives, Brussels

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Portraits of ETC Executive Unit Source: ETC Archives, Brussels

LIST OF CURRENT ETC MEMBERS NOVEMBER 2018

Full Members

Austrian National Tourist Office (ANTO)

Belgium Flanders: VisitFlanders

Wallonia: Wallonie-Belgique Tourisme (WBT)

Bulgaria The Ministry of Tourism of the Republic of Bulgaria

Croatia Croatian National Tourist Board (CNTB)
Cyprus Cyprus Tourism Organisation (CTO)

Czech RepublicCzechTourismDenmarkVisitDenmark

Estonia Estonian Tourist Board - Enterprise Estonia

Finland Visit Finland – Finpro Ry

Germany German National Tourist Board (GNTB)
Greece Greek National Tourism Organisation (GNTO)

Hungarian Tourism Agency Ltd.

Icelandic Tourist Board

IrelandFáilte Ireland and Tourism Ireland Ltd.ItalyItalian Government Tourist Board

Latvia Investment and Development Agency of Latvia (LIAA)
Lithuania Lithuanian State Department of Tourism under

the Ministry of Economy

LuxembourgLuxembourg for Tourism (LFT)MaltaMalta Tourism Authority (MTA)

MonacoMonaco Government Tourist and Convention OfficeMontenegroNational Tourism Organisation of Montenegro

Netherlands NBTC Holland Marketing

Norway Innovation Norway

Poland Polish Tourism Organisation (PTO)

Portugal Turismo de Portugal, I.P.

Romania Romanian Ministry of Tourism

San Marino State Office for Tourism

Serbia National Tourism Organisation of Serbia (NTOS)
Slovakia Ministry of Transport and Construction of

the Slovak Republic

Slovenian Tourist Board

Spain Turespaña - Instituto de Turismo de España

Switzerland Switzerland Tourism

Turkey Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism

Associate Members

ADARA

Amadeus IT Group S.A Confcommercio

CrowdRiff Inc.

Emirates Airline Company/Emirates Group

Eurail Group G.I.E Expedia Group, Inc. Global Blue SA HiSeas International

Sojern Ltd. Value Retail PLC

Welcome Chinese

Executive Director

Finance, Administration & Public Affairs

Research

Marketing & Communication



Eduardo Santander



Teodora Marinska



Jennifer Iduh



Miguel Gallego



Iulia Niculică



Lyublena Dimova



Yasemin Volders



Sophie Mc Guirk



Natalia Emmanouilidou Oikonomou



František Reismüller



Tatiana Veselova

Digital



Güneş Vural



Christos Petrakis

