

# UEFA: A Successful Pan-European Organization during the Cold War

*The purpose of this paper is to analyse the formation of the Union Européenne de Football / European Football Association (UEFA) in the mid-1950s and its evolution during the period of the cold war. Post-World War II Europe was characterized for its division into two zones from an economic and political point of view. Countries from the two zones met in international organizations at the world level and created separate specifically European organizations for cooperation in several economic, political and cultural fields. However, there was an almost complete absence of specifically pan-European organizations bringing together countries from the two zones. The only significant exception was UEFA, which, from the mid-1950s onwards, succeeded in organizing regular football competitions between national and club teams from the whole continent without any significant problems, regardless of the different economic and political systems. This paper will discuss the reasons for such a remarkable achievement.*

**Keywords:** UEFA, Europe, cold war, economic and political systems, cooperation

## Introduction

Post-World War II Europe was characterized for its division into two zones from an economic and political point of view. On one side were countries with market economies and democratic or right-wing authoritarian political regimes. On the other side were countries with centrally planned economies and communist political regimes. From the economic point of view, the division was completed in 1948, when the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) and the Council for Mutual Economic Cooperation (COMECON) were formed. Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey, together with the American, British and French occupation zones in Germany, which later formed the Federal Republic of Germany, became members of the OEEC. Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the USSR, together with the Soviet occupation zone in Germany, which later formed the German Democratic Republic, became members of COMECON. Only two European market economies were absent from the OEEC: Spain, because the USA excluded it from the Marshall Plan for political reasons (it was to join the OEEC one decade later), and Finland, because of Soviet diplomatic pressure (it was later to find ways of informal cooperation with the OEEC). Only one centrally planned economy was absent from COMECON: Yugoslavia, because of its ideological dissension with the USSR (it would become a leader of the so-called non-aligned movement, created in 1955, and tried to develop an original form of market socialism one decade later). From a political point of view, the division was confirmed in 1949, when the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) took place, and in 1955, when the formation of the Warsaw Pact Organization took place. Belgium, Canada,

1 Denmark, France, Great Britain, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands,  
 2 Norway, Portugal and the USA were the founding members of NATO (Greece,  
 3 Turkey and the Federal Republic of Germany were to join later). Membership  
 4 of the Warsaw Pact Organization coincided at first with membership of  
 5 COMECON (which was later joined by non-European countries). At the  
 6 beginning of the 1960s, Albania aligned with the People's Republic of China,  
 7 when its ideological dissension with the USSR occurred, and left COMECON  
 8 and the Warsaw Pact Organization for all practical purposes (although not from  
 9 a formal point of view). Other countries managed to achieve a relative  
 10 autonomy within their groups (France and Romania are the most evident  
 11 cases), but the limits of any experiment of this type were clearly illustrated by  
 12 the outcome of the revolt of Hungary in 1956, the so-called Prague spring of  
 13 1968, or the revolutionary process in Portugal between 1974 and 1976.

14 Countries from the two zones only met in international organizations at the  
 15 world level, especially the United Nations Organization (UNO), and its  
 16 specialized agencies. However, countries with centrally planned economies  
 17 and communist political regimes were absent from the organizations designed  
 18 to form the framework for the international economic order, namely the  
 19 International Monetary Fund (IMF), the International Bank for Reconstruction  
 20 and Development (the core of the World Bank group) and the General  
 21 Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which became the superstructures of  
 22 the capitalist part of the world economy.

23 Countries from the two zones created separate specifically European  
 24 organizations for cooperation in several economic, political and cultural fields.  
 25 Besides the OEEC / COMECON and the NATO / Warsaw Pact Organization  
 26 pairs already mentioned, an interesting case in point is the twin organizations  
 27 created for cooperation in the field of radio and television. As a matter of fact,  
 28 the development of radio and television broadcasting led quite naturally to  
 29 international cooperation in the field. In Europe, as was to be expected, this  
 30 meant two separate international organizations: the European Broadcasting  
 31 Union (EBU), usually known by the name of its operational service,  
 32 Eurovision, was created in 1950, with its headquarters in Geneva and brought  
 33 together broadcasting organizations from European and Mediterranean  
 34 countries with market economies and democratic or right-wing authoritarian  
 35 political regimes; the International Radio and Television Organization (IRTO),  
 36 usually known by the name of its operational service, Intervision, was also  
 37 created in 1950, with its headquarters in Prague and brought together  
 38 broadcasting organizations from countries with centrally planned economies  
 39 and communist political regimes. France, the Federal Republic of Germany,  
 40 Italy, Luxembourg, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom were the founding  
 41 members of Eurovision, which was later joined by Austria, Belgium, Denmark,  
 42 Finland, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Monaco, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal,  
 43 Spain, Sweden, Turkey, and Yugoslavia. Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the  
 44 German Democratic Republic, Finland, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the  
 45 USSR belonged to Intervision. In this particular instance, there was one  
 46 exception to the general rule: Finland belonged to both organizations.  
 47 However, it was clear that the Intervision affiliation was purely formal for

1 Finland, from both the technical and the programming point of view. Albania  
 2 and Yugoslavia were in the opposite situation and remained absent from  
 3 international television cooperation – in the case of Yugoslavia, this situation  
 4 continued until it joined Eurovision already in its 1960s market socialism  
 5 phase.

6 There was an almost complete absence of specifically pan-European  
 7 organizations bringing together countries from the two zones. An interesting  
 8 case in point was the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), which the  
 9 UNO tried to implement and which soon became a lethargic organization after  
 10 the OEEC and COMECON had come into being. Only between 1972 and 1975  
 11 was it possible to bring together all European countries (with the exception of  
 12 Albania) under the same umbrella, at a Conference for Security and  
 13 Cooperation in Europe in Helsinki, and, in spite of the agreement on the so-  
 14 called Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, only in 1990, after the collapse of  
 15 the Soviet sphere of influence, although before the collapse of the Soviet Union  
 16 itself, was it possible to create the Organization for Security and Cooperation  
 17 in Europe (OSCE).

18 In this context, it is truly remarkable that the 1950s should have witnessed  
 19 the foundation of an organization that brought all the European countries  
 20 together and thereafter remained successfully active throughout the whole  
 21 period of the so-called cold war. Of course, it was neither an economic nor a  
 22 political organization, but an organization linked to one aspect of the cultural  
 23 field of social life: football. The organization in question was (and is) the  
 24 Union Européenne de Football / European Football Association (UEFA) and  
 25 this paper will discuss the reasons for such a remarkable achievement. A brief  
 26 survey is made of the constitution, membership and organization of UEFA in  
 27 Section 2. Section 3 shows how UEFA has been able to organize regular  
 28 competitions between national and club teams from the whole continent  
 29 without any significant problems, regardless of the different economic and  
 30 political systems, since the mid-1950s. Special attention is given to the most  
 31 prestigious competitions organized under the auspices of UEFA, namely the  
 32 European Championship, the Champions Cup / Champions League, the Cup  
 33 Winners' Cup, and the Inter-Cities Fairs Cup / UEFA Cup / Europa League.  
 34 This did not take place without a number of political problems having to be  
 35 faced, as Section 4 shows. Some concluding remarks follow.

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## 1 Constitution, Membership and Organization

2  
3 UEFA was founded in Basle on 15 June 1954, as a result of the decision  
4 taken in 1953 by the Fédération Internationale de Football / International  
5 Football Association (FIFA), founded in 1904, to stimulate the formation of  
6 football associations at a continental level. The first UEFA Congress took  
7 place in Vienna on 2 March 1955.

8 UEFA originally had thirty one members: the national football  
9 associations of Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia,  
10 Denmark, England, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the  
11 German Democratic Republic, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Northern  
12 Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal,  
13 Romania, Saarland, Scotland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the USSR, Wales  
14 and Yugoslavia<sup>1</sup>. The football association of Saarland ceased to be a member  
15 in 1957, after the referendum that determined the territory becoming a German  
16 state (and not a French department). Until the end of the cold war, there were  
17 six additions to the member list: Malta (1960), Cyprus (1962), Turkey (1962),  
18 Liechtenstein (1974), San Marino (1988) and the Faroe Islands (1990).

19 After the end of the cold war, membership activity increased for a while.  
20 The German Democratic Republic ceased to be a separate UEFA member  
21 when the country was absorbed by the Federal Republic of Germany (1990).  
22 The divisions of Czechoslovakia, the USSR and Yugoslavia produced a net  
23 increase of fourteen members between 1992 and 1996. The seventeen new  
24 members were Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Czech  
25 Republic, Croatia, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova,  
26 Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Ukraine and Yugoslavia (later Serbia-Montenegro).  
27 Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, also  
28 emanating from the USSR, became members of the Asian Football  
29 Confederation. During the same period, Israel and Andorra were also accepted  
30 as members. In the case of Israel, the reason was that it was impossible to link  
31 it peacefully to the Asian Football Confederation, to which it belonged  
32 geographically. 21<sup>st</sup>-century admissions include Kazakhstan (which preferred  
33 to switch from Asia to Europe for football purposes) in 2002, Serbia and  
34 Montenegro as a result of the political split between the two countries in 2006,  
35 Gibraltar in 2013 (overcoming Spanish resistance), and Kosovo in 2016  
36 (overcoming Serbian resistance), raising the present membership to fifty-five.

37 Thus, it may be said that no European country was excluded from UEFA,  
38 regardless of its economic and political orientation, especially during the  
39 period of the cold war. As an unplanned symbol of this fact, the very first  
40 match of the first competition organized by UEFA was played between teams  
41 from two countries with different economic and political orientations, which  
42 did not maintain diplomatic relations<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>Notice the separation of the football associations of the various parts of the United Kingdom, which dates back to the time of the institutionalization of the game in the British Isles.

<sup>2</sup> The match between Sporting Lisbon (representing Portugal) and Partizan Belgrade (representing Yugoslavia) for the Champions Cup of the 1955-1956 season was played in Lisbon on 4 September 1955 (ending appropriately in a three-all draw).

1 In spite of the absence of any discrimination in terms of UEFA  
 2 membership based on a country's economic and political orientation, it is  
 3 possible to say that the leadership of the organization during the cold war years  
 4 always belonged to the market economy members. This was clearly expressed  
 5 in the choices for the siege of the organization, for the President, Secretary-  
 6 General and membership of the Executive Committee, and also of venues for  
 7 the main competitions and matches.

8 The siege of UEFA was established in Paris between its foundation and  
 9 1959. Then it moved to Switzerland, first to Bern, and in 1995 to Nyon (where  
 10 a House of European Football was inaugurated in 1999).

11 During the six and a half decades of its existence, UEFA has had nine  
 12 presidents: Ebbe Schwartz (Denmark, 1954-1962), Gustav Wiederkehr  
 13 (Switzerland, 1962-1972), Sandor Barcs (Hungary, as interim president after  
 14 Wiederkehr's death), Artemio Franchi (Italy, 1973-1983), Jacques George  
 15 (France, 1983-1990), Lenhart Johansson (Sweden, 1990-2005), Michel Platini  
 16 (France, 2006-2015), Angel María Villar (Spain, as interim president after  
 17 Platini's suspension) and Alexander Čeferin (Slovenia, 2016 to the present).  
 18 Only almost three decades after the end of the cold war, did the organization  
 19 have an elected President who came from a country that had had a centrally  
 20 planned economy and a communist political regime (Barcs' interim office  
 21 between 1972 and 1973 being clearly an unexpected exception to the rule of  
 22 prevalence of Western origin).

23 The rule of prevalence of Western origin also applies to the eight men who  
 24 have held the position of Secretary-General of the organization: Henri  
 25 Delaunay (France, 1954-1955), Pierre Delaunay (France, 1956-1959), Hans  
 26 Bangeter (Switzerland, 1960-1988), Gerhard Eigner (Germany, 1989-2003),  
 27 Lars-Christer Olsson (Sweden, 2004-2007), David Taylor (Scotland, 2007-  
 28 2009), Gianni Infantino (Switzerland, 2009-2016) and Theodore Theodoridis  
 29 (Greece, 2016 to the present).

30 Two Hungarians (Gustav Sebes 1955-1960, and Sandor Barcs 1962-1978),  
 31 one Czechoslovakian (Vaclav Jira 1978-1992) and one Soviet (Nikolay  
 32 Ryashentsev 1982-1994) were Vice-Presidents of UEFA during the cold war  
 33 years, but they amounted to only 18% of the 22 people performing that  
 34 function, and nobody from the countries with centrally planned economies and  
 35 communist political regimes was ever chosen as Treasurer. Membership of the  
 36 Executive Committee was also clearly biased against those countries: only 6  
 37 out of 39 (15%) of members came from those countries.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>As a matter of fact, the situation did not change much after the end of the cold war: only two vice-presidents, Grigoriy Surkis (Ukraine) and Sándor Csányi (Hungary), came from countries that had had centrally planned economies and communist political regimes; no treasurer came from those countries; and membership of the Executive Committee rose to only 27% (12 places out of 45).

## Competitions

As might be expected, UEFA's main activity has been the organization of regular football competitions. When the organization was founded, there were proposals for three different competitions:

a) A national team competition similar to the World Cup already organized by FIFA – This led to the European Championship, first organized in 1958-1960, and at four-year intervals since then.

b) A club team competition between the national champions of member countries – This led to two different competitions: the Champions Cup, first organized in 1955-1956, and thereafter on a yearly basis (since 1991-1992, this competition has been known as the Champions League); and the Cup Winners' Cup, first organized in 1960-1961, and thereafter on a yearly basis until 1998-1999 (in 1999-2000 this competition was merged with the UEFA Cup).

c) A competition between teams from the main European cities – This led to the Inter-Cities Fairs Cup, first organized between 1955 and 1958, then between 1958 and 1960, with the participants being city teams or club teams representing the cities. From 1960-1961 to 1964-1965, this competition became a yearly competition between club teams acting as representatives of the cities; after that the competition involved the best European teams not participating either in the Champions Cup or in the Cup Winners' Cup, being renamed the UEFA Cup in 1971-1972. It absorbed the Cup Winners' Cup in 1999 and became the Europa League in 2009-2010.

In 1955, UEFA also took over responsibility from FIFA for the organization of a junior national team competition, which had begun in 1948 with only European participants.

The number of UEFA competitions was later greatly increased in several ways:

a) Additional club team competitions – The UEFA Super Cup played between the winners of the Champions Cup and the Cup Winners' Cup, since 1974 (after 2000, the Cup Winners' Cup winner was replaced by the UEFA Cup winner), and the Intertoto Cup, a summer competition started in 1961 outside UEFA jurisdiction, included in the UEFA calendar in 1995, and discontinued since 2008.

b) A wider range of junior national team competitions differentiated by age groups: under-17 since 1980; under-19 since 1974; under-21 since 1992.

c) Women's competitions, namely a women's European Championship for national teams since 1984, the UEFA Women's Cup for club teams since 2001-2002, the European Women's under-18 national team championship since 1997-1998 (which became under-19 in 2001-2002), and the European Women's under-17 national team championship since 2007-2008.

d) (Male) futsal (an indoor five-a-side version of the outdoor eleven-a-side game) competitions, namely the European Futsal Championship for national teams since 1995, and the Futsal Cup for club teams since 2002.

e) (Male) competitions organized together with other continental football associations, namely the Intercontinental Cup, a yearly club team competition between the winner of the Champions Cup and the winner of the Copa

Libertadores da América started in 1960, which became the FIFA Club World Cup in 2006, and the Meridian Cup, a youth competition organized with the African Football Confederation since 1997.

f) A (male) amateur competition between regional teams, the Regions Cup, which existed between 1965 and 1978, and was resumed in 1996.

g) A (male) junior club team competition, the Youth League, parallel to the Champions League, since 2013.

The (male) European Championship between national teams and the three main cups for club teams – Champions Cup / Champions League, Cup Winners' Cup and Inter-Cities Fairs Cup / UEFA Cup / Europa League – have always featured as the main competitions organized by UEFA and deserve some additional attention.

### *The European Championship*

Participation in the first European Championship (1958-1960) was far from enthusiastic: only seventeen countries – Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, the German Democratic Republic, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Turkey, the USSR and Yugoslavia – played the qualification matches, leading to a final stage held in France. However, the absences had nothing to do with politics, as all the three political groups of democratic, right-wing authoritarian and communist countries were evenly represented. The absences were simply due to a lack of interest in a new competition that as yet carried no prestige<sup>4</sup>.

Such a situation changed during the 1960s. By the end of the decade, all of UEFA's members were to participate in the competition, held every four years, with a final stage being held in the same year as the Olympic Games took place, and with qualifying matches being played during the previous two years. This scheme and the regularity of the event have remained unchanged until today, with very few absences.

Table 1 summarizes the venues for the final stages and the winners of the European Championships.

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<sup>4</sup> It should be remembered that a similar situation had befallen the first FIFA world championship, held in Uruguay in 1930, with only fifteen participants out of forty-seven FIFA members.

**Table 1.** *Venues for the Final Stages and Winners of the European Championships*

Years	Number of participants	Venue for the final stages	Winner
1958-1960	17	France	USSR
1962-1964	29 (1 withdrawal)	Spain	Spain
1966-1968	31	Italy	Italy
1970-1972	32	Belgium	F. R. Germany
1974-1976	32	Yugoslavia	Czechoslovakia
1978-1980	32	Italy	F. R. Germany
1982-1984	33	France	France
1986-1988	33	F. R. Germany	Netherlands
1990-1992	34	Sweden	Denmark
1994-1996	48	England	Germany
1998-2000	51	Belgium / Netherlands	France
2002-2004	51	Portugal	Greece
2006-2008	52	Austria / Switzerland	Spain
2010-2012	53	Poland / Ukraine	Spain
2014-2016	54	France	Portugal

Source: [www.uefa.com](http://www.uefa.com).

The venues for the final stages show a clear asymmetry towards countries with market economies and democratic regimes before the end of the cold war: six times out of eight. The two exceptions were Spain, a market economy but an authoritarian right-wing regime, which was chosen as organizer of the final stage in 1964, and Yugoslavia, which was experimenting with market socialism when it was chosen to organize the final stage in 1976. COMECON / Warsaw Pact countries were never awarded the organization of final stages.<sup>5</sup>

In the same period, COMECON / Warsaw Pact countries performed better in terms of victories: the USSR and Czechoslovakia managed to register their names on the roll of honour at the same level as Spain, Italy, France and the Netherlands, and only below the Federal Republic of Germany (two victories).<sup>6</sup>

#### *The Champions Cup / Champions League*

Sixteen clubs were invited to participate in the first Champions Cup in the 1955-1956 season: they came from Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Saarland, Scotland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia. The competition was organized on a simple knock-out basis, which would remain

<sup>5</sup>Only in 2012 two former COMECON / Warsaw Pact countries, Poland and Ukraine, jointly hosted the final stage of the European Championship. The 2020 final stage will be played in several cities around Europe: Amsterdam, Baku, Bilbao, Bucharest, Budapest, Copenhagen, Dublin, Glasgow, London, Munich, Rome and Saint-Petersburg. Four out of twelve are located in former COMECON / Warsaw Pact countries.

<sup>6</sup>Actually, the performance of Eastern Europe national teams was even worse after the end of the cold war. Denmark, Greece and Portugal (one victory each) joined the list of winners, France and Germany also had one victory each and Spain got two victories.



in force until the 1990-1991 season. From 1956-1957 onwards, the Champions Cup was open to the national champions and the winner of the previous year's Champions Cup (and the runner-up in the national championship whenever the national champion was also the previous season's European champion). It may be said that, by the early 1960s, all the national champions of the different European countries were participating in the competition.<sup>7</sup>

Table 2 presents the list of the cities chosen as the venues for the final matches of the Champions Cup and the respective winners.

**Table 2.** *Venues for Finals and Winners of the Champions Cup/Champions League*

Year	Number of participants	Venue for final	Winner
1955-1956	16	Paris	Real Madrid
1956-1957	22	Madrid	Real Madrid
1957-1958	24	Brussels	Real Madrid
1958-1959	29 (2 withdrawals)	Stuttgart	Real Madrid
1959-1960	27 (1 withdrawal)	Glasgow	Real Madrid
1960-1961	28 (2 withdrawals)	Berne	SL Benfica (Lisbon)
1961-1962	29 (1 withdrawal)	Amsterdam	SL Benfica (Lisbon)
1962-1963	30	London	AC Milan
1963-1964	31	Vienna	Internazionale (Milan)
1964-1965	32	Milan	Internazionale (Milan)
1965-1966	31	Brussels	Real Madrid
1966-1967	34 (1 withdrawal)	Lisbon	Celtic (Glasgow)
1967-1968	32 (1 withdrawal)	London	Manchester United
1968-1969	32 (3 withdrawals)	Madrid	AC Milan
1969-1970	33	Milan	Feyenoord (Rotterdam)
1970-1971	33	London	Ajax (Amsterdam)
1971-1972	33	Rotterdam	Ajax (Amsterdam)
1972-1973	30	Belgrade	Ajax (Amsterdam)
1973-1974	31	Brussels	Bayern (Munich)
1974-1975	30 (1 withdrawal)	Paris	Bayern (Munich)
1975-1976	32	Glasgow	Bayern (Munich)
1976-1977	31	Rome	Liverpool FC
1977-1978	33	London	Liverpool FC
1978-1979	33	Munich	Nottingham Forest
1979-1980	33	Madrid	Nottingham Forest

<sup>7</sup>In 1991-1992, the Champions Cup (after 1992-1993 called the Champions League) underwent several changes in its format and rules for participation: the traditional knock-out scheme was combined with a group stage (in the seasons from 1999-2000 to 2002-2003 two group stages); for a while (from 1994-1995 to 1996-1997) participation was restricted to the champions of countries whose teams had performed best in previous editions of the European club competitions; afterwards the champions of all European countries were again allowed to take part, and participation was further extended to include the highest placed clubs in the national championships of those countries whose teams had performed best in previous editions of the European club competitions. Of course, all of these changes were closely linked to the increase in UEFA's revenue from TV advertising and sponsorship: the aim was to increase the number of matches played by clubs from countries that had a higher per capita income and where football enjoyed greater popularity.

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Year	Number of participants	Venue for final	Winner
1980-1981	33	Paris	Liverpool FC
1981-1982	33	Rotterdam	Aston Villa (Birmingham)
1982-1983	33	Athens	Hamburg SV
1983-1984	31	Rome	Liverpool FC
1984-1985	32	Brussels	Juventus (Turin)
1985-1986	31	Seville	Steaua (Bucharest)
1986-1987	31	Vienna	FC Porto
1987-1988	32 (1 withdrawal)	Stuttgart	PSV (Eindhoven)
1988-1989	31	Barcelona	AC Milan
1989-1990	32	Vienna	AC Milan
1990-1991	32	Bari	Red Star (Belgrade)
1991-1992	32	London	FC Barcelona
1992-1993	36	Munich	Olympique Marseille
1993-1994	46	Athens	AC Milan
1994-1995	24	Vienna	Ajax (Amsterdam)
1995-1996	24	Rome	Juventus (Turin)
1996-1997	24	Munich	Borussia Dortmund
1997-1998	53	Amsterdam	Real Madrid
1998-1999	54	Barcelona	Manchester United
1999-2000	71	Paris	Real Madrid
2000-2001	72	Milan	Bayern Munich
2001-2002	72	Glasgow	Real Madrid
2002-2003	72	Manchester	AC Milan
2003-2004	72	Gelsenkirchen	FC Porto
2004-2005	72	Istanbul	Liverpool FC
2005-2006	74	Paris	FC Barcelona
2006-2007	74	Athens	AC Milan
2007-2008	76	Moscow	Manchester United
2008-2009	76	Roma	FC Barcelona
2009-2010	76	Madrid	Internazionale (Milan)
2010-2011	76	London	FC Barcelona
2011-2012	76	Munich	Chelsea (London)
2012-2013	76	London	Bayern Munich
2013-2014	76	Lisbon	Real Madrid
2014-2015	77	Berlin	FC Barcelona
2015-2016	78	Milan	Real Madrid
2016-2017	78	Cardiff	Real Madrid
2017-2018	79	Kiev	Real Madrid
2018-2019	79	Madrid	Liverpool FC
2019-2020	79	Istanbul	?

Source: [www.uefa.com](http://www.uefa.com).

Once more, a complete asymmetry is to be found in the cities chosen as the venues for the finals: only countries with market economies were chosen.

Again, the one possible exception is Belgrade, which hosted the 1973 final at a time when the market socialism process was being followed in Yugoslavia.<sup>8</sup>

As far as victories go, only the Romanian club Steaua Bucharest in 1986 and the Yugoslavian (nowadays Serbian) club Red Star Belgrade in 1991, from among all the Eastern European competitors, have won this competition. This may be deemed a very poor performance as the following table shows.

**Table 3. Summary of Champions Cup / Champions League winners**

country		city		club	
Spain	18	Madrid	13	Real Madrid	13
		Barcelona	5	FC Barcelona	5
Italy	12	Milan	10	AC Milan	7
				Inter	3
		Turin	2	Juventus	2
England	13	Liverpool	6	Liverpool FC	6
		Manchester	3	Manchester United	3
		Nottingham	2	Nottingham Forest	2
		Birmingham	1	Aston Villa	1
		London	1	Chelsea	1
Italy	12	Milan	10	AC Milan	7
				Inter	3
		Turin	2	Juventus	2
F. R. G. / Germany	7	Munich	5	Bayern	5
		Hamburg	1	Hamburg SV	1
		Dortmund	1	Borussia Dortmund	1
Netherlands	6	Amsterdam	4	Ajax	4
		Rotterdam	1	Feyenoord	1
		Eindhoven	1	PSV	1
Portugal	4	Lisbon	2	SL Benfica	2
		Porto	2	FC Porto	2
Scotland	1	Glasgow	1	Celtic	1
Romania	1	Bucharest	1	Steaua	1
Yugoslavia / Serbia	1	Belgrade	1	Red Star	1
France	1	Marseilles	1	Olympique Marseille	1

Source: computation from Table 2.

### *The Cup Winners' Cup*

The Cup Winners' Cup was organized from 1960-1961 to 1998-1999 between the winners of the national cups (or the runners up, if the winners were to participate in the Champions Cup). As in the case of the Champions Cup, the previous year's winner was also allowed to participate (unless it was able to participate in the Champions Cup). The competition was always played on a simple knock-out basis.

Table 4 shows the list of the cities where the final was played and the respective winners.

<sup>8</sup>Only in 2008 and 2018 did former Warsaw Pact capitals, Moscow and Kiev respectively, host a Champions League final.

1 **Table 4.** *Venues for the Finals and Winners of the Cup Winners' Cup*

Year	Number of participants	Venue for the final	Winner
1960-1961	10	Glasgow – Florence *	Fiorentina
1961-1962	23	Glasgow – Stuttgart **	Atlético Madrid
1962-1963	25 (1 withdrawal)	Rotterdam	Tottenham (London)
1963-1964	30	Brussels – Antwerp **	Sporting CP (Lisbon)
1964-1965	31	London	West Ham (London)
1965-1966	31	Glasgow	Borussia Dortmund
1966-1967	32	Nuremberg	Bayern (Munich)
1967-1968	32	Rotterdam	AC Milan
1968-1969	30 (3 withdrawals)	Basle	Slovan (Bratislava)
1969-1970	33	Vienna	Manchester City
1970-1971	34	Athens – Athens **	Chelsea (London)
1971-1972	34	Barcelona	Glasgow Rangers
1972-1973	32	Salonika	AC Milan
1973-1974	32	Rotterdam	FC Magdeburg
1974-1975	32 (1 withdrawal)	Basle	Dynamo Kiev
1975-1976	32	Brussels	Anderlecht (Brussels)
1976-1977	33	Amsterdam	Hamburg SV
1977-1978	33	Paris	Anderlecht (Brussels)
1978-1979	31	Basle	FC Barcelona
1979-1980	34 (1 withdrawal)	Brussels	Valencia CF
1980-1981	34	Dusseldorf	Dinamo Tbilisi
1981-1982	33	Barcelona	FC Barcelona
1982-1983	34	Gothenburg	Aberdeen FC
1983-1984	33	Basle	Juventus (Turin)
1984-1985	32	Rotterdam	Everton (Liverpool)
1985-1986	31	Lyon	Dynamo Kiev
1986-1987	32	Athens	Ajax (Amsterdam)
1987-1988	33	Strasbourg	KV Mechelen
1988-1989	33	Berne	FC Barcelona
1989-1990	33	Gothenburg	Sampdoria (Genoa)
1990-1991	33	Rotterdam	Manchester United
1991-1992	34	Lisbon	Werder Bremen
1992-1993	36	London	Parma FC
1993-1994	43	Copenhagen	Arsenal (London)
1994-1995	44	Paris	Real Zaragoza
1995-1996	48	Brussels	Paris Saint Germain
1996-1997	49	Rotterdam	FC Barcelona
1997-1998	47	Stockholm	Chelsea (London)
1998-1999	49	Birmingham	Lazio (Rome)

2 Source: [www.uefa.com](http://www.uefa.com).3 \*This final was played on a two-leg home-and-away basis; \*\* These finals were replayed after  
4 a draw in the first match.

5

6 No final match in this competition was ever played in a non-market

7 economy, nor even in Yugoslavia. However, the competition was won five

8 times by clubs from the COMECON / Warsaw Pact area, namely Slovan

9 Bratislava (1969), FC Magdeburg (1974), Dynamo Kiev (1975 and 1986) and

Dinamo Tbilisi (1981). Anyway, once more, this European area shows a rather poor performance, as can be seen in the following table.

**Table 5. Summary of the Winners of the Cup Winners' Cup**

Country		City		Club	
England	8	London	5	Chelsea	2
				Tottenham	1
				West Ham	1
				Arsenal	1
		Manchester	2	Manchester City	1
				Manchester United	1
Spain	7	Liverpool	1	Everton	1
		Barcelona	4	FC Barcelona	4
		Madrid	1	Atlético Madrid	1
		Valencia	1	Valencia CF	1
Italy	7	Zaragoza	1	Real Zaragoza	1
		Milan	2	AC Milan	2
		Florence	1	Fiorentina	1
		Turin	1	Juventus	1
		Genoa	1	Sampdoria	1
		Parma	1	Parma FC	1
F. R. G. / Germany	4	Rome	1	Lazio	1
		Dortmund	1	Borussia Dortmund	1
		Munich	1	Bayern	1
		Hamburg	1	Hamburg SV	1
G. D. R. / Germany	1	Bremen	1	Werder Bremen	1
		Magdeburg	1	FC Magdeburg	1
Belgium	3	Brussels	2	Anderlecht	2
		Malines	1	KV Mechelen	1
U. S. S. R. / Ukraine	2	Kiev	2	Dynamo Kiev	2
U. S. S. R. / Georgia	1	Tbilisi	1	Dinamo Tbilisi	1
Scotland	2	Glasgow	1	Glasgow Rangers	1
		Aberdeen	1	Aberdeen FC	1
Netherlands	1	Amsterdam	1	Ajax	1
Portugal	1	Lisbon	1	Sporting CP	1
Czechoslovakia / Slovakia	1	Bratislava	1	Slovan	1
France	1	Paris	1	Paris Saint-Germain	1

Source: Computation from Table 4.

### *The Inter-Cities Fairs Cup / UEFA Cup / Europe League*

As explained above, the first edition of the Inter-Cities Fairs Cup was played between 1955 and 1958, and the second edition between 1958 and 1960, with either city teams or club teams representing the cities as participants. The first edition combined both a group stage and a knock-out stage, but the second one adopted a pure knock-out format, which remained in force until 2003-2004. Since 1960-1961, this competition (after 1971-1972 called the UEFA Cup) has been a yearly competition between club teams. In the early 1960s, clubs still participated as representatives of cities, but since 1964-1965 the teams involved have been the highest placed clubs in the national championships of the previous year not participating in either the Champions Cup or the Cup Winners' Cup. The previous year's winner was

also allowed to participate, as was the case in the other European club competitions (unless it was able to participate in either of the other European club competitions).<sup>9</sup>

Table 6 shows the list of the cities where the final was played and the respective winners.

**Table 6.** *Venues for the finals and winners of the Inter-Cities Fairs Cup / UEFA Cup / Europe League*

Years	Number of participants	Venue for final	Winner
1955-1958	12 (2 withdrawals)	London – Barcelona *	FC Barcelona
1958-1960	16	Birmingham – Barcelona *	FC Barcelona
1960-1961	16	Birmingham – Rome *	AS Roma
1961-1962	28	Valencia – Barcelona *	Valencia CF
1962-1963	32	Zagreb – Valencia *	Valencia CF
1963-1964	32	Barcelona	Real Zaragoza
1964-1965	48	Turin	Ferencvaros (Budapest)
1965-1966	48	Barcelona – Zaragoza *	FC Barcelona
1966-1967	48	Zagreb – Leeds *	Dinamo Zagreb
1967-1968	48	Leeds – Budapest *	Leeds United
1968-1969	64 (2 withdrawals)	Newcastle – Budapest *	Newcastle United
1969-1970	64	Brussels – London *	Arsenal (London)
1970-1971	64	Turin – Leeds *	Leeds United
1971-1972	64 (2 withdrawals)	Wolverhampton – London *	Tottenham (London)
1972-1973	64 (1 withdrawal)	Liverpool – Mönchengladbach *	Liverpool FC
1973-1974	64	London – Rotterdam *	Feyenoord (Rotterdam)
1974-1975	64 (1 withdrawal)	Düsseldorf – Enschede *	Borussia Mönchengladbach
1975-1976	64	Liverpool - Brugge *	Liverpool FC
1976-1977	64	Turin – Bilbao *	Juventus (Turin)
1977-1978	64	Bastia – Eindhoven *	PSV (Eindhoven)
1978-1979	64	Belgrade – Düsseldorf *	Borussia Mönchengladbach
1979-1980	64	Mönchengladbach – Frankfurt *	Eintracht (Frankfurt)
1980-1981	64	Ipswich – Amsterdam *	Ipswich Town
1981-1982	64	Gothenburg – Hamburg *	IFK (Gothenburg)
1982-1983	64	Brussels – Lisbon *	Anderlecht (Brussels)
1983-1984	64	Brussels – London *	Tottenham (London)
1984-1985	64	Szekesfehervar – Madrid *	Real Madrid
1985-1986	64	Madrid – Berlin *	Real Madrid
1986-1987	64	Gothenburg – Dundee *	IFK (Gothenburg)
1987-1988	64	Barcelona – Leverkusen *	Bayer Leverkusen

<sup>9</sup>Since 1999-2000, the winners of national cups have also participated in the UEFA Cup, which has also started to receive some of the clubs eliminated from the Champions League. Since the 2004-2005 season, the UEFA Cup has included a group stage combined with several knock-out stages. From 2009-2010 on, it was renamed Europa League.

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Years	Number of participants	Venue for final	Winner
1988-1989	64	Naples – Stuttgart *	SSC Napoli
1989-1990	65	Turin – Avellino *	Juventus (Turin)
1990-1991	64	Milan – Rome *	Inter (Milan)
1991-1992	64	Turin – Amsterdam *	Ajax (Amsterdam)
1992-1993	64	Dortmund – Turin *	Juventus (Turin)
1993-1994	64	Vienna – Milan *	Inter (Milan)
1994-1995	91	Parma – Milan *	Parma FC
1995-1996	98	Munich – Bordeaux *	Bayern (Munich)
1996-1997	102	Gelsenkirchen – Milan *	Schalke 04 (Gelsenkirchen)
1997-1998	102	Paris	Inter (Milan)
1998-1999	102	Moscow	Parma FC
1999-2000	90	Copenhagen	Galatasaray (Istanbul)
2000-2001	93	Dortmund	Liverpool FC
2001-2002	93	Rotterdam	Feyenoord (Rotterdam)
2002-2003	93	Seville	FC Porto
2003-2004	92	Gothenburg	Valencia CF
2004-2005	125	Lisbon	CSKA Moscow
2005-2006	124	Eindhoven	Sevilla FC
2006-2007	123	Glasgow	Sevilla FC
2007-2008	137	Manchester	Zenit (Saint Petersburg)
2008-2009	195	Istanbul	Shakhtar Donetsk
2009-2010	192	Hamburg	Atlético Madrid
2010-2011	194	Dublin	FC Porto
2011-2012	194	Bucharest	Atlético Madrid
2012-2013	193	Amsterdam	Chelsea
2013-2014	194	Turin	Sevilla FC
2014-2015	195	Warsaw	Sevilla FC
2015-2016	192	Basel	Sevilla FC
2016-2017	192	Stockholm	Manchester United
2017-2018	190	Lyon	Atlético Madrid
2018-2019	213	Baku	Chelsea (London)
2019-2020	213	Gdansk	?

Source: [www.uefa.com](http://www.uefa.com).

\*These finals was played on a two-leg home-and-away basis.

Only after the end of the cold war, were cities in Eastern Europe chosen to organize the final match of the UEFA Cup / Europe League.<sup>10</sup> Note that as, until 1997-1998, the finals were mostly played on a two-leg home-and-away basis, several of these final matches were played in Eastern Europe: in the Yugoslavian (now Croatian) city of Zagreb in 1963 and 1967, in the Hungarian cities of Budapest in 1968 and 1969 and Szekesfehervar in 1985, and in the Yugoslavian (now Serbian) city of Belgrade in 1979.

<sup>10</sup>Namely Moscow in 1999, Bucharest in 2012, Warsaw in 2015 and Gdansk in 2020.

Once more, clubs from Eastern Europe seldom appear in the winners' list, as the following table shows: Ferencvaros from Budapest in 1965 and Dinamo Zagreb in 1967 were the only exceptions during the cold war period.<sup>11</sup>

**Table 7.** Summary of the winners of the Inter-Cities Fairs Cup / UEFA Cup

Country		City		Club	
Spain	17	Seville	5	Sevilla FC	5
		Madrid	5	Atlético Madrid	3
				Real Madrid	2
		Barcelona	3	FC Barcelona	3
		Valencia	3	Valencia CF	3
		Zaragoza	1	Real Zaragoza	1
England	13	London	5	Tottenham	2
				Chelsea	2
				Arsenal	1
		Liverpool	3	Liverpool FC	3
		Leeds	2	Leeds United	2
		Newcastle	1	Newcastle United	1
		Ipswich	1	Ipswich Town	1
		Manchester	1	Manchester United	1
Italy	10	Turin	3	Juventus	3
		Milan	3	Inter	3
		Parma	2	Parma FC	2
		Rome	1	AS Roma	1
		Naples	1	SSC Napoli	1
Germany	6	Mönchengladbach	2	Borussia Mönchengladbach	2
		Frankfurt	1	Eintracht	1
		Leverkussen	1	Bayer Leverkusen	1
		Munich	1	Bayern	1
		Gelsenkirchen	1	Schalke 04	1
Netherlands	4	Rotterdam	2	Feyenoord	2
		Eindhoven	1	PSV	1
		Amsterdam	1	Ajax	1
Portugal	2	Porto	2	FC Porto	2
Sweden	2	Gothenburg	2	IFK	2
Russia	2	Moscow	1	CSKA Moscow	1
		Saint Petersburg	1	Zenit	1
Belgium	1	Brussels	1	Anderlecht	1
Hungary	1	Budapest	1	Ferencvaros	1
Yugoslavia / Croatia	1	Zagreb	1	Dinamo Zagreb	1
Turkey	1	Istanbul	1	Galatasaray	1
Ukraine	1	Donetsk	1	Shaktar	1

Source: Computation from Table 6.

## Political Problems

Although political problems never paralysed the functioning of UEFA and the organization of its competitions, this does not mean that such problems did

<sup>11</sup>After the end of the cold war CSKA Moscow, Zenit Saint Petersburg and Shaktar Donetsk also joined the list.



not exist. They may be classified under three main types: visa problems, boycotts and exclusions.

As UEFA (2004) acknowledges “[...] visa problems arose for delegations, [...], teams and media representatives, [...], not to mention spectators”. The most significant visa problem was the refusal by Spanish authorities to issue visas to allow the Spanish and Soviet national teams to play the quarter-finals of the first European Championship. This led to the exclusion of Spain from the final stage of the 1958-1960 European Championship. However, Spain was assigned the organization of the next final stage in 1964, in which the USSR national team was one of the participants, proving that the previous diplomatic difficulties had been overcome.

Boycotts were attempted twice by COMECON / Warsaw Pact countries. In 1961, the German Democratic Republic withdrew from the International Youth Tournament to be held in Portugal, and Hungary and Yugoslavia followed suit out of solidarity. In the following season, the Portuguese authorities retaliated by refusing to grant visas making it possible for the Motor Jena team from the German Democratic Republic to come to Portugal to play the quarter-finals of the Cup Winners Cup. As a consequence, the Portuguese representative, Leixões, was forced to play both the home and away fixtures in the German Democratic Republic (with unfavourable results). The retaliation character of the decision was clear, because in the previous knock-out stage Progresul Bucharest from Romania, a communist country that had participated in the 1961 International Youth Tournament in Portugal, had been given visas to play in Portugal. In 1968, following the crisis triggered by the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact countries, teams from the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, and the German Democratic Republic pulled out of UEFA club competitions. In both cases, the boycott petered out.

To sum up: UEFA never gave in to pressures to take political decisions against its members during the cold war years. Such a strategy paid off, as visa refusals to teams and boycotts remained few in number and quite limited in time. It was after the end of the cold war that the only exclusion for political reasons was to occur: as a consequence of the United Nations sanctions against Yugoslavia, the country was forbidden to play the final stage of the 1992 European Championship for which it had qualified<sup>12</sup>. This isolated breach in the political neutrality of UEFA was again short-lived and had no long-term consequences.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Curiously, Denmark, called in to replace Yugoslavia, then became European champions.

<sup>13</sup>Other exclusions occurred, both during the cold war period and more recently, but they were the consequence of bad behaviour of fans. The most important case was the exclusion of English teams for five years after the incidents at the final of the Champions Cup of 1985 in Brussels that led to the death of 39 people. Moreover, political clashes have led to decisions to avoid matches between some pairs of countries as much as possible. Active restrictions of this type today include Armenia / Azerbaijan, Gibraltar / Spain, Kosovo / Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo / Serbia and Russia / Ukraine matches.

## Concluding Remarks

UEFA's success as the only pan-European organization to thrive during the cold war years may be explained by two reasons: the popularity of football, and UEFA's political neutrality. As for the sport's popularity, it is significant that television programme exchanges between the two rival international radio and television broadcasting organizations, Eurovision and Intervision, during the cold war years consisted mainly of broadcasts of football matches. As for political neutrality, the attitude towards the political problems mentioned in Section 4 was quite clear.

Moreover, the importance of football grew with the increase in disposable income and leisure time, which happened all over Europe, albeit at different rates in different countries. Thus, football gradually became a key common element in European culture. Poor representation on UEFA's highest bodies, an almost complete absence from major events, and even a fairly unsuccessful participation in UEFA's competitions could not deter COMECON / Warsaw Pact countries from participating in such a popular endeavour.

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 INTERVISION: <http://www.transdiffusion.org/intertel/gallery/intervision/>  
 National football associations (see appendix).

**Appendix. UEFA members**

Name of national football association and date of foundation according to the national football association website when available, or according to the FIFA website otherwise. Date of FIFA affiliation according to the FIFA website. Date of UEFA affiliation according to the UEFA website.

Country	National football association	Foundation	FIFA affiliation	UEFA affiliation	Website
Albania	Federata Shqiptare e Futbollit	1930	1932	1954	www.fshf.org
Andorra	Federació Andorrana de Futbol	1994	1996	1996	www.faf.ad
Armenia	Football Federation of Armenia	1992	1992	1992	www.ffa.am
Austria	Österreichischer Fussball-Bund	1904	1905	1954	www.oefb.at
Azerbaijan	Azərbaycan Futbol Federasiyaları Assosiasiyası	1992	1994	1994	www.affa.az
Belarus (a)	Belaruckia Federatsia Futbola	1989	1992	1993	www.bff.by
Belgium	Union Royale Belge des Sociétés de Football-Association	1895	1904	1954	www.footbel.com
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Nogometni Fudbalski Savez Bosne i Hercegovine	1992	1996	1998	www.nfsbih.ba
Bulgaria	Bulgarski Futbolen Suyuz	1923	1924	1954	www.bfunion.bg
Croatia (b)	Hrvatski Nogometni Savez	1912	1992	1993	www.hns-cff.hr
Cyprus	Kupriaké Omospondia Podosfairou	1934	1948	1962	www.cfa.com.cy
Czech Republic (c)	Ceskomoravsky Fotbalovy Svaz	1901	1907	1954	www.fotbal.cz
Denmark	Dansk Boldspil-Union	1889	1904	1954	www.dbu.dk
England	Football Association	1863	1905	1954	www.thefa.com
Estonia (d)	Eesti Jalgpalli Liit	1921	1923	1992	www.jalgpall.ee
Faroe Islands	Fótbóltssamband Føroya	1979	1988	1990	www.football.fo

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Country	National football association	Foundation	FIFA affiliation	UEFA affiliation	Website
Finland	Suomen Palloliitto	1907	1908	1954	www.palloliitto.fi
France (e)	Fédération Française de Football	1919	1904	1954	www.fff.fr
Georgia	Georgian Football Association	1990	1992	1992	www.gff.ge
Germany (f)	Deutscher Fussball-Bund	1900	1904	1954	www.dfb.de
Gibraltar	Gibraltar Football Association	1895	2016	2013	www.gibraltarf.a.com
Greece	Ellenike Podosfairike Omospondia	1926	1927	1954	www.epo.gr
Hungary	Magyari Labdarúgó Szövetség	1901	1906	1954	www.mlsz.hu
Iceland	Knattspyrnusamb and Islands	1947	1947	1954	www.ksl.is
Ireland	Football Association of Ireland	1921	1923	1954	www.fai.ie
Israel (g)	Israel Football Association	1928	1929	1994	www.Israel-football.org.il
Italy	Federazione Italiana Giuoco Calcio	1898	1905	1954	www.figc.it
Kazakhstan (h)	Kazakstannyn Futbol Federatchisy	1914	1994	2002	www.fsk.kz
Kosovo (i)	Federata e Futbollit e Kosovës	1946	2016	2016	www.fkk.kosova.com
Latvia (j)	Latvijas Futbolas Federacija	1921	1922	1992	www.lff.lv
Liechtenstein	Liechtensteiner Fussballverband	1934	1974	1974	www.lfv.li
Lithuania (k)	Lietuvos futbolo federacijos	1922	1923	1992	www.lff.lt
Luxembourg	Fédération Luxembourgeoise de Football	1908	1910	1954	www.football.lu
Macedonia (l)	Fudbalska Federatsija na Makedonia	1948	1994	1994	www.ffmpeg.mk
Malta	Malta Football Association	1900	1959	1960	www.mfa.com.mt
Moldova	Federatia Moldoveneasca de Fotbal	1990	1994	1993	www.fmf.md
Montenegro (m)	Fudbalski Savez Crne Gore	1931	2007	2007	www.fscg.co.me
Netherlands	Koninklijke Nederlandse	1889	1904	1954	www.knvb.nl

Country	National football association	Foundation	FIFA affiliation	UEFA affiliation	Website
	Voetbalbond				
Northern Ireland (n)	Irish Football Association	1880	1911	1954	www.irishfa.com
Norway	Norges Fotballforbund	1902	1908	1954	www.fotball.no
Poland	Polski Związek Piłki Nożnej	1919	1923	1954	www.pzpn.pl
Portugal	Federação Portuguesa de Futebol	1914	1923	1954	www.fpf.pt
Romania	Federatia Romana de Fotbal	1909	1923	1954	www.frf.ro
Russia (o)	Rossiiskii Futbolnuii Soyuz	1912	1912	1954	www.rsf.ru
San Marino	Federazione Sammarinese Giuoco Calcio	1931	1988	1988	www.fsgc.sm
Scotland	Scottish Football Association	1873	1910	1954	www.scottishfa.co.uk
Serbia (p)	Fudbalsky Savez Srbije	1919	1921	1954	www.fss.org.rs
Slovakia (q)	Slovensky futbalový zväz	1938	1994	1993	www.futbalsfz.sk
Slovenia (r)	Nogometna Zveza Slovenije	1920	1994	1994	www.nzs.si
Spain	Real Federación Española de Fútbol	1909	1913	1954	www.rfef.es
Sweden	Svenska Fotbollförbundet	1904	1904	1954	www.svenskfotboll.se
Switzerland	Schweizerischer Fussballverband	1895	1904	1954	www.football.ch
Turkey	Türkiye Futbol Federasyonu	1923	1923	1962	www.tff.org
Ukraine	Federatsia Futbolu Ukraïna	1991	1992	1992	www.ffu.org.ua
Wales	Football Association of Wales	1876	1910	1954	www.faw.org.uk

1 Notes: (a) The Belarus football association was founded in 1989, when the  
2 country was part of the USSR. It became a separate national association after  
3 1991, when the country became fully independent.

4 (b) The Croatian football association was founded in 1912, when the  
5 country was part of Austria-Hungary. It became a separate national association  
6 between 1941 and 1945 and again after 1991, when the country became fully  
7 independent. Between 1919 and 1941 and between 1945 and 1991, the country  
8 was part of Yugoslavia. Between 1941 and 1945, the Croatian football  
9 association was a member of FIFA.

10 (c) The Czech football association was founded in 1901, when the country  
11 was part of Austria-Hungary, but it still obtained FIFA affiliation in spite of  
12 this. In 1919, it was transformed into the Czechoslovakian football association,

when the country became fully independent and united with Slovakia. Between 1938 and 1945, a separate Slovak football association was created, as a Czech-Slovak Federation was established in 1938 and Slovakia seceded from that Federation in 1939. Between 1945 and 1993, Czechoslovakia was united once more, and the Czech football association became the Czechoslovakian football association again. A new separation of Czech and Slovak Republics occurred in 1993 and distinct Czech and Slovak football associations were re-established in that year.

(d) Between 1940 and 1991, there was no separate national Estonian football association, because the country was part of the USSR.

(e) France was represented in the foundation of FIFA by the Union des Sociétés Françaises de Sports Athlétiques. The first French football association was founded in 1906. This association split later, and only in 1919 was a single association reformed again.

(f) When UEFA was founded, there were two German states, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, and the territory of Saarland was still awaiting its definitive status. Thus, three German football associations became founding members of UEFA in 1954. The affiliation of the Saarland football association lapsed when the territory became a state of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1957. The affiliation of the German Democratic Republic football association lapsed when the country was absorbed by the Federal Republic of Germany in 1990.

(g) The foundation of the Israel football association occurred in 1928 when the country was part of Palestine, a British mandate of the League of Nations. The state of Israel was proclaimed in 1948.

(h) The Kazakhstan football association was founded in 1914, when the country was part of the Russian Empire. It became a separate national association after 1991, when the country became fully independent. Between 1914 and 1924, the country was part of Russia, and between 1924 and 1991 the country was part of the USSR.

(i) The Kosovo football association was founded in 1946, when the country was part of Yugoslavia. It became a separate national association after 2008, when the country proclaimed its independence, which has not yet (2019) been recognised by the former sovereign power, Serbia.

(j) Between 1940 and 1991, there was no separate national Latvian football association, because the country was part of the USSR.

(k) Between 1940 and 1991, there was no separate national Lithuanian football association, because the country was part of the USSR.

(l) The Macedonian football association was founded in 1948, when the country was part of Yugoslavia. It became a separate national association after 1991, when the country became fully independent.

(m) The Montenegrin football association was founded in 1931, when the country was part of Yugoslavia. It became a separate national association after 2007, when the country became fully independent. Until 1991, the country was part of Yugoslavia, and between 1991 and 2006 the country was part of the Serbia-Montenegro Federation (officially called Yugoslavia until 2003).

1 (n) The Irish football association was founded in 1880 and was  
2 transformed in 1921 into the Northern Ireland football association. At the same  
3 time, a separate football association for the new Republic of Ireland was  
4 founded.

5 (o) Between 1924 and 1991, the Russian football association was  
6 transformed into the USSR football association. The USSR included the  
7 present-day states of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan,  
8 Moldova, Russia and Ukraine, whose football associations are members of  
9 UEFA, and Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, whose  
10 football associations are not members of UEFA. After 1940, it also included  
11 the present-day states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, whose football  
12 associations are members of UEFA.

13 (p) The dates indicated refer to the Yugoslavian football association.  
14 Yugoslavia included the present-day states of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia,  
15 Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia (and Kosovo, not recognised by  
16 Serbia). Its football association became the Serbia-Montenegro football  
17 association (until 2003 officially called the Yugoslavian football association)  
18 after the other parts of Yugoslavia had seceded. In 2006, it became the Serbian  
19 football association, when Montenegro also seceded.

20 (q) Between 1945 and 1993, there was no Slovak football association,  
21 because the country was part of Czechoslovakia.

22 (r) The Slovenian football association was founded in 1920, when the  
23 country was part of Yugoslavia. It became a separate national association after  
24 1991, when the country became fully independent. Between 1920 and 1941  
25 and between 1945 and 1991, the country was part of Yugoslavia; between 1941  
26 and 1945, the country was part of Croatia.