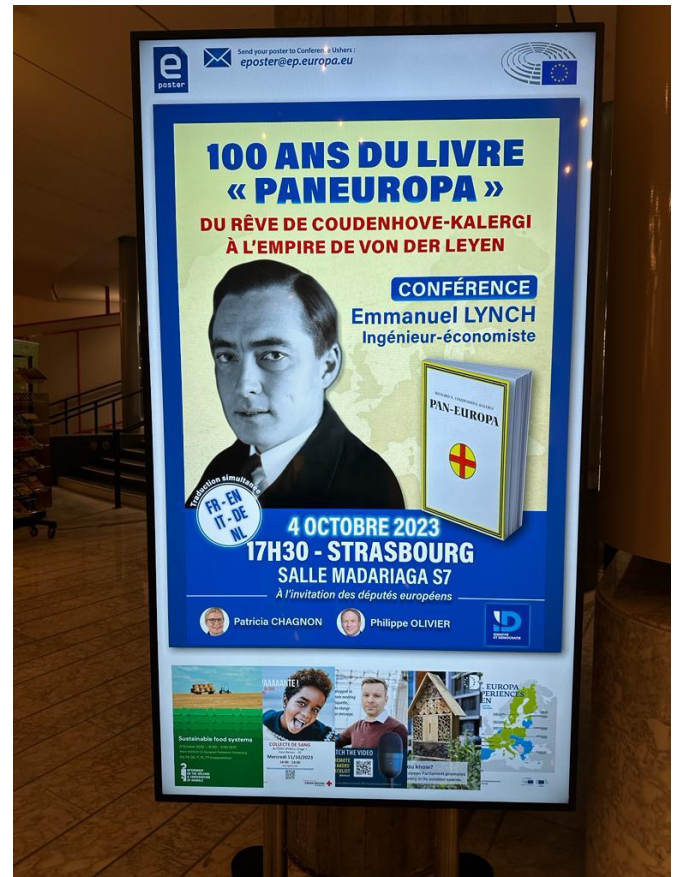


# Condenhove-Kalergi's dream to Ursula von der Leyen's Empire

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The text below does not reproduce word for word the lecture which was given in an "oratory" style without written support, but takes up the content with the addition of quotations and references. The answers to the questions posed at the end of the conference were included in the presentation with the exception of the very first question. This lecture was made solely from "primary" sources by Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, mainly *Pan-Europa* and *Praktischer Idealismus* available in German in electronic format as well as *Pan-Europa in* its French translation *published in 2019 with a preface by Michel Barnier*<sup>1</sup>, former European Commissioner, and from two "secondary" sources, i.e. *The "Paneurope", A Debate of Ideas of the Interwar Period*, a<sup>2</sup> reference work published by Anne-Marie Saint Gille, professor of Germanic literature and civilization in Lyon, specialist in the history of Paneurope, as well as the article Paneurope, *a central text in the history of European unity* by Jean Spiri and Volker Klostius made available at the end of the publication of *Pan-Europa* in French. For your information, *Practical Idealism, Nobility – Technique – Pacifism* is not published in French but some translations can be found on the internet,<sup>3</sup> including the one that is available. By clicking on the names of the books in this same paragraph, you will be able to access the electronic versions of these books when they are in the public domain, or to a commercial site that offers them for sale if this is not the case.

<sup>1</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa*, Vienna, *Paneuropa-Verlag*, 1923, trans.fr. *Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billion, 2019.

<sup>2</sup> SAINT-GILLE, Anne-Marie, *La « Paneurope », Un débat d'idées de l'entre-deux-guerres*, Paris, Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003.

<sup>3</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Praktischer Idealismus*, *Adel – Technik – Pazifismus*, Vienna, *Paneuropa-Verlag*, 1923, trans.fr. *Practical Idealism, Nobility – Technique – Pacifism*, translated by Adeline A. Gasnier, 2014.

First of all, I would like to thank Patricia Chagnon and Philippe Olivier for inviting me to give this lecture.

## Introduction:

Exactly one hundred years ago, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi published a prophetic manifesto to present his project for a pan-European Union, a project for the political unification of continental Europe. The peculiarity of his project was to propose steps to achieve the creation of this federal state, this supranational state, this Empire.

First of all, I propose that we get to know Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi better, then, secondly, to present Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-Europe project and finally to show to what extent the so-called "European construction" has followed step by step the stages imagined by Coudenhove-Kalergi, and to what extent Ursula von der Leyen's Empire has become, especially since *Brexit*, the realization of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's dream.

## Part I: Who is Count Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi?

### Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi: a cosmopolitan

The Coudenhove-Kalergi family belonged to the Austro-Hungarian aristocracy. The Coudenhoves were counts of the Holy Roman Empire of Flemish origin. The Kalergi are a Greek family, originally from Crete. The joining of the two names is the result of a marriage between a Coudenhove and a Kalergi in the second half of the nineteenth century. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi was born in Tokyo in 1894 to an Austro-Hungarian father, a polyglot and diplomat, and a Japanese mother, Mitsuko Aoyama. His mother was one of the first Japanese women to move to Europe after Japan opened up to the West. He spent his youth on the family estate in Ronsperg, Bohemia, now in the Czech Republic, a few kilometres from the border with Germany near the *state* of Bavaria. Discharged for health reasons, Coudenhove-Kalergi did not fight in the First World War. In 1916 he married Ida Roland, an actress thirteen years older than him, who was divorced, then remarried Karolin von Tiële in 1952<sup>4</sup> and finally Melanie Benatzky in 1969<sup>5</sup>. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi studied philosophy in Vienna and obtained a doctorate with the philosopher Immanuel Kant.

Partial conclusion: Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi is cosmopolitan in his origins, his birth and his youth.

### Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi: a trailblazer

Coudenhove-Kalergi launched an appeal in 1922 in Austrian newspapers to demand the constitution of the United States of Europe. He published *Pan-Europa* in 1923 to present his project for continental unification and launched the newspaper Paneuropa in 1924. He published *Praktischer Idealismus, Practical Idealism*<sup>6</sup> in 1925 to clarify his vision of Europe and the philosophy behind it. These two works, written during the same period, must be studied in parallel.

Partial conclusion: Coudenhove-Kalergi's publications present on the one hand his project of federal and supranational integration, his project for a United States of Europe and, on the other hand, a path to achieve it. This makes him a true precursor of European continental unification.

### Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi: a networker, a talented lobbyist

Coudenhove-Kalergi organized the first congress of the Pan-European Union in Vienna in 1926 with Édouard Bénès, the future president of Czechoslovakia, a pan-European congress that brought together more than two thousand people<sup>7</sup>. One of his greatest successes was to obtain the important support of the French trade unionist and socialist Aristide Briand, a figure of "pacifism" between the two world wars and Minister of Foreign Affairs,

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<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 302.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 302.

<sup>6</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Praktischer Idealismus*, Vienna and Leipzig, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1925.

<sup>7</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billion, 2019, p 300.

who accepted the honorary presidency of his pan-European Union. Aristide Briand is crowned with glory because he received the Nobel Peace Prize with his counterpart Gustav Stresemann in 1926 after the Locarno Accords (1925) which reconciled France and Germany. The representatives were Stresemann for Germany, Vandervelde for Belgium, Briand for France, Chamberlain for the United Kingdom, Benes for Czechoslovakia and finally Mussolini for Italy. Aristide Briand was also the originator of the Briand-Kellogg Pact, a peace treaty signed in 1928 and intended to outlaw war, a treaty named after him and Frank Kellogg, the American Secretary of State, the equivalent of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The high point of this period was surely the presentation in 1929 of a project for a European union by Aristide Briand, President of the Council, on behalf of the French government, before the General Assembly of the League of Nations. The Assembly and the twenty-seven European member states of the League of Nations gave him a mandate to present a *Memorandum on the Organization of a Regime of European Federal Union* or *Briand Memorandum* drafted by Alexis Leger, Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the poet Saint-John-Perse. In the end, this memorandum was not retained. The pairing of Coudenhove-Kalergi and Briand is typical of the "pacifism" of the interwar period.

Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-European Union received official support from the Austrian government, which provided it with "premises within the *Hofburg* itself in the government district of Vienna"<sup>8</sup> and later, in the 1930s, from Poland and Czechoslovakia<sup>9</sup>. The founder of the pan-European movement also received very important support from the German business community, in particular the banker Max Warburg, who at the time paid a colossal sum of sixty thousand gold marks<sup>10</sup> to promote his "highly structured propaganda work", as <sup>11</sup> well as the industrialist Robert Bosch<sup>12</sup>, of the eponymous firm, who created "an association for the financial support of Paoneism"<sup>13</sup> in charge of supporting the pan-European movement.

Partial conclusion: RCK is a talented organizer, networker and lobbyist.

#### 1938: Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi goes into exile

The *Anschluss* led Coudenhove-Kalergi to flee to France in 1938 where he lectured and obtained French nationality. In 1940 he went to the United States, where he directed a *Research Seminar for a Postwar European Federation* at New York University in 1943. However, he had "little contact with the circles of the resistance", <sup>14</sup> especially since he was reproached for his support of the Austrian government in the 1930s<sup>15</sup>. After the war, he returned to Switzerland, to Gstaad, where he continued his work.

Partial conclusion: Coudenhove-Kalergi is preparing from the United States for the federal and supranational integration of the European continent.

#### The consecration of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi after the war

In 1946, in his famous speech in Zurich, Churchill said that "the Pan-European Union has done much to achieve this goal and this movement which owes much to Count Coudenhove-Kalergi and to that great French patriot and statesman, Aristide Briand".<sup>16</sup> Coudenhove-Kalergi is therefore well recognized as the initiator of the United States of Europe. Two years later, in 1948, Coudenhove-Kalergi gave the opening speech at the "Congress of Europe", in the *Ridderzaal*, the hall of the knights of the *Binnenhof*, the castle of The Hague in Holland. A year later, he gave the opening speech at the founding session of the European Parliamentary Union (EPU) in Gstaad<sup>17</sup>. In 1950,

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<sup>8</sup> SAINT-GILLE, Anne-Marie, interview *Richard de Coudenhove and the Pan-European Union*, 24th minute, 2012 and Jean Spiri and Volker Klostius in the introduction to COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa*, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. *Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billion, 2019, p 14.

<sup>8</sup> SAINT-GILLE, Anne-Marie, interview *Richard de Coudenhove and the Pan-European Union*, 24th minute, 2012.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, 24th minute.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, 23rd minute.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 23rd minute.

<sup>12</sup> SAINT-GILLE, Anne-Marie, *La « Paneurope », Un débat d'idées de l'entre-deux-guerres*, Paris, Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003, p 154.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p. 154.

<sup>14</sup> SAINT-GILLE, Anne-Marie, interview *Richard de Coudenhove and the Pan-European Union*, 43rd minute, 2012.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, 46th minute, 2012.

<sup>16</sup> CHURCHILL, Winston, *Zurich Address*, Zurich, September 19, 1946.

<sup>17</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Opening Speech of the Founding Session of the European Parliamentary Union (EPU)*, Gstaad, 4 July 1947.

Coudenhove-Kalergi was awarded the Charlemagne Prize, the prize that distinguishes the greatest promoters of the continental unification of Europe and the United States of Europe. In 1952, he was made Honorary President of the European Movement alongside Churchill, Adenauer, Schuman and Spaak<sup>18</sup>. He then developed his International Pan-European Union, of which the Christian Democrat Otto of Habsburg, eldest son of the last Emperor of Austria and passionate about the idea of Empire and the supranational order,<sup>19</sup> succeeded him as president before the Frenchman Alain Terrenoire took over. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi died in 1972 in Schruns, Austria.

Partial conclusion: The consecration of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi after the war shows the recognition of the major actors of the so-called "European construction" who consider him as the first architect and true father of the Empire of the European Union, of the United States of Europe, of the political unification of the European continent.

#### What are Coudenhove-Kalergi's philosophical, spiritual and historical references?

Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi was initiated into Freemasonry in 1922 in the Orient of Vienna at a time when "the Viennese lodges, after 1919, were liberal, left-wing".<sup>20</sup> Having to be discreet in the face of those who might consider his membership of a Masonic obedience problematic, "in order not to hinder his efforts, the Grand Lodge of Austria suspended his Masonic membership while remaining in close contact with him and supporting his work".<sup>21</sup> It should be remembered that part of the pacifism of the interwar period and the development of federal integration is, at the international level, linked to Freemasonry. Coudenhove-Kalergi's and Briand's major interlocutors during the interwar period, with the notable exception of Briand, were initiated into Freemasonry, such as Benes, the <sup>22</sup>Czechoslovak president, Streseman<sup>23</sup>, the German foreign minister, and Kellogg, the American <sup>24</sup>secretary of state. After the war, Churchill, who recognized among others the pioneering role of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi in continental unification, was also initiated into Freemasonry<sup>25</sup>.

When studying the writings of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, two names often come up: Napoleon Bonaparte and Giuseppe Mazzini. The first historical reference, Napoleon Bonaparte, is the creator of the "Empire of Enlightenment", an Empire that found its inspiration in ancient Egypt, among other things, leaving a great deal of room for Freemasonry (army, ministerial portfolios, <sup>26</sup>etc.), an esotericism that ensured the cement of armies and was established in conquered regions. For the French Empire, it was a question of spreading revolutionary ideas and Masonic esotericism to the conquests of the Napoleonic Empire. If Napoleon was not initiated himself, his father Charles and all his brothers were (Joseph, Lucien, Louis and Jérôme).<sup>27</sup> The second historical reference, Giuseppe Mazzini, is the great promoter of Italian unification. Mazzini wanted a unitary state for Italy. He was initiated into Freemasonry where he reached the highest level: the 33rd degree<sup>28</sup>. He was also initiated into an esoteric group based on a secret initiation: the coal factory. Carbonarism is a secret society claiming to be the heir of the charcoal burners, a corporation in charge of the manufacture of charcoal, thus resembling Freemasonry which is inspired by the guild of masons, a Freemasonry calling itself "speculative" and considering the guilds of the Middle Ages and its masons as belonging to a so-called "operative" Freemasonry.

The inspiration for the Pan-European Union and the United States of Europe therefore has little or nothing to do with Christianity but with esotericism. This is an essential point in the historical sequence of the so-called "European construction". With all due respect to the Christian Democrats and certain ecclesiastical authorities, including the papacy, who have often wanted to see in the "European construction" a "Christian construction"

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<sup>18</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa*, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. *Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billion, 2019, p 302.

<sup>19</sup> HABSBURG, Otto de, *L'idée impériale, Histoire et avenir d'un ordre supranational*, Vienna and Munich, Amalthea Verlag GmbH, 1986, trans. .fr. Nancy, Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1989.

<sup>20</sup> LIGOU, Daniel, *Dictionnaire de la franc-maçonnerie, sous la direction de*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1987, rééd. 2nd edition, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 2006, p 302.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, p. 302.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 128-129.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, p 1149.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, p. 664.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, p. 250.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. the Napoleon I Museum at the Château de Fontainebleau and the display cases exhibiting beautiful objects related to Freemasonry at the time of the First Empire.

<sup>27</sup> LIGOU, Daniel, *Dictionnaire de la franc-maçonnerie, sous la direction de*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1987, rééd. 2nd edition, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 2006, p 152.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, p. 792.

resembling a Christian Empire, in the image of Otto of Habsburg<sup>29</sup> for whom "Europeans keep the Empire, from that time when thought was clear, when politics was great and did not allow itself to be confined to the narrow field of the concept of the Nation-State"<sup>30</sup>, it would seem rather to be, at least in its foundations and through its first major actors, an "esoteric construction", reminiscent rather of the advent of a new "Gnostic Empire" comparable to Napoleon's French Empire.

Those who want to know more about esotericism are invited to get the *Que-sais-je ??*<sup>31</sup> published by *Presses universitaires de France* by the great French historian of esotericism, Antoine Faivre, himself invested in esoteric movements, in particular Freemasonry, for a critical reading *De quelques églises intérieures, Introduction critique à l'histoire des courant esotériques, vol. I, Des origines au XVIIIe siècle*<sup>32</sup> d'Adrien Bouhours, for the historical persons census le "Ligou", a *Dictionary of Freemasonry*<sup>33</sup> published by *Presses universitaires de France* in the *Quadrige* collection.

Partial conclusion: The author of Pan-Europa, the founder of the Pan-European Union, the one who is designated as the true "father" of the supranational federation of the European Union and consecrated as such after the war, was not inspired by Christianity, as some would have us believe even today. The so-called "European construction" was not first of all inspired by the Christian Democrat "fathers" who came from lands of Empires, such as Schuman, who grew up in the Moselle occupied by the German Empire (*Reichsland Elsaß-Lothringen*), Adenauer, who lived in Germany, a land of Empire by nature, or Gasperi, a native of Trentino, who at that time belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Rather, in its foundations, the so-called "construction of Europe" is more akin to esotericism, in particular that of Freemasonry. The esoteric nature of the actors in the political unification of continental Europe seems to be relatively little studied as far as Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's project for a pan-European Union is concerned. This is a historiographical blind spot, even though the pacifism of the interwar period was marked by the influence of Freemasonry at the highest level of Western states, such as Franklin Roosevelt, who was also an initiator<sup>34</sup>. The man who was President of the United States from 1933 until his death in 1945, was advised by Jean Monnet, the future "father" of the European Union, alongside the three Christian Democrats already mentioned. For the record, Jean Monnet published *The United States of Europe began*<sup>35</sup> after the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community, which began in 1952. I would like to take this opportunity to tell you that in preparation for this conference, I went last week to visit Jean Monnet's house, Houjarray, in Bazoches-sur-Guyonne in the Yvelines near Paris, a property that has become a museum of the so-called "European construction" and which offers a tour of the fascinating life of "Roosevelt's man". I urge you to visit it as well as, for those who would like to know more about Robert Schuman's life, his house in Scy-Chazelles in Moselle near Metz, which has also become a museum of the so-called "European construction".

Conclusion and transition: Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi is a cosmopolitan, a trailblazer, a networker, a talented lobbyist, a visionary, an inspiration for Empire as well as a man linked to the esoteric world. In short, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi is a fascinating character for a historian to study! The question now is what exactly its pan-European Union consists of.

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<sup>29</sup> LYNCH, Emmanuel, *La Nation face à l'Empire*, Paris, ML Éditions, 2021, rééd. Paris ML Éditions, 2022, p 139.

<sup>30</sup> HABSBURG, Otto de, *L'idée impériale, Histoire et avenir d'un ordre supranational*, Vienne et Munich, Amalthea Verlag GmbH, 1986, trans. .fr. Nancy, Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1989, p 53.

<sup>31</sup> FAIVRE, Antoine, *L'ésotérisme*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1992, rééd. Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 6<sup>th</sup> edition, 2022.

<sup>32</sup> BOUHOURS, Adrien, *De quelques églises intérieures, Introduction critique à l'histoire des courant esotériques, vol. I, Des origines au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, Eurédit, 2021.

<sup>33</sup> LIGOU, Daniel, *Dictionnaire de la franc-maçonnerie, sous la direction de*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1987, rééd. 2nd edition, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 2006, p 152.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1055.

<sup>35</sup> MONNET, Jean, *The United States Have Begun, The European Coal and Steel Community, Speeches and Speeches, 1952-1954*, Paris, Robert Laffont, 1955.

## Part II: What is Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's Paneurope?

### Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's geopolitical vision: a world opposing large blocs and empires

For Coudenhove-Kalergi, "the five international force fields are: 1. America; 2. Great Britain; 3. Russia; 4. The Far East; 5. Europe" <sup>36</sup> or "Pan-America" bounded by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; The "Southern Empire" associated with the British world encompassing "the eastern half of Africa, the Arab and Indian world and Australia: Cape Suez – Calcutta – Singapore – Sydney" and <sup>37</sup> centred on the Indian Ocean even though the lack of territorial continuity *de facto* prevents any effective imperial unification; "The Northern Empire, facing the Sea of Ice, is the Russian Empire" <sup>38</sup>; "The Eastern Empire" for the Chinese and Japanese worlds; and finally "The States of the West" called upon to constitute themselves as a pan-European Union "in the European continent and its African colonial empire, separated by the Mediterranean". Replacing nation-states with a "New Empire" to confront other large blocs and empires, promoting a "new European order", is exactly the rhetoric of the Europeanists of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy <sup>39</sup>. *To this day, the New Kingdom* <sup>40</sup> is also the dream of many socialist and liberal elites, including French ones, whose corollary is the disappearance of nation-states.

Partial conclusion: The exclusion of the British world from Pan-Europe is a peculiarity of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's geopolitical vision.

### Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's Paneurope is first and foremost a geographical concept

For Coudenhove-Kalergi, "salvation is Pan-Europe : the political and economic alliance of all states into a state union, from Poland to Portugal." <sup>41</sup> Coudenhove Kalergi considers that his geographical Europe is not Europe. Indeed, "the geographical notion of Europe coincides neither with the cultural notion of Europe nor with the political notion of Europe", <sup>42</sup> adding that "Pan-Europe must be constituted without England but not against England", <sup>43</sup> justifying a "pacifist" pan-European construction so as not to frighten the British "because, for centuries, thwarting the union of the continent under the hegemony of a great power has been one of the most immutable objectives of English politics". <sup>44</sup> However, "the integration of England and Ireland into Pan Europe would be possible after the dissolution of the British Empire. Even then, however, it is not certain that England has the goal of uniting with Pan-Europe. For, while it is geographically and historically linked to Europe, it is connected to North America by ties of language, blood, and culture. It would be quite possible that these ties would prove stronger and that England would seek and find an attachment on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean instead of finding it on the other side of the Channel." <sup>45</sup> Although Turkey was not included in the Pan-European Union proposed in Pan-Europa in 1923, Coudenhove-Kalergi added it in the 1930s. After the Second World War, a few months after its creation, Turkey became a member of the Council of Europe. As far as Coudenhove-Kalergi is concerned, "the opposition of the Turks against the symbol of the cross" led to the rejection of the "solar cross" as the flag of the <sup>46</sup> Council of Europe, even if, in order to remedy this, Coudenhove-Kalergi proposed to "place the crescent in the left corner of the flag". <sup>47</sup>

Partial conclusion: Coudenhove-Kalergi's concept of Pan-Europe is a geographical concept that excludes the British Isles belonging to European and Western Civilization but includes Turkey historically belonging to the

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<sup>36</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. Pan-Europa, One Hundred Thousand Billion*, 2019, p 39-40.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*, p. 40.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, p. 40.

<sup>39</sup> SOUTOU, Georges-Henri, *Europe! The European Projects of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy*, Paris, Tallandier, 2021.

<sup>40</sup> LE MAIRE, Bruno, *The New Empire, Europe of the Twenty-First Century*, Paris, Gallimard, 2019.

<sup>41</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. Pan-Europa, One Hundred Thousand Billion*, 2019, p 47.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, p. 52.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, p. 77.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, p. 80.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 75-76.

<sup>46</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Letter to Minister van Cauwelaert* dated May 17, 1952.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*.

Civilization of Islam. Coudenhove-Kalergi's vision of Paneurope is indeed opposed to the logic found in Fernand Braudel's *Grammar of Civilizations*<sup>48</sup>, where civilizations are primarily determined by history and culture.

#### What is the exact scope of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-European Union?

In practice, Coudenhove-Kalergi's Paneurope brings together twenty-seven countries, i.e. twenty-six mentioned in *Paneuropa*, plus Turkey, which appeared a few years later. Why add Turkey to the pan-European Union when it is only slightly located on the continent commonly accepted in geography as European, west of the Bosphorus Strait, and mostly located in Asia, east of the Bosphorus Strait? Is it because Mustafa Kemal Atatürk became, after the disappearance of the Ottoman Empire, the founder and first President of the Republic of Turkey from 1923 to 1938, a new state that became national and rested on ideological foundations close to those of Coudenhove-Kalergi? Let us recall that Atatürk was initiated into Freemasonry like Coudenhove-Kalergi<sup>49</sup>. Let us also recall that at the end of the nineteenth century, the Young Turks of the *Committee of Union and Progress*, heirs of the Young Ottomans, had achieved a curious syncretism between Islam and the French Enlightenment, while they were heirs of Islamic culture based on the existence of God, "of the Young Ottomans and the Young Turks who had been able to take advantage of both Italian Carbonarism, and French and Italian Masonic lodges."<sup>50</sup> Admission to the secret political society *Comité Union et Progrès* resembled, moreover, a "hybrid initiation of Carbonarism and Freemasonry", a <sup>51</sup>Carbonarism and a Masonry which, as we have seen with Bonaparte and Mazzini, are dear to Coudenhove-Kalergi. In any case, the esoteric foundations on which modern Turkey was born show a certain compatibility with Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's project of imperial unification.

In order to make it easier to compare the perimeter of the pan-European Union with the perimeter of the European Union today, a summary table is proposed in the appendix. The Pan-European nations that are not found in the contemporary European Union are Albania, Iceland, Norway, Serbia and Switzerland. As far as Turkey is concerned, even if it is not a full member, it can be considered that it has strong links with the European Union, including a customs union and an application to become a member. The nations belonging to the contemporary European Union but absent from the Pan-European Union of Coudenhove-Kalergi are only islands: Cyprus, Ireland and Malta.

Partial conclusion: Since the United Kingdom left the European Union after Brexit, the perimeter of the European Union is comparable to that of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's pan-European Union. With the proposed enlargement of the European Union from twenty-seven to thirty-five members, the Balkans, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, North Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia have been added. Ukraine and Moldova, on the other hand, have never been part of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-Europe.

#### Paneurope as the New Carolingian Empire

Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi dreamed of nothing less than a renewal of the Carolingian Empire, of a Germanic Europe, this "Germanic Europe that lived its apogee with Charlemagne" <sup>52</sup> of which the great historian Jean Favier reminds us that the emperor "Charlemagne is above all a German".<sup>53</sup> Napoleon also dreamed of a Carolingian Empire, as shown in the painting by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres in the Musée de l'Armée, showing Napoleon on the imperial throne holding a sceptre in his hand, at the end of which is a statuette of Charlemagne. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi was also the one who won the first Charlemagne Prize awarded in 1950 in Aachen, the capital of the Carolingian Empire.

Partial conclusion: Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi dreams of a Carolingian Empire just like Napoleon's French Empire, which also drew on the Carolingian imagination.

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<sup>48</sup> BRAUDEL, Fernand, *Grammaire des civilisations*, Paris, Arthaud, 1987, rééd. Flammarion, Paris, 2013.

<sup>49</sup> LIGOU, Daniel, *Dictionnaire de la franc-maçonnerie*, sous la direction de, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1987, rééd. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 2006, p 664.

<sup>50</sup> ZARCONI, Thierry, *Preface* in MILLET, Thierry, *Le tablier et le Tarbouche, Franc-maçons et nationalisme en Syrie mandataire*, Paris, Classique Garnier, 2014, p 13.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, p. 16.

<sup>52</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billions, 2019, p 56.

<sup>53</sup> FAVIER, Jean, *Charlemagne*, Paris, Arthème Fayard, 1999, p 670.



### Pan-Europe as a United States of Europe

For Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, "it was Charles V who tried to re-establish the universal European monarchy and break the power of France. This attempt failed. [...] England and Russia brought down the *pan-European monarchy of Napoleon*, which was broken up into its national parts."<sup>54</sup> He considered that "if Napoleon had won the Battle of Leipzig, the United States of Europe would already exist today", the Battle of Leipzig,<sup>55</sup> a battle also called the "Battle of the Nations" because it pitted the Nations against the Empire for their survival. Coudenhove-Kalergi wanted Napoleon<sup>56</sup>'s "united Europe" to be achieved within a unitary state like Mazzini in Italy and was fiercely opposed to the logic of balance of power that he called "Metternich's principles"<sup>57</sup>; these principles were characteristic of British and French policy, with the notable exception of the Napoleonic parenthesis, which called for a European order imperial. Indeed, as Henry Kissinger reminds us, "in the first half of the seventeenth century, Richelieu and Mazarin had imposed the 'Westphalian system' against the 'imperial system' because 'empires have no interest in operating within an international system: they aspire to *be* the international system"<sup>58</sup>.<sup>59</sup> Closer to home, Coudenhove-Kalergi sees the United States as "a hope if Europe learns from its more modern daughter and complements the Pan-American movement with a Pan-European movement."<sup>60</sup> Thus, "the crowning achievement of pan-European efforts would be the constitution of the United States of Europe on the model of the United States of America."<sup>61</sup>

Partial conclusion: The United States is a model for Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, even though the construction of the United States is quite different, the result of a great European emigration that formed a single people on the other side of the Atlantic.

### Is Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi the first to think of the United States of Europe?

In 1713, the Abbé de Saint-Pierre published a *Project to make peace perpetual in Europe* while he was in Utrecht at the time of the drafting of the treaties that ended the War of the Spanish Succession. Jean-Jacques Rousseau takes an interest in the Abbot of Saint Pierre and makes an excerpt from his project<sup>62</sup>. Let us recall that Rousseau dreamed of Empire and even more of merging the temporal and spiritual dimensions, the great temptation of Empires, considering that "Mahomet had very sound views, he linked his political system well; and, as long as the form of his government subsisted under the caliphs his successors, that government was exactly one, and good in it."<sup>63</sup> The philosopher Kant, whom Coudenhove-Kalergi studied extensively, also thought of European integration. Then it was Victor Hugo who called at the Peace Congress in Paris in 1849 for the constitution of the "United States of Europe".<sup>64</sup>

Partial conclusion: Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi is not the first to call for the supranational integration of the continent, but the publication of a manifesto defining the steps to achieve it seems truly innovative.

### What are the steps needed to make Pan-Europe happen?

In order to rebuild Charlemagne's Empire and create a United States of Europe, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi first imagined a "confederation of states" (<sup>65</sup>Staatenbunde) which was only a "step" towards the "*pan-European federation*" (Paneuropäischen Föderation<sup>66</sup>), a true "supranational state" (<sup>67</sup>müssen erst die Staaten sich zu

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<sup>54</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billion, 2019, p 189-190.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, p. 57.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, p. 57.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, p. 57.

<sup>58</sup> KISSINGER, Henry, *Diplomatie*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1994, trans. Paris, Fayard, 1996, p 13.

<sup>59</sup> LYNCH, Emmanuel, *La Nation face à l'Empire*, Paris, ML Éditions, 2021, rééd. Paris ML Éditions, 2022, p 120.

<sup>60</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billion, 2019, p 127.

<sup>61</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billion, 2019, p 240.

<sup>62</sup> ROUSSEAU, Jean-Jacques, *Extrait du projet de paix perpétuelle de Monsieur l'abbé de Saint-Pierre*, Genève, 1761.

<sup>63</sup> ROUSSEAU, Jean-Jacques, *On the Social Contract or Principles of Political Law*, Amsterdam, 1762, Chapter IV.8 *Of Civil Religion*.

<sup>64</sup> HUGO, Victor, *Discours d'ouverture du Congrès de la Paix*, le 21 août 1849, Paris.

<sup>65</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billion, 2019, p 20.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, p. 57.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, p. 143.



*Überstaaten zusammenschließen*). He first proposes to organise a pan-European conference, then defines critical steps such as "the customs union to unite German coal and French ore in a *pan-European mining industry*<sup>68</sup>" and to achieve the "unification of Europe in a homogeneous space<sup>69</sup>" with the abolition of borders, because "there is only one radical way to solve the question of European borders in a sustainable and fair way. And this path is not redistricting but the removal of borders! (...) *The Edict of Toleration* would remove the national stake from state borders, the creation of the *pan-European customs union* would deprive them of their state importance."<sup>70</sup> As for the government of the Pan-European Union, "Pan-Europe would have two chambers: a House of Peoples and a House of States; the House of Peoples would consist of three hundred deputies, one for every million Europeans – the Chamber of States would consist of twenty-six representatives of the twenty-six European governments."<sup>71</sup> Finally, he wants a "pan-European constitution".<sup>72</sup>

Partial conclusion: Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi is a visionary! We shall see a little later that almost everything has come to pass.

#### From the European State to the World State

For Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, "the cause of Europe's decline lies mainly in the fact that [Europe] is disorganized"<sup>73</sup> because there is no supranational state on the scale of the western space of the Eurasian continent. It is therefore a question of "building a *new Europe* on the ruins of the old: an organised Europe and no longer anarchic".<sup>74</sup> "If organization is to replace world anarchy, states must first regroup into supranational states. Just as the unification of Germany, Italy and Poland were necessary steps for the unification of Europe, the latter will be a necessary step for the unification of humanity."<sup>75</sup> And "it is Europe that must unite first – Humanity second".<sup>76</sup>

Partial conclusion: Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi is a globalist before his time.

#### The union of France and Germany

Coudenhove-Kalergi considers that "the most fundamental thing is to *recognise the Franco-German community of destiny*".<sup>77</sup> For Coudenhove-Kalergi, "for a millennium, the rivalry between the two most populous nations of Paneurope, Germany and France, represents the greatest obstacle to the birth of the United States of Europe."<sup>78</sup> "The *union between France and Germany* was impossible as long as there were rival dynasties at their head; it remained impossible as long as France was a republic and Germany a monarchy; It has become possible since the two neighbours are linked by the republican ideal. From this point of view, the transformation of Germany into a republic is a considerable step towards the pan-European ideal."<sup>79</sup> The expansion of the Third German Empire united France and Germany in 1940 under the official rule of a Weimar Republic that formally disappeared in 1945, a republic that had been totally emptied of its substance by the national socialist power.

Partial conclusion: The merger of France and Germany into a new pan-European republic is the heart of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's project.

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<sup>68</sup> *Ibid*, p. 199.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, p. 239.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*, p. 232.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*, p. 240.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid*, p. 240.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*, p. 115.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*, p. 143.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, p. 133.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid*, p. 194.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 189-190.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*, p. 191.

Churchill's support for the Coudenhove-Kalergi project....: yes, as long as the United Kingdom is excluded!

In his famous Zurich speech in 1946, Winston Churchill called for the "construction of a United States of Europe"<sup>80</sup> for continental Europe only. For Churchill, "Great Britain, the Commonwealth of British nations, mighty America, and, I hope, Soviet Russia"<sup>81</sup> must be the "friends and protectors of the new Europe",<sup>82</sup> a federal and supranational construction from which the United Kingdom excludes itself since "we British have the Commonwealth".<sup>83</sup> For Churchill, it was a matter of safeguarding the freedom of the United Kingdom and its existence as a state. It should be remembered that it was two years later, at the Congress of Europe presided over by Churchill, that a difference in conception became clear between those who wanted economic cooperation between states in the image of Churchill and those who wanted a supranational federation in the image of Coudenhove-Kalergi.

Partial conclusion: Churchill only supports the United States of Europe if the United Kingdom is not part of it. With Churchill, in short, it's "do as I say, don't do as I do"!

De Gaulle would have supported Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-Europe: a very big lie!

Coudenhove-Kalergi's political enemies are the "opponents of Pan-Europe; (...) The most listened to in all countries, but not the most dangerous, will be *chauvinism*. (...) It will protest against any abandonment of national sovereignty in the name of national freedom and honor"<sup>84</sup> because they oppose the development of the supranational state. The greatest Frenchman to fight against federal development, refusing to give up national sovereignty and appealing to the logic of national honour, was General de Gaulle, the one whom Coudenhove-Kalergi considered "a French patriot above all. [...] A hundred percent French patriot. [...] He didn't want to renounce French sovereignty and not know whether tomorrow he would be replaced by an Englishman or by a German or by a non-Frenchman."<sup>85</sup> For the founder of the Pan-European Union, "a clear separation must be made between the Pan-Europeans and the Anti-Europeans, between the friends and the enemies of the federation". That much is clear. For Coudenhove-Kalergi, Europe is not a question of history and culture, but a question of federalism. Nothing could be more alien to Gaull's thought. The reason for Coudenhove-Kalergi's attempts to bring him closer to General de Gaulle's "Europe of Nations", a confederation based on an international treaty and not a supranational one, was tactical. "For him, the Europe of Nations is only a step towards the establishment of a federal state. The long-term goal does not change, only the method differs. As he himself wrote<sup>86</sup>, it is 'a matter of pursuing 'Tolstoyan aims' with 'Machiavellian' means."<sup>87</sup> Coudenhove-Kalergi sees the struggle against the Gaullist logic based on the freedom of peoples and nations, that of the "*chauvinists* of each nation",<sup>88</sup> those who wish for the "absolute sovereignty of their nation"<sup>89</sup> as "the decisive struggle for the destiny of Europe between the Anti-Europeans and the Pan-Europeans: the fight between past and future, between narrow-mindedness and discernment, between barbarism and culture".<sup>90</sup> That's all there is to it!

Partial conclusion: Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi tried unsuccessfully to rally General de Gaulle to his views, the one who embodied the vision of a Europe of free nations that was in direct opposition to the imperial project of a pan-European federation.

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<sup>80</sup> CHURCHILL, Winston, *Zurich Address*, Zurich, September 19, 1946.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. Pan-Europa, One Hundred Thousand Billion*, 2019, p 199.

<sup>85</sup> "Er war ein französischer Patriot in erster Linie. (...) Ein hundertprozentiger französischer Patriot. (...) er wollte nicht die französische Souveränität aufgeben und nicht wissen, ob morgen durch einen Engländer oder durch einen Deutschen oder durch einen Nichtfranzosen das Schicksal Frankreichs gelenkt winder", interview with Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, Vienna, 19 November 1971, Virtual Centre for Knowledge on Europe, [www.cvce.eu](http://www.cvce.eu).

<sup>86</sup> Pazifismus in *PanEurope* N° 4/5, 1924 in COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans. fr. Pan-Europa, One Hundred Thousand Billion*, 2019, p 293.

<sup>87</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. Pan-Europa, One Hundred Thousand Billion*, 2019, p 292-293.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 247.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 247.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 261.

### What is the nature of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-European Union?

Practical *Idealism*, published in 1925, contains three books, the first of which, *Nobility*<sup>91</sup>, is devoted to an analysis of the supposed quality of certain races and to a proposal for eugenics intended to bring about the "nobility of the future".<sup>92</sup> It is worth reading this book without making anachronisms at a time when eugenics was very common both for the founder of the Third German Empire and for Sir Julian Huxley, a British biologist, brother of the author of *Brave New World*<sup>93</sup> and co-author of *the Geneticists' Manifesto*<sup>94</sup> who was among the first to use the term transhumanism in 1957<sup>95</sup>. Claiming to improve the human condition, the transhumanism movement is a continuation of the eugenics logic. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi sees Europe as a Promethean project aimed at perfecting humanity. Indeed, "the essence of Europe is the will to change and improve the world through actions. Europe is consciously rushing from the present to the future; it is in a state of perpetual emancipation, reform, and revolution; She is a novelty, skeptical, ungodly, and struggles with her habits and traditions. In Jewish mythology, the European spirit corresponds to Lucifer — in Greek mythology to Prometheus: the bearer of light, who brings the divine spark to Earth, who rebels against Celesto-Asiatic harmony, against the order of the divine world, the prince of this Earth, the father of combat, of technology, of enlightenment and progress, the leader of man in his struggle against nature."<sup>96</sup>

Partial conclusion: Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, promoter of eugenics, joins several theoreticians of his time. More profoundly, his project for Europe is a Promethean project. Coudenhove-Kalergi's ambition is to regenerate man, as he explains in *Practical Idealism*. So let us stop saying that the foundations of the so-called "European construction" are Christian! As far as its development is concerned, Popes John Paul II and Benedict XVI were able to measure the profound nature of the so-called "European" Union on the occasion of the refusal to include "Christian roots", a truth on the historical level, in the preamble of the so-called "European constitution" that the French and Dutch rejected in 2005.

Conclusion and transition: Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi sees a world made up of large blocs and empires. Its project for a pan-European Union is not historical and cultural but geographical, associated with the continent. He aspired to a new Carolingian Empire, a new Napoleonic Empire, a United States of Europe, a step that could lead to a world state, all considered a true Promethean project, a pan-European Union that had little to do with Christianity, with all due respect to the "Christian Democrats" who actively collaborated in its development. Once the main features of his Paneurope have been presented, it is proposed to see to what extent his proposals have been realized.

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<sup>91</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Praktischer Idealismus, Adel – Technik – Pazifismus*, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923.

<sup>92</sup> "Zukunftadel" in COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Praktischer Idealismus, Adel – Technik – Pazifismus*, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, p 49.

<sup>93</sup> HUXLEY, Aldous, *Brave New World*, London, Chatto & Windus, 1932, trans.fr. *Brave New World* re-ed. Paris, Pocket, 2017.

<sup>94</sup> HUXLEY, Julian, *The Geneticists' Manifesto*, 1939.

<sup>95</sup> HUXLEY, Julian, *New Bottles for New Wine*, Harper & Brothers, 1957.

<sup>96</sup> "Das Wesen Europas ist der Wille, die Welt durch Taten zu verändern und zu verbessern. Europa strebt bewußt aus der Gegenwart in die Zukunft; es befindet sich im Zustande ständiger Emanzipation, Reformation, Revolution; es ist neuerungssüchtig, skeptisch, pietätlos und ringt mit seinen Gewohnheiten und Traditionen. In der jüdischen Mythologie entspricht der europäische Geist Luzifer - in der griechischen Prometheus : dem Lichtbringer. der den göttlichen Funken zur Erde trägt, der sich auflehnt gegen die himmlischasiatische Harmonie, gegen die göttliche Weltordnung, der Fürst dieser Erde, der Vater des Kampfes, der Technik, der Aufklärung und des Fortschrittes, der Führer des Menschen in seinem Ringen gegen die Natur" in COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Praktischer Idealismus, Adel – Technik – Pazifismus*, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, p 83, trad.fr. *Practical Idealism, Nobility – Technique – Pacifism*, translated by Adeline A. Gasnier, 2014, p 67.

### Part III: Ursula von der Leyen's Empire, the culmination of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's dream

Comparative table of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's proposals and, if applicable, their implementation:

Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's dream	Status	Ursula von der Leyen's Empire
Pan-European Conference <sup>97</sup>	✓	1948: "Congress of Europe" in The Hague, presided over by Churchill, with Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi giving the opening speech.
Parliamentary assembly <sup>98</sup>	✓	1947: Creation of the European Parliamentary Union (EPU) in Gstaad on the initiative of Coudenhove-Kalergi, among others, who delivers the opening speech <sup>99</sup> . 1948: First Congress of the European Parliamentary Union in Interlaken, Switzerland. 1949: Creation of the Council of Europe after the Treaty of London (1949) with a council but also a parliamentary assembly which inspires the creation of the European Parliament. This was the beginning of European parliamentarism.
9 May 1950, the date that has become "Europe Day"	✓	Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi "instituted a Pan-Europe Day in May (17 May, the date of presentation of the Briand memorandum)". <sup>100</sup> The date finally chosen, 9 May 1950, is the date of the so-called 'Schuman' Declaration, which was transmitted by Jean Monnet to Robert Schuman and then validated by Konrad Adenauer and Dean Acheson <sup>101</sup> , the Secretary of State of the United States of America, the day before, 8 May 1950, the day of the so-called 'Schuman' Declaration, 9 May 1950.
Flag of the Pan-European Union <sup>102</sup>	✓	The flag of the Pan-European Union is "a red cross on a golden disc: the red cross, as a symbol of supranational charity, and the golden disc, symbol of sun, light and spirit". <sup>103</sup> The symbol and the explanation given suggest an esoteric significance, although it is difficult to prove this since the "solar cross" is not only used in esoteric circles. However, the flag was rejected by the Turks, who excluded any religious emblem, although Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi proposed adding "the crescent in the left corner of the flag". <sup>104</sup> Finally, Coudenhove-Kalergi "rallied to the choice of the official European emblem 'circle of 12 gold stars on an azure background'" <sup>105</sup> for the flag of the Council of Europe.
Anthem of the Pan-European Union	✓	<i>Beethoven's Ode to Joy</i> , the finale of Beethoven's 9th Symphony, was proposed by Coudenhove-Kalergi in 1929 <sup>106</sup> and in a letter in 1955 <sup>107</sup> . The great German composer Ludwig van Beethoven set to music a text by the German poet Friedrich von Schiller. The <i>Ode to Joy</i> is reworked by the

<sup>97</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billion, 2019, p 251.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 300.

<sup>99</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Opening Speech of the Founding Session of the European Parliamentary Union (EPU)*, Gstaad, 4 July 1947.

<sup>100</sup> Jean Spiri and Volker Klostius in the introduction to COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billion, 2019, p 294.

<sup>101</sup> *Robert Schuman 1886-1963 and the beginnings of Europe*, Booklet Guide to the Permanent Exhibition of the House of Robert Schuman, Milan, 2009.

<sup>102</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billion, 2019, p 261.

<sup>103</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Letter to Camille Paris* dated June 5, 1950.

<sup>104</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Letter to Minister van Cauwelaert* dated May 17, 1952.

<sup>105</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Letter from M. G. Levy* dated February 12, 1959.

<sup>106</sup> Jean Spiri and Volker Klostius in COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billion, 2019, p 294.

<sup>107</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Letter to Paul M. G. Levy*, dated August 3, 1955.

		conductor Herbert von Karajan. Chancellor Bismarck, founder of the Second German Empire, held Beethoven in high esteem and saw him as a fundamental part of a <i>Kulturkampf</i> (Fight for Culture) intended to fight against the Roman Catholic Church in Germany to subjugate the Church to the State, which was not possible with Roman Catholicism which distinguished between temporal and spiritual powers. For the record, Beethoven, passionate about French revolutionary ideas and an admirer of Napoleon's French Empire, had originally dedicated his 3rd Symphony to Bonaparte.
Pooling of German coal and French ore <sup>108</sup>	✓	The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was established in 1951. Jean Monnet takes over the first Presidency of the Joint High Authority, which is the supranational body of the ECSC.
Supranational Arbitration <sup>109</sup>	✓	The ECSC Court of Justice (together with the High Authority, the Special Council of Ministers, the Parliamentary Assembly and the Advisory Committee) was responsible for enforcing the supranational treaty, which subsequently merged with the EEC and Euratom. Qualified majority voting (QMV) appeared with the Single Act in 1986 and then with the Maastricht Treaty in 1992.
Solidarity guarantee for all European states on the border with Russia <sup>110</sup>	✓	Since 2022, the Empire of the European Union has obtained the last attribute of sovereignty that it lacked since the war is financed by the European Peace Facility (EPF) which is part of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Since <sup>111</sup> 2022, Ukraine has had official candidacy status to become a member of the European Union and is part of the enlargement project from twenty-seven to thirty-five members. Let us remember, however, that Ukraine was not in Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's pan-European Union.
Pan-European Defence Union <sup>112</sup>	✓	Following the rejection of the European Defence Community (EDC) project by the French National Assembly, the Western European Union (WEU) was created in 1954 but disappeared as its prerogatives were taken over by the European Union.
Union of European States, European Federation and Pan-European Union <sup>113</sup>	✓	European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), European Economic Community (EEC) and European Union (EU).
Economic union <sup>114</sup>	✓	Common Market, Treaty of Rome, European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957.
Phasing out inter-European customs barriers <sup>115</sup> , Customs Union <sup>116</sup>	✓	Common Market, Treaty of Rome, European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957.
Single currency	✓	At the 10th Pan-European Congress <sup>117</sup> in 1966, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing defended the idea of a single currency. The single currency is a reality in 2002.

<sup>108</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billion, 2019, p 199.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 199, 238.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>111</sup> See article by Emmanuel Lynch, *Extension of the European Union's Empire: The Ukrainian Example*, published on 16 June 2023.

<sup>112</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billion, 2019, p 102.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, inter alia, pp. 105 and 260.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239.

<sup>117</sup> *paneurope.fr*

Removing Boundaries <sup>118</sup>	✓	The Schengen area was signed in 1985.
Separation of Nation and State <sup>119</sup>	✓	Sovereignty, in particular the ability to make laws, is the distinguishing feature of the state in the international order. The Single Act of 1986 introduced Qualified Majority Voting (QVM), <i>de facto abolishing the</i> right of veto, the ultimate prerogative of nations to say no to a federal law resulting from what became the supranational federal state of the European Union. It was the Maastricht Treaty adopted in 1992 that really led to the transition from a confederation governed by public international law <sup>120</sup> to one governed by a supranational treaty. Sovereignty is transferred from the Nation to the Federation, resulting in France by the addition of Article 88-1 of the Constitution <sup>121</sup> even if the latter is in contradiction with the Constitution of 1958 in particular its Article 3 (see conclusion of <i>Emmanuel Lynch's Speech to the Parliament of the European Union on 4 October 2023 in Strasbourg</i> ).
Turkey in the Pan-European Union	✓	Turkey is a member of the Council of Europe. With the Ankara Agreement, signed in 1966, an association between the EEC and Turkey was created. Turkey's application to join the EEC was submitted in 1987. The customs union was established in 1996.
Pan-European Citizenship <sup>122</sup>	✓	Citizenship of the European Union was introduced by the Maastricht Treaty in 1992.
Pan-European Constitution <sup>123</sup>	✓	The first constitution of the European Union appeared with the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, and more recently the Lisbon Treaty signed in 2007, a supranational treaty very similar to the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe rejected by the French and Dutch in 2005.
United Kingdom outside the Pan-European Union	✓	<i>Brexit</i> was voted on in 2016. The United Kingdom's exit is effective in 2020.
Sale of French Guiana to America <sup>124</sup>	No	There is no French plan to sell Guyana to America.

Partial conclusion: Apart from the sale of French Guiana, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's proposals have been retained. It is striking to see that the perimeter of the European Union is globally, especially since the United Kingdom left the European Union, the same as that of the pan-European Union.

#### The European Union: a supranational federal state, an empire

Without repeating the intervention at the colloquium "European Union: an Empire against Nations" organized on December 9, 2022 at the Maison de l'Amérique latine in Paris, the European Union is a State since it brings together four elements necessary for there to be a State: a population, a territory, an organized power and sovereignty<sup>125</sup> It itself has four prerogatives, to make laws, to administer justice, to mint money, and to decide on peace and war. The European Union is also an Empire since it is first and foremost a government intended to govern several peoples and nations, a State. The European Union also brings together the other great characteristics of Empires, such as the logic of extension with the successive enlargements, the last one projecting to increase the Empire from twenty-seven to thirty-five members, the need to be idolized in the image of the "European construction" that it is agreed to adore, the mixing of temporal and spiritual dimensions with the promotion of a new anthropology, citizenship became a reality with the Maastricht Treaty, territorial continuity, without which there is no lasting supranational order.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid*, p. 232.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid*, p. 231.

<sup>120</sup> GOHIN, Olivier, *Droit constitutionnel*, 3rd edition, Paris, LexisNexis, 2016, p 57.

<sup>121</sup> GARAUD, Marie-France, *Impostures politiques*, Paris, Plon, 2010, p 50.

<sup>122</sup> Jean Spiri and Volker Klostius in COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billion, 2019, p 295.

<sup>123</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billion, 2019, p 240.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*, p. 130.

<sup>125</sup> GOHIN, Olivier, *Droit constitutionnel*, 3rd edition, Paris, LexisNexis, 2016, p 17.

Partial conclusion: the European Union is a federal state, a supranational state, a veritable empire.

#### The Pan-European Union: A Liberal Socialist Empire

For Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, "the leaders of European socialism recognise more easily than the conservative leaders the need for a pan-European union".<sup>126</sup> For him, "socialism, which will organize the entire world economy, must immediately liberate humanity from the paralyzing customs barriers between states, as it has been liberated from other chains of exploitation. But even now, when we still have to fight for the seizure of power within the capitalist state structures, we can demand economic union from the capitalist states. For such a union in no way contradicts the capitalist system. On the contrary, there is already a general necessity that pushes us beyond national borders. (...) We are therefore preparing socialism by promoting the ascent of capitalism in Europe to a more advanced stage of development."<sup>127</sup> Coudenhove-Kalergi associates socialism with liberalism, fearing that in the event of a Russian victory "not only socialism but also liberalism would be crushed in Europe."<sup>128</sup> It is therefore logical that "its most active supporters come from reformist parties: social democracy and liberal democracy in Germany, radicalism in France etc."<sup>129</sup>.

Partial conclusion: socialism, the dream of the perfect state, and liberalism are characteristic of the "liberal socialist empire of Coudenhove-Kalergi", the future "liberal socialist empire of the European Union".<sup>130131</sup>

Conclusion: The so-called "European construction" followed step by step the steps proposed by Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi to bring about the supranational federal state of the European Union, a veritable empire of a liberal socialist nature.

### Conclusion:

Exactly one hundred years ago, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi published *Pan-Europa*, a manifesto presenting a project of imperial unification falsely described as "European" because it excluded the British Isles, which were profoundly European. The so-called "European construction", initiated a little more than seventy years ago, has followed step by step the steps proposed by Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi is therefore a visionary, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi is a prophet, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi is the true father of the European Union, a federal state, a supranational state, an empire.

At the end of January 2020, the United Kingdom left the Empire of the European Union even though it had not fully re-entered it, retaining several sovereign prerogatives since it was neither a member of the Schengen area, the area without borders, nor part of the euro zone, the area that is the currency of the Empire. Ursula von der Leyen had just taken over as head of the European Union Empire a few weeks earlier. This is the reason why, in the history of so-called "European construction", the European Union has never been so close to Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's dream of a pan-European Union.

For Coudenhove-Kalergi, "every civilized man must work so that tomorrow, for everyone, the nation becomes a private matter, as religion is today."<sup>132</sup> For him, "*the nation is a community of spirit*."<sup>133</sup> Coudenhove-Kalergi wanted to put an end to the nation-state, to the nations constituted as a state, thinking that "this separation of the nation and the state will facilitate economic development as well as the social question everywhere. It will purify the political atmosphere of Europe."<sup>134</sup> This is not the case. The economic and social situation of France, for

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<sup>126</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa*, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. *Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billion, 2019, p 232.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid*, p. 250.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid*, p. 101.

<sup>129</sup> Jean Spiri and Volker Klostius in COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa*, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. *Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billion, 2019, p 274.

<sup>130</sup> LYNCH, Emmanuel, *La Nation face à l'Empire*, Paris, ML Éditions, 2021, rééd. Paris ML Éditions, 2022, p 303.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid*, p. 305.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid*, p. 230.

<sup>133</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Pan-Europa*, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. *Pan-Europa*, One Hundred Thousand Billion, 2019, p 211, 219, 230.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid*, p. 232.



example, is very bad both in terms of "economic growth" and in terms of "the social question". As for the "political atmosphere" in the Empire of the European Union, it is difficult to say that it is good. Some peoples are even questioning this Empire of the European Union and are thinking of reconstituting themselves as a state in order to recover their freedom. The Nation is back. That's a fact.

I would like to end this lecture with a question: how is it that Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, the true "Father of the European Union", is so little known?

Thank you.

First question: Is it possible to answer the question posed at the end of the presentation?

Maria Zakharova: I think the "Founding Father of the European Union" has been forgotten for two main reasons

- 1. The gradual consecration of Coudenhove-Kalergi's seminal role after the war took place in parallel with its gradual disappearance from the political and media space. There's a reason for that. In 1948, the "Congress of Europe" in The Hague, chaired by Churchill and with Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi as the opening speech, led to the creation of the International European Movement *chaired by Duncan Sandys, Churchill's son-in-law, of which Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi would become Honorary President, and the American Committee on United Europe*, known as ACUE. led by Allen Dulles, future director of the *Central Intelligence Agency* (CIA) which finances the European Movement and particularly the *European Youth Campaign*, also funded by the Ford and Rockefeller <sup>135</sup>Foundations. The support of the European Movement by the American secret services shows an American stranglehold on Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's project of federal integration, even though Churchill sees Coudenhove-Kalergi as the initiator. If we take the American point of view, the establishment of the Cold War requires us to take control of the project of federal integration of the so-called "European construction" in order to better control it. This is why Jean Monnet, the man of the Americans, took over the leadership of the federal development of the European continent by leading Schuman, Adenauer and Gasperi, Christian Democrats from the lands of Empires. Coudenhove-Kalergi's enmity with Jean Monnet, Roosevelt's former adviser, as well as Walter Hallstein, the first President of the European Commission, "for reasons of competition, personality, also sensitivity, Coudenhove will still be widely criticized for having supported the Austrian government in the 1930s"<sup>136</sup> does not help either.
- 2. The second reason is the publication of certain "problematic" texts. I recommend that you read *Practical Idealism* to get an idea<sup>137</sup>, a text with a eugenic logic that is quite unbearable to me but which is in the minds of several political actors of the interwar period.

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<sup>135</sup> ALDRICH, Richard J., *OSS, CIA and European Unity: The American Committee on United Europe, 1948-60*, Diplomacy & Statecraft, University of Nottingham, 1997.

<sup>136</sup> SAINT-GILLE, Anne-Marie, interview *Richard de Coudenhove and the Pan-European Union*, 46th minute, 2012.

<sup>137</sup> COUDENHOVE KALERGI, Richard, *Praktischer Idealismus, Adel – Technik – Pazifismus*, Vienna, Paneuropa-Verlag, 1923, trans.fr. *Practical Idealism, Nobility – Technique – Pacifism*, translated by Adeline A. Gasnier, 2014.

Are available on the website of the France Libre Vrai Europe movement at the following address <https://francelibrevraieeurope.fr>

- Proceedings and video of the colloquium ["EU: an Empire against Nations"](#) organized on December 9, 2022 at the Maison de l'Amérique latine in Paris.
- Text of the "Europe and Empire" speech delivered after the conference "From Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's dream to Ursula von der Leyen's Empire" at the Parliament of the European Union in Strasbourg on 4 October 2023.
- Links to books published by Emmanuel Lynch, including [The Nation and the Empire](#), published in 2021, the second edition of which was published in 2022. This book is the foundation on which the reflection proposed in this speech is based, as well as the conference "From Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi's dream to Ursula von der Leyen's Empire" on 4 October 2023 and the symposium ["EU: an Empire against Nations"](#) on 9 December 2022.
- Articles, interviews, conferences, etc.

# ANNEX

	Paneurope	EU-27
Albania	1	NO
Germany	2	1
Austria	3	2
Belgium	4	3
Bulgaria	5	4
<b>Cyprus</b>	<b>NO</b>	5
Croatia	23	6
Denmark	6	7
Spain	7	8
Estonia	8	9
Finland	9	10
France	10	11
Greece	11	12
Hungary	12	13
<b>Ireland</b>	<b>NO</b>	14
Italy	13	15
Iceland	14	NO (EFTA + EEA)
Latvia	15	16
Lithuania	16	17
Luxembourg	17	18
<b>Malta</b>	<b>NO</b>	19
Norway	18	NO (EFTA + EEA)
Netherlands	19	20
Poland	20	21
Portugal	21	22
Republic of theca	26	23
Romania	23	24
Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes	23	6 + 26 Serbia NO
Slovakia	26	25
Slovenia	23	26
Sweden	24	27
Switzerland	25	NO (EFTA + bilateral agreements)
Czechoslovakia	26	23 + 25
Turkey ( <i>post Paneuropa</i> )	27	Customs union since 1996 (Ankara Agreements in 1963).
<b>United Kingdom</b>	<b>NO</b>	28 + NO + Post-Brexit Trade and Cooperation Agreement
City-states	Andorra, Danzig, Flume, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, Saarland	Andorra: Eurozone + Customs Union. Liechtenstein: Association Agreement + EEA + Schengen + Single Market + Dublin III. Monaco: Eurozone + Schengen + Single Market + EU VAT. San Marino: Eurozone + Open Border + Customs Union. Vatican: Eurozone + open border.