

What was Pan-Europa – and what’s the truth about the ‘Kalergi plan’?

Pan-Europa was the first organized movement for European union, founded by Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi in 1923. The “Kalergi plan” is a fabricated conspiracy theory.



This page tells the real story first and dissects the fabrication second – because if you searched that phrase, you deserve the receipts, not a lecture.

The real story: 1923

Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi was a walking argument against tidy nationality: born in Tokyo in 1894 to an Austro-Hungarian diplomat and a Japanese mother, raised in Bohemia, a citizen – after 1918 – of the new Czechoslovakia. In 1923, with the First World War’s graves still fresh, the 29-year-old count published *Pan-Europa*, a book with one thesis: unless Europe’s states united politically and economically, they would destroy each other in a second war and become pawns of larger powers besides.

The book became a movement – the first mass organization for European union in history. Its first congress in Vienna in 1926 drew two thousand delegates. Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann and Sigmund Freud lent their names; Konrad Adenauer was a member; and the French statesman Aristide Briand took the idea into official diplomacy, proposing a European federal union at the League of Nations in 1929 – the first time any government had done so. The program was concrete for its era: a customs union, arbitration in place of war, common defense. [The relay of the idea runs straight through him.](#)

What the Nazis thought of him

This part matters for what comes next. To Hitler’s movement, Kalergi was an enemy of the first rank: a cosmopolitan aristocrat of mixed race, married

to a Jewish actress, preaching reconciliation with France. Hitler personally derided him in writing as a “bastard.” His books were banned and burned in Germany; the Pan-Europa movement was suppressed in 1933; the Nazi party paper *Völkischer Beobachter* smeared him in November 1940 as a Jewish-directed mongrelizer of Europe. By then he was fleeing – the Gestapo hunted him across France, and he escaped to New York in 1940. (His flight reportedly helped inspire Victor Laszlo, the resistance hero of *Casablanca*.)

After the war, vindicated, he received the first Charlemagne Prize in 1950 for services to European unity. He died in 1972.

The fabrication: 2000s

The “Kalergi plan” you may have met online – a secret scheme by which European elites are replacing white Europeans through mass migration – has a documented paper trail, and it is short. Its core move was invented by Gerd Honsik, an Austrian neo-Nazi twice convicted of Holocaust denial, who in the 2000s recycled the 1940 Nazi smear into a pamphlet claiming Kalergi’s writings were the hidden blueprint of the EU.

Honsik’s raw material is a single passage of Kalergi’s 1925 book *Practical Idealism*, in which the author predicts – in the speculative, race-obsessed idiom common to the 1920s – that increasing mobility would over generations produce more mixed populations. It is a forecast, not a program: the passage proposes nothing, and nothing anywhere in Kalergi’s thousands of pages of actual political writing – the customs unions,

the arbitration courts – advocates engineering any population anywhere. His biographer Martyn Bond and every serious fact-check (PolitiFact, Conspiracy Watch, the Italian investigation by Linkiesta, which compared the hoax to the **Protocols of the Elders of Zion**) land in the same place: the “plan” does not exist.

The tell is structural, and worth carrying with you as inoculation: the theory asks you to believe that a man hunted by the Gestapo secretly authored the agenda of his hunters' heirs – and its authors hoped you wouldn't check who was quoting whom. Now you have.

What Pan-Europa actually left behind

A method, mostly: the idea that European union needed a movement, not just a treatise – congresses, chapters, famous signatures, a flag with a sun and cross that predates the EU's stars. When the real institutions were finally built after 1950, the old count was still alive to watch engineers pour foundations under the castle he had sketched in the air.

[All questions →](#)

SOURCES

- Coudenhove-Kalergi, Pan-Europa (1923); Praktischer Idealismus (1925)
- Völkischer Beobachter attack on Kalergi, November 1940 (origin of the smear)
- Honsik's fabrication and its debunking: PolitiFact (2022), Conspiracy Watch, Linkiesta investigation
- Martyn Bond, Hitler's Cosmopolitan Bastard: Coudenhove-Kalergi and His Vision of Europe (biography)
- First Charlemagne Prize, Aachen 1950 (awarded to Coudenhove-Kalergi)

FREQUENTLY ASKED

Who was Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi?

An Austrian-Japanese count (born 1894, Tokyo) who in 1923 published Pan-Europa and founded the first organized movement for European political union. He won the first Charlemagne Prize in 1950 and died in 1972.

What did the Pan-Europa movement actually propose?

A political and economic union of European states – a customs union, a court of arbitration, a common defense posture – to prevent another war and keep Europe relevant beside America, Britain's empire, Russia and Asia.

Is there a real 'Kalergi plan'?

No. The 'plan' is a fabrication: Austrian neo-Nazi Gerd Honsik invented it in the 2000s, recycling a 1940 Nazi propaganda attack, by distorting one descriptive passage of Kalergi's 1925 book into a fake program.

What does the misquoted 1925 passage actually say?

In Practical Idealism, Kalergi predicted – as observation, not prescription – that long-run mobility would make future populations more mixed. His biographer and fact-checkers agree he proposed no policy to engineer this.

Did the Nazis support or oppose Kalergi?

Opposed, violently. The Nazi press attacked him in 1940, his books were banned and burned, and he – married to a Jewish actress, himself half-Japanese – fled to America in 1940. That the far right now cites him is history inverted.