



Finally Europe

How the European Republic became a reality

*For everyone on the European continent,
who still believes that another Europe is possible.*

*And for those out in the world,
who are longingly waiting for another Europe.*

*And especially for Merle & Emil from Magdeburg,
representing their generation.*

*They give me hope that the young generation is
smart enough to forge their own, new paths.*

May this book inspire both of them and their generation to care for a different Europe!

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I. A brief preliminary remark. Or even a warning.

And some music. And an ode to Europe.

II. The Future of History:

Europe's history in the 20th century, told *differently*. And a fictional, but perhaps not entirely implausible story of what could happen by 2045.

Here I present to you, looking back in fast-forward, a different reading of European history of the 20th century, which you are probably not used to and which might irritate you. On the other hand, it is a fictional, yet entirely plausible narrative about what could happen in Europe over the next two decades.

III. The European Republic: An 18th-century idea and its journey through time to the present day

Here I sketch – very cursorily and without claiming completeness or scientific rigor – the genesis of the idea of a European Republic, referencing texts by Nicolaus Vogt, Immanuel Kant, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Friedrich Schlegel, Johann Joseph Görres, and Victor Hugo from the 18th and 19th centuries. Then I take a leap into the 21st century – with a brief look at texts on the constitution of Europe from the 20th century – to link the old idea of the European Republic with more recent, including academic, literature on the European Republic and the concept of European citizenship.

IV. A Europe beyond the EU? How I came up with the idea of the European Republic

Here I describe in a very personal chapter how I came up with the idea of a European Republic in 2012, in order to put an end to the technocratic EU but preserve Europe. And I describe everything that has happened since 2012 and the publication of my utopia of a European Republic in 2016 up to the present day.

V. A constitutional draft for the European Republic: Its constitutional and democratic foundations, its political & federal structure, and its socio-economic systems.

Here I describe the central guiding ideas for the transition from a technocratic EU to a democratic European Republic: a.) its constitutional & democratic foundations; b.) its federal and political structure; c.) its regional reorganization, and d.) its socio-economic systems. For this purpose, I outline concrete steps on how one could – reasonably plausibly and with a lot of goodwill – arrive at a decentralized, subsidiary, democratic, and yet at the same time sovereign Europe.

VI. The political system of the federal European Republic at a glance

Here I have briefly summarized for you once again on a double page and with a clear diagram how the federal European Republic is structured. This summary and the diagram are available for you to download on the website www.endlich-europa.eu so that you can put them in your bag and think about them more often.

VII. Q & A: Which questions must be asked and answered across Europe with a view to the constitution of a European Republic? What & how must we discuss?

Here I outline a guideline for the Europe discussion of the coming months and years: What questions must we ask ourselves for the future of Europe? Which questions must be clarified with a view to the political system of a European Republic? The questionnaire is divided into 1.) Questions of a fundamental nature; 2.) Questions of a socio-economic nature; 3.) Questions of a cultural nature; 4.) Questions of an institutional nature; 5.) Questions regarding the USA; 6.) Questions regarding the EU candidate countries or EU aspirants and Russia; 7.) Questions regarding the multipolar world; 8.) Questions regarding the risk of founding a republic; 9.) Questions that should be discussed particularly in Germany. This questionnaire is also available for you to download as a PDF on www.endlich-europa.eu so that you can take it with you to as many discussion events, friends, or regular meetups as possible.

VIII. A comparison between the EU 27 and the European Republic 2045: Before/After

In this chapter, with the help of AI, I attempt a comparative forecast of the economic potential and foreign policy of today's EU versus those of a European Republic by 2045. The AI impressively confirms that Europe only has a future economically, in terms of foreign policy, and with regard to its democratic constitution, if it constitutes itself as a European Republic. The complete AI analysis with all figures and calculations is also available for you to download as a PDF on the website www.endlich-europa.eu so that you can continue calculating.

IX. A few personal words in conclusion

I conclude the AI's forecast with a small reminder of Joan of Arc and some personal words of hope that things may turn out well for Europe.

X. Acknowledgments

Here, a big thank you goes to many dear people who have supported me over the last four years and with whom I am friends today.

XI. Bibliography and further reading

A bibliography for the book, divided into the individual chapters, is provided on www.endlich-europa.eu. There you will find the literature and sources that inspired me to write this little book. The literature was moved to a website for four reasons. a.) to have a handy little book that hopefully many will read – and not a "heavy tome"; b.) so as not to diminish your reading pleasure with a footnote apparatus; c.) because you can open further hyperlinks to sources and websites directly on a website. Printing URLs <http://> in a book is pretty old school. And finally, d.) because I don't want to have four years of my life ruined again by ten small citation errors that were jazzed up into "plagiarism". After all, this is not a scientific book, but perhaps an original one. So keep your phone or iPad handy while reading for an interactive reading experience!

XII. History of perception of the utopia of a European Republic from 2016

Here you will find a quite impressive collection, created with the help of AI, of all writings, reviews, mentions, interviews, or lectures that emerged in the aftermath of the original 2016 book "Why Europe must become a Republic. A political utopia", which was widely perceived and translated into several European languages. My first book on the European Republic is therefore exactly ten years old this year, 2026: As if for its 10th birthday, this second book on the idea of a European Republic is being published. Perhaps Europe is even more ready for it today than it was then. You can also find this history of perception as a PDF on www.endlich-europa.eu to browse through.

I. A short preliminary remark. Or even a warning.

And some music. With an ode to Europe.

"No idea is a good one that did not seem completely illusory at the beginning."

Albert Einstein

"Be realistic, think utopian."

André Gorz

"C'est impossible, mais c'est nécessaire."

It is impossible, but necessary."

Jacques Derrida

"War is the father of all things"

Heraclitus

Now that a great hurricane is likely to sweep across Europe soon, it is time to think about how we will rebuild the European continent afterwards.



QR-CODE

To the music and to the website www.endlich-europa.eu

Dear citizens of Europe,

Scan the barcode, listen to two minutes of music that hopefully puts you in a good mood, and buckle up: We are embarking on a journey through time. On May 9, 2045, exactly one hundred years after the end of the Second World War, the federal European Republic was founded, and Europe was finally properly united – peacefully and democratically! Previously, the EU and NATO had collapsed, and with them the so-called "West". Europe emancipated itself and founded a state, which it constituted as a federal European Republic. Europe became sovereign and integrated itself with a constructive role into the multipolar world of the 21st century! The idea is therefore nothing less than to turn the technocratic EU into a veritable European democracy, constituted as a European Republic! With a European government, separation of powers, a European Citizens' Assembly, a European Senate, meaning a bicameral system in which both chambers together shape the future destiny of Europe. And if it really happens that way, then your children and grandchildren will live there in 2045.

This book is the anniversary edition for the tenth birthday of the book *Why Europe must become a Republic. A political utopia* from 2016, which I wrote exactly 500 years after Thomas More's *Utopia* from 1516. With this new book, I would like to celebrate the tenth birthday of the European Republic! Because thinking about the future of Europe has never been as urgent as it is today! You are of course welcome to still read the original book from 2016, but you don't have to: The two books do not build on each other.

This book is like a game of marbles. It consists of very different text types and writing styles that glitter in all directions. Which marble you like best is up to you: The retrospective walk through the history of Europe in the 20th century and the projection to 2045 is the thickest marble. You must promise me that you will not drop out there and definitely continue reading the book, even if you do not like this

different portrayal of European history of the last century. Or you only start reading the book from Part III and read Part II at the very end. That works too. All other chapters are roughly the same length, meaning the glittering marbles are roughly the same size. Let's see if you can hear the marbles clicking...

Welcome then to the European Republic: The new, democratic home for the responsible European citizens in an emancipated Europe! Perhaps utopia is the actual reality when reality no longer works?

In this spirit:

Vive la République Européenne!

Long live the European Republic!



Ulrike Guérot

End of August 2026

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Detailed Structure

I. A brief preliminary remark. Or even a warning.

And some music. And an ode to Europe.

II. The Future of History:

Europe's history in the 20th century, told *differently*. And a fictional, but perhaps not entirely implausible story of what could happen by 2045.

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Three crises of recent history: Corona, the refugees, and the banking crisis

The birth defects of European integration and the technocratic structure of the EU: Back to 1950

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The recurring pattern of the Heartland Theory

The USA and fascism in Europe – then and now

Fascism against Socialism - or: The social driving force of Europe and the Iron Curtain

A neutral Europe? Three missed opportunities

The Stalin Note

The EDC and German rearmament

Charles de Gaulle's equidistance

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From German Ostpolitik to Heartland 2:0 and Heartland 3:0

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The European banking crisis without a political constitution

Game over: The Maidan, populism and the European film break

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Mountains of debt, centrifugal forces and the collapse of the world order

We are the good guys

Europe loses the Ukraine War

Reverse fascism

Scarcity and identity discourses

The expansion of surveillance and asymmetric law

The underground

The collapse

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Friedrich Schlegel and his journal *Europa*

Johann Joseph Görres and the Rheinischer Merkur

European anti-liberalism from the Vormärz to the EU

The *République des Lettres*

The Latin Empire and Anglo-Saxon liberalism

How liberal can Europe be?

From the Restoration to 1848

About the Gauls and Neutral Moresnet

Rousseau and Kant

Perpetual Peace and its opponents

The republican constitution

Last, but not least: Victor Hugo

Julien Benda and his address to the European Nation

A short excursus on the nation: Ernest Renan, Max Weber & Marcel Mauss

From Mauss to the European single market

Law, not identity, creates the nation

The Europe of the Regions

The duality of regions and Europe
 The anti-fascist Ventotene Manifesto of 1941 and attempts at a socialist Europe
 The Hertenstein Program of the European Federalists of 1946
 The Treaties of Rome of 1957 and the EEC
 On market and republic
What, if the Left got it right?
 European populism cheerfully celebrates its resurrection
 The misunderstood European citizens
 The Republic as a political concept of order in Europe
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 The Republic as a new term for Europe
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 The Lab's studies on the participation of national parliaments in the EU
 The refugee crisis, the European democratic deficit and the *Pulse of Europe*
 The new European civil war
 Why Europe must become a Republic. A political utopia.
 A little anecdote
 The proclamation of the European Republic 2018
 The European Republic in Lower Austria: *Amikejo* and research projects
 A film and the House of European History in Brussels.
 The Conference on the Future of Europe (CoFEU)

V. A constitutional draft for the European Republic: Its constitutional & democratic foundations, its political & federal structure & its socio-economic systems.

Motives for founding a European Republic
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 The democratic reconstruction of Europe's political institutions & the federal reorganization of European spaces
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 The end of parliamentary-representative democracy and the algorithm society
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 The (rocky) road to a European Republic
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 The convening of a European *Constituante*
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The state constitution of the Federal European Republic

State, constitution, founding date, state territory, state symbols, and official language

Federal & parliamentary structure of the European Republic

Prime Minister and Government of the European Republic

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Foreign representation & neutrality of the European Republic

The currency of the European Republic

The European Court of Justice

Expansion of the territory of the European Republic

Taxes and financial equalization

Right of asylum, Schengen area, protection of external borders, OLAF, and the European Public

Prosecutor's Office

Miscellaneous

This brief overview of the political system of the European Republic, including a diagram, is available for download on the book's website www.endlich-europa.eu.

VII. Q & A: What needs to happen for Europe to survive? What & how should we discuss? And my proposed answers.

1. Questions of a fundamental nature
2. Questions of a socio-economic nature
3. Questions of a cultural nature;
4. Questions of an institutional nature;
5. Questions regarding candidate countries & neighboring states of today's EU;
6. Questions regarding the USA;
7. Questions regarding the future multipolar world;
8. Questions regarding the political risk of founding a republic;
9. Questions that should be discussed in Germany (*and for which I refrain from giving personal answers!*)

This questionnaire is available to you for further discussion *without* my draft answers at: www.endlich-europa.eu

VIII. EU 27 vs. European Republic (ER): Before/ After

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The lack of state steering in Europe

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The political coalitions with a view to the realization of Scenario A (ER) vs. Scenario B (EU 27)

The 80-page AI analysis created by Stefan Wachner is available to you at www.endlich-europa.eu.

IX. A few personal words in conclusion

The miracle of Joan of Arc

The University of Bonn and I

The *European Transcontinental Initiative* (ETI)

X. Acknowledgments

Thanks to the many angels, friends, acquaintances, and supporters who have accompanied me over the last four years.

XI. Literature for Chapters II, IV & V

The bibliography for this book, as well as background literature and sources, can be found as a PDF, separated by chapter, at www.endlich-europa.eu

XII. The perception of my utopia of a European Republic from 2016

A 17-page AI overview created by Michael Schettge covering the history of perception of my 2016 utopia of a European Republic with all translations, scientific debates, articles, interviews, and videos is also available to you at www.endlich-europa.eu.

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