

T.C.

TURKISH GERMAN UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

EUROPE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

**A FEDERATION OF STATES OR A FEDERAL STATE?
A COMPARISON OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE,
THE EU, AND THE USA**

MASTER'S THESIS

Ozan ERBİL

ADVISOR

Prof. Dr. Manuel Andreas KNOLL

İSTANBUL, June 2024

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**“More Inhumanity Has Been Done By Man Himself Than
Any Other Of Nature’s Causes”**

Samuel Freiherr von Pufendorf

Curriculum Vitae

Ozan Erbil graduated from İstanbul University Faculty of Political Sciences Department of Political Science and International Relations. His English and Turkish are on academic level.



Abbreviations

HRE : The Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic Nations

EU : The European Union

USA : United States of America

USD : United States Dollars

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Özet

DEVLETLER FEDERASYONU MU FEDERAL DEVLET Mİ? KUTSAL ROMA İMPARATORLUĞU, AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ VE AMERİKA BİRLEŞİK DEVLETLERİ KARŞILAŞTIRMASI

Bu çalışma Kutsal Roma İmparatorluğu'nu, Avrupa Birliği'ni ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ni temel analiz düzeyini devlet tutarak federalizm ve ilgili siyaset bilimi literatürü bağlamında karşılaştırdı. İlgili terimlerin etimolojik karşılıkları belirtildi ve tarihi bağlam içerisinde evrimler ve değerlemeler aktarıldı. Tez aynı zamanda Kutsal Roma İmparatorluğu'nun, Avrupa Birliği'nin ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin hükümetlerinin yöntemlerinin ve fonksiyonlarının üzerinde etkisi olan toplumlarının evrimini de aktardı. Güncel karşılaştırmalı siyaset literatürü karşılaştırmalı siyaset yaklaşımına uygun olarak eklendi.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kutsal Roma İmparatorluğu, Avrupa Birliği, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, Federasyon, Devletler Federasyonu

Tarih: 11/06/2024

Abstract

A FEDERATION OF STATES OR A FEDERAL STATE? A COMPARISON OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, THE EU, AND THE USA

The research study compares Holy Roman Empire, the European Union, and the United States of America regarding the governance methods of federalism by taking state as the main actor of international relations and governance methods as the analysis level. The etymology of the related terms is added within the historical evaluation and framework. The thesis also includes the evaluation of USA, EU, and The Holy Roman Empire's evaluation of governance regarding forming a federation or being federation of states including evaluation of societies which has impact on governance methods. Contemporary points of view are included in line with comparative federalism approach.

Keywords: Holy Roman Empire, European Union, United States of America, Federation, Federation of States

Date: 11/06/2024

Introduction

This MA thesis is conducted as it is consisted of combination of historical case study and longitudinal surveying of the same society in different times of history. The thesis researches the relations between local and central governance bodies and displays the necessities and concrete issues that evaluated the related governance method. In this instance, as theories are constructed on the approaches, while considering the theories, the unstructured approach allows me to be more flexible where necessary in order reach precise results. Thus, human factor is the main issue of the social sciences, and it is impossible to make experimental approaches in qualitative studies.

Studies from Germany, UK, USA were included as first-hand sources and where necessary, Latin main sources are cited in the study. As the root-language of the western civilization, Latin is exceptional for related social sciences.

The federation term is in accordance with the general political science and constitutional law and the federation of state refers to a political entity where members are free to exit and do not bound to a standardized political and legal procedure.

The analysis level is maintained as state, described either a part of a federal state or an autonomous/sovereign entity in a federation of states.

In this research study, I have demonstrated necessary writing and applied research techniques that displays the comparison and outcome of the data and gathered from sources. This is a historical case study that defines the federation of states and federal state by literature view and compares their evaluation in the historical timeline in order to demonstrate the optimum outcome for which term corresponds best with which country and society whether they are a federation of states or a federal state. I delivered necessary references due comparison and own ideas in line with the literature is the main point of research study. I maintained the subject framework. I have chosen the proper data sources from universities and libraries.

In the first the part, Holy Roman Empire is researched as state is the main analysis level. It is concluded that the Holy Roman Empire is a federation of states and explanatory information is provided within the chapters. The historical evaluation of the administration provides comparison with the European Union.

In the second part, the European Union is researched and the analysis level as state is maintained. It is concluded that European Union is a federation of states as Holy Roman Empire is. The evaluation and continuation of the administration and society is demonstrated in the research study though it is a historical case study. The importance of being a federation of states for Holy Roman Empire and European Union is explained. Particular terms such as feudalism, democracy, citizen, serf is displayed as main evaluation criteria.

In the third chapter, United States of America is researched, and it is concluded that USA is a federal state. The reasons and timeline of the evaluation of the USA as a federal state is explained.

In the fourth chapter it is more precisely underlined the necessities of being federal when it comes to American administration.

In the fifth chapter the contemporary scholarship is displayed within the analytical framework of utilities and evolution of governance models with examples. Particularly comparative federalism is explained due precision regarding to research question.

The final conclusion delivers the final remarks and comparison. The thesis subject and insight include institutions and history of European Union as it is the subject of our courses in TGU. In the European Union sovereignty gets slowly shifted towards supranational level while in the United States, the president and federal state gets stronger in relation to the 50 states for 200 years. In line with the research question, it is endeavoured to explain the reasons in this research study.

I hereby deliver my special thanks to most esteemed Prof. Dr. Manuel Andreas Knoll hence, he accepted to be my thesis supervisor.

İstanbul 2024

Ozan Erbil

Part 1

A Theoretical Perspective to Federation of States and Federal State

1.1. Difference Between the Terms Federation of States and Federal State

1.1.1. Differences Between US Local Level States and EU Member States and Local Level Administrations of the HRE

The main difference between the federation of states and federal state is about the sovereignty status of their local level political entities. The local level entities of the United States of America have no absolute power on deciding about sovereignty. In the sense of United States political system, 50 USA local level states are sovereign though the local level states have their own central bank, their own national guard and elect their rulers and even police chiefs. As the 10th amendment¹ of the USA constitution which was put in force in 1790 declares the powers which are withhold by the local level states are not granted by the federal entity but those powers are reserved to local entities. Yet this sense of being sovereign does not include declaring war to other countries and overriding federal government in foreign policy. In addition, US supreme court can override the decisions of local level governments. So, the American sense of sovereignty of local level states are not the

¹ Philip John Davies, *Case Studies on the American Constitution. The History and Evolution of the Constitution of the U.S.A. / Philip John Davies, American Documents Series 1* (Hebden Bridge: Altair Publ, 1989).

same as the actors of international relations of academic IR literature but they act as sovereign in the American federal system which is cohered by the federal governance. The US governmental organization allows every possible flexibility and freedoms while securing the united federal political entity.

The European Union was established in the post-second world war period. The sovereign states maintained their main abilities such as sovereignty and decision-making apart from the central EU government bodies. All EU member states maintain their own national armed forces, their own foreign ministries, and central banks in line with sovereignty and these doesn't go contrary to central EU bodies or regulations.

While the United States have been established from centre-to-local organization, the European Union was modelled upon local-to-centre though the sovereign member states sign and ratify the treaties of the European Union by their own will while the local states of United States of America were established by the will of the central governance.

The Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic Nations is an Empire that was established in Middle Ages and existed until 1806. The HRE has ceased to exist as the modern state of post French Revolution era has risen throughout Europe. The local level administrations of the Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic Nations were bound to the emperor through military supremacy, bond of religion, economic necessities until the HRE administration made the necessary regulations on transform of legitimacy from military power to rule of law.

Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic Nations is the precursor of western governance models while the timeline transposes through subject-citizen, traditional-charismatic leadership to rational-democratic leadership.

1.1.2. The Difference Between the Terms Regarding the Economic Activity

The United States of America has undergone a survey in which the central governance bodies endeavoured to strengthen the economic output of the whole country while preserving the economic liberties of each local level administration and people living within. Hence, the local level administrations of United States of America have their own central banks and the local governments are able to make economic agreements with people or governments outside United States of America unless it is compatible with federal regulations of the USA.

In the European Union, the sovereign states which are the members of the EU already have their economic regulations. The European Union does not limit the economic endeavours of each member but to deliver general remarks about common economic space and activities. In this instance the similar pattern of difference is valid between the two political entities; while the USA prioritizes the central-to-local regulations, the EU prioritizes the local level regulations and delivers general remarks based upon them.

The Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic Nations does not apply the modern understanding of economic activities unlike the two political entities displayed above as a classical empire which is

rural, and the economic income is mostly measured upon agriculture activities, farming, and animal breeding.

1.2.From Classics to Contemporary: Tilly, Mann, and Comparative Federalism

1.2.1. Tilly, Mann, Different Types of Statehood and State Development

This research study aims to underline that while USA delivers more power to central governance during the evolution process, the European Union is reluctant to deliver more power to central EU bodies due exercise of sovereign powers by member states and the flexibility current EU structure delivers to both EU and member states by governance exercise of democracy and representation.

The research study aims to deliver the remark that especially, in the Holy Roman Empire chapter, as Michael Mann argues that the wars does not make the statehood but deliver power to those who wield military power. Yet as displayed below Holy Roman Empire successfully overcame this crisis of governance and military force by delivering necessary reforms and existed until 1806. At this timeline, HRE successfully delivered the main state tradition and statehood projections for Europe and also effected the USA.

In addition to remarks above, Charles Tilly argues that the states don't go through fixed periods of history while they evolve through. Hence, it is precise to underline those differences between USA and EU in this research successfully proves Tilly's arguments.

1.2.2. On Comparative Federalism

Most of the contemporary scholarship concentrate on the subject comparative federalism when it comes to analyse the administrative systems of various political entities. Comparative federalism compares the related systems in a systematic way in line with the political science literature.

Comparative federalism focuses on the issues beyond traditional understanding of federalism which indicates different aspects of understanding of government and relations between sub-state level actors and central governance. This traditional point of view rather focuses on differences between federations and confederations. Sui generis political entities such as European Union, United States of America and The Holy Roman Empire of Germanic Nations are not included in the traditional approach mentioned above. Thus, comparative federalism is the precise subject for analysing the related sui generis political entities on contemporary aspect.

1.2.3. Analytical Framework on Contemporary Scholarship, the Holy Roman Empire, the EU, and the USA

The analytical framework includes a comparison of relations between the local and central governance elements of related political entities namely the Holy Roman Empire of The Germanic Nations, the European Union, and the United States of America in line with comparative federalism. This research study only includes the related

part for the research question as it is not necessary to make language driven divisions at this point of study. English speaking and German speaking division is not the topic of this research study. The concentration regarding the comparative federalism is the issues what makes the three political entities sui generis and different from each other:

As the main layout is delivered about the political systems of the three political entities above, this research study precisely delivers which of the entities are either federalism or federation of states by traditional means so far. This part to make contemporary analysis based on comparative federalism, a literature rose after the second world war and 1960's.

How to share and exercise the power is the main comparison subject. The American model and the German/European model differ in this instance. American political culture and political scientists do not often use the state term when studying on local level governance. In the American understanding, state is intensely considered in federal level politics where politicians are also effective on local level politics such as US Supreme Court. The US Supreme Court judges are appointed by the president of United States, and they have the power to change any law regarding the United States of America. The local administrators in the United States of America generally acts like lobbyists when it comes to federal politics of the country hence, they have no legitimate authority or right regarding the federal issues despite being elected by their local voters and communities. This is an important difference between the EU and USA in line with comparative federalism. In the EU, elected heads of states have important roles in the European Council and if elected they can take

part in European Commission and other organs of the EU structure. The personal promotion of public servants and acceptance of the public vote has different perceptions in this instance. Thus, if a governor in US local state to be promoted to president of United States of America, he or she is required to enter to general elections which means another public vote should take place before his or her nomination. In the EU institutions, only an intra-institution election or nomination is sufficient for related personnel to nominate for duty. In the Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic Nations, promotion of any personnel is required to be elected by the elector-princes, approved by the emperor, and if considered empire wide duty he should be a German descendant. Unlike the other two political entities, Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic Nations did not exercise democracy, yet it is precursor of the direct descendants of Germany and possessed precursors and roots of the contemporary federal governance elements as explained above.

Another important difference between the three political entities is how they constitute their multi-layered administration models as federal states or federation of states. As displayed above, The Holy Roman Empire of Germanic Nations and the European Union are modelled as federation of states and United States of America is a federal state.

While the European Union doesn't constitute a federal law that binds and limits all powers of sovereign member states, the federal entity of United States of America is the only sovereign political entity in USA structure.

The Holy Roman Empire of Germanic Nations is particularly important for the comparative federalism part due, as it is described above within the historical perspective the political entity is neither a federalism nor a confederal entity but a sui generis federation of states where it is precise to make analytical assessment. The leadership of the Holy Roman Empire of Germanic Nations is mentioned above as a monarch and prince-electors of local governance elements. The important point of the assessment is the traditional understanding of the federation of states begins in HRE as the precursor of the feudalism which evolves into contemporary understanding of federalism and current relations between local and central governance. This instance makes Holy Roman Empire different and root of governance modelling of western hemisphere, hence, adds an important layer to this study beyond comparison of the other contemporary political entities namely the European Union and the United States of America.

As mentioned above, the Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic Nations is consisted of different multi-layered local governance elements in which operate with different functions and as a whole HRE structure. In the comparative federalism perspective, it is researched in the literature what makes a political entity a federal one, though the root of this question is found in the HRE, as it is precise to go through with the analytical view of the evaluation of the local governance of elements in order to underline the importance of historical perspective and comparison:

The European Union is the result of the historical evolution of the change in governance in historical timeline. The multi-layered local governance elements of the Holy Roman Empire of the

Germanic Nations have evolved into the current German institutions in timeline and finally European countries formed a new federation of states that could unite them while flexible enough to exercise their own policies on local level. The transpose of the institutions are important for analytical perspective of comparative federalism.

Transpose of the elements refers to an analogy that transforms the medieval institutions with similar values and functions to their contemporary counterparts. It is described below with proper comparison that provides analytical assessment.

The following transpose assessment of institutions display the evolution of work groups of people within the horizontal and vertical organizational behaviour in range of evolution from medieval HRE to contemporary EU political entities. It is clearly displayed that the more evaluation occurs, more vertical and citizen oriented, and equal organizational behaviour develops while medieval organization is mostly grouped upon horizontal full or partial hierarchy between subjects and lords. In addition, the more evolution occurs to contemporary times, the more centralization of functional local entities under one single entity, such as municipalities, occur while traditional medieval organization tends to be separate while holding the same functions in different locations of HRE. Centralization, more vertical work grouping on equal basis result as democratization, modernization, and finally federalization of the whole society under more organized and interactive manners. So, it is precise to talk about there is a journey from federation of states to federalism, bringing together modernization, democratization, equal citizen understanding. What makes the European Union sui generis is that maintaining the local governance flexible while maintaining the

union as a whole as displayed above. The moral values of the European society and the similar functions of the traditional governance elements have been carried over as it should have been in a successful transposing. The transposing still maintains the analysis level within the analytical assessment while displaying the structural shifts in the local governance elements, such as circles (krieses) to municipalities, in the timeline of historical evolution. The analysis level is still the state and question of sovereignty either the entities are federations or federation of states.

1.3. Different Path of Development: The HRE, The EU, and the USA

1.3.1. Effect of Religion: 1075 Dictatus Papae and Shift to Protestantism in the Timeline

Religion is a highly politicized phenomenon in the Middle Ages as the Holy Bible was perceived as a political instruction tool for those who sought power. Dictatus Papae was issued by Pope Gregory VII in 1075 and consisted of 27 articles which aimed to strengthen Papal influence over the kings and emperors over Europe (especially against the Holy Roman Emperors). This struggle between the Pope(s) and Emperor(s) contributed greatly not only to the rise of separate nation states apart from the influence of the church but also to deliver a religious understanding to emperors that they could stay out of the political influence of the church. Hence, the Papal State could not intervene in the Emperor's political issues. In this instance, Protestantism should be considered as an endeavour to make emperors and kings separate from the Catholic Church. In this instance, the Treaty of Augsburg underlines that princes will determine the faith of their own subjects, which is an important milestone for the related subject.

Delivering a separate aspect from the Catholic Church effected the stance of composition of European states and delivered a statehood tradition (without wars but treaties and common understanding as Mann points out) and European harmony within different religious sects was made possible. This issue also points out that Europe has indeed followed different patterns of modernisation (Every state does not modernise in fixed intervals as Tilly points out) and it is possible to argue that this diverse nature effected the USA structure.

It is precise to add the related articles of Dictatus Papae of Gregory VII that clearly shows that there is an imperial vs papal² struggle³ for political power:

Article VIII: Quod solus possit uti imperialibus insigniis.

This article indicates that the Pope can use the imperial insignia on his own will.

Article XII: Quod illi liceat imperatores deponere.

This article indicates that the Pope could depose the emperors on his own will, and it would be legitimate.

² Walter Ullmann, *Medieval Papalism: The Political Theories of the Medieval Canonists* (Westport, Conn: Hyperion Press, 1979).

³ Thomas Renna, *The Conflict between the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire during the Early Avignon Era, 1300-1360* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2013).

1.3.2. On Power Sharing and Sovereignty

The matter of sovereignty and power sharing⁴ has become a dilemma for Europe since the collapse of the Western Roman Empire. While the Papal State endeavoured to solve this dilemma in favour of the church by religious sphere of influence; the emperors and kings endeavoured to solve the dilemma within their military power and economic activities. In the historical timeline, these struggles point out that Papal State thinned and lost its political power while nation states emerged victorious and European states established a statehood tradition of common understanding and existing together with differences. These experiences deliver a power sharing culture while respecting the sovereignty of each other. These issues indicate reasons of evolutions of the European Union to a federation of states, taking roots from Holy Roman Empire. The security and economic reasons explained in this research study indicates the more centralized evolution of the USA.

⁴ Christopher W. Close, *State Formation and Shared Sovereignty: The Holy Roman Empire and the Dutch Republic, 1488-1696*, First edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

1.4. Conclusion of Part I

1.4.1. On Emerging of Different States

This research study underlines that emerging of the different states from one larger political entity is a success of nation states. The emergence of the nation states also comes with the issue of cooperation of the related states. In this instance the research study is in line within Tilly's approach and academic IR literature. It is only arguable to talk about different states when nation states have their say on their sovereignty. The harmonization of those nation states or uniting under a single federal political entity is about the answer of the research question which is explained throughout the research study.

1.4.2. Theoretical Framework of the Timeline

The research study follows the academic IR literature while displaying and explaining the evaluation and evolution process of the European and American ways of governance in line with the precursor Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic Nations. Part I delivers the better understanding and articulation of the theoretical basis. It is precise to make the reading within this academic literature while making assessment of the outcome which is the evolution continues in different patterns for the EU and the USA despite, they take their roots from Europe and nation states still emerge and preserve their sovereignty. The research study successfully models that it is not wars but tradition, statehood, and common understanding that paves way to sustainable

peace and orderly politics. Thus, the outcome of the research question utilizes these results.

It is among the most important issues that in order to link the evaluation of the governance models from historic to contemporary while comparing between models is to deliver the necessary remarks about the research question. Comparative federalism is a form of systemization of the comparative government studies in international relations where it utilizes this research study in best terms. While the comparative federalism mostly focuses on the two sides of Atlantic, it is also important to make assessments about the Holy Roman Empire of Germanic Nations where most of the European governance had their precursors of governance. This part clearly demonstrates the analytical framework in line with the contemporary literature beyond the basic differences that were demonstrated in previous parts of the research study.

Part 2

2.1. The Holy Roman Empire: Roots and History of Germanic Governance

2.1.1. Linguistic Approach to Roots and History:

Etymology of the Terms and their Historical Evolution

The terms and language of the society uses evolves in historical timeline so as the governance elements. Thus, the change in the language and words demonstrate the evaluation that society had undertaken. As the precursors and descendants of later political entities, the Holy Roman Empire had the source of late Latin words and terms of literature that was subject to transposing that the research study displays below. In this instance, the etymology of the related words and terms have particular importance.

The term “Federation” derives from the late Latin foederationem⁵ (nominative foederatio), noun of action from past-participle stem of Latin foederare "league together," from foedus "covenant, league", it clearly displays the endeavours of the Holy Roman Empire of Germanic Nations aim to unite Europe under its banner as the term “Feodus” refers to a league/covenant that unites entities and societies under a banner for a common purpose and cause.

⁵ Online Etymology Dictionary. “Federal (adj).” Date: April 18, 2024. <https://www.etymonline.com/word/federal>

The modern term “central state” derives from French and displays the post French Revolution era of modern state understanding of a single sovereign entity with strong and legitimate central governance with non-sovereign local political entities.

Another important term is “city”, which is the root of the analysis level of this research study, derives from the ancient Greek word “polis”. Polis has a wider meaning above the literal meaning of city, but a city-state which embodies the organizational structure of a sovereign political entity that has its own judicial, executive, and legislative bodies independent from other political entities. These utilities are not specific to polis however, the values transposed, and political sources exercised is best maintained in polis when it comes to European evolution of political governance. The understanding of the most basic sovereign entity that is the core of the federation of states or federal states is important.

2.1.2. Precursor of the Local Governance:

Feudalism

Feudalism is the main starting point of the evaluation process of the Germanic history of administration. It was the collapse of the Roman Empire that paved the way to feudalism and end of the city-state (polis displayed above) understanding of late antiquity. The necessity of proving order in Europe was most dire hence, the feudal system is an organization where the central state authority of the Roman Empire ceased to exist so, it is an endeavour to muster the authority to a power centre most notably to the lords. In the Middle

Ages in Europe, it was the feudal system that delivered autonomy to local authorities called lords. Lords gained their power from their military power and soil. Ability to defend their own soil with their own forces and gathering food via their serfs, lords managed to maintain a limited autonomy from the central governance. The Feudal system was sustainable as long as the feudal lords maintained their military power though the system was remote due the central governance elements could gain more power and eliminate local governance elements. The rules of the system were valid unless the power that maintains them continue. The requirement to the feudal local governance rose and maintained due lack of central governance power, not by any law or demand. On the contrary, many local lords attempted to legitimize their rule from proverbs from the Holy Bible, yet the main issue, which is the strong military power always determined the local reign status, always remained the same. This very fundamental existence way of feudalism was successfully evaluated by the Holy Roman Empire.

2.1.3. Precursor to the Central Governance: Monarchy

Monarchy is the main governance method worldwide during European Middle Age occurred. It was no different that the strongest military leaders became kings in many parts of the world while many centralized kingdoms appeared in Europe such as Kingdom of France. However, France had a solid central governance that in the 17th century eliminated any local governance that opposed the king in Paris, it is indeed different from Germanic governance occurred in the Holy Roman Empire of The Germanic Nations.

A Portrait: Louis XIV, the Absolute Player in Versailles

While deposing the dukes and other nobility who regrets his authority, Louis XIV endeavoured to improve a vibrant cultural life among his loyalists inside the Palace of Versailles. There he enjoyed theatre and Pall-Mall (Precursor of tennis) and medieval style balls and dances. He endeavoured reinforce the Kingdom of France while improving the cultural life and scale of the French high society that will spread through whole public even centuries after him. His absolutism was a landmark example to monarchs of Europe where the though found ground that monarchs could be the main locomotive of the improvements of the country they rule.

2.1.4. The Differentiation from Others in the Central and Local Governance and Hierarchy: The Governing Organs and Layers of The Empire

Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic Nations represents the roots of the European governance that evaluated until contemporary times. The Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic Nations⁶ differentiated by many means from the rest of the European Middle Age Kingdoms and those points are the key evaluation points for evaluation of administration.

The Holy Roman Empire declared itself to be the one and only legitimate successor of the Roman Empire. This claim led the emperors to pursue a unification attempt of all Europe by military campaigns. Despite failure, this high aim always maintained.

The Holy Roman Empire eventually expanded its sphere of influence to Rome as Pope Leo III crowned Charlemagne⁷ in 800 AD (due Pope was disturbed by people who threatened to harm him Charlemagne assisted the Pope when he asked for protection and shelter), which is the sacred city of the western Christianity branch of Catholicism, and

Holy Roman Emperors were crowned there by the Pope himself and the emperor should be King of German Kingdom within the Holy Roman Empire by inheritance. In addition, Emperor should be

⁶ Brian Alexander Pavlac and Elizabeth S. Lott, *The Holy Roman Empire: A Historical Encyclopedia*, First edition, Empires of the World (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2019).

⁷ Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

elected by the elector princes. Only than the emperor could be officially crowned. This provided a moral superiority to the Holy Roman Emperors and underline their Germanic descentance, and they even challenged to the Pope when they thought they had sufficient military power for that.

Thus, Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic Nations was a Holy Christian Sanctum for all Germanic peoples and it was direct descendant of all Roman Empire. This idea was empowered by a scripture, Holy Bible, which was the main book of ideology of the Middle Ages. The Holy Roman Empire managed to establish a supra-national body of political entity that united people from different ethnic backgrounds, most notably Germanic, Slavic, Hungarian, under the Holy Roman Catholic banner within a complex model of governance⁸. It is important to add that Holy Roman Empire changed its official title to Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation in 17th century due waning of sphere of influence on the other ethnicities.

The Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic Nations preserved a model that minimised the possible military clashes between local governance entities and link them to Imperial entity which was the central governance element of the Empire. In 1495, Ewige Landfriede, Perpetual Public Peace, provided that central governance successfully prevented barons who declare wars on their own will

⁸ Peter H. Wilson, *The Holy Roman Empire: A Thousand Years of Europe's History*, Penguin History (London: Penguin Books, 2017).

and made them to turn courts when necessary. This important step changed the fundamental existence of feudalism from existence by force to existence within law. This is the first important evaluation from the federation of states to a central state. However, this evaluation does not mean a solid transformation between the two governance models, still both multi-layered and preserve their differences and their own advantages for the country or country's they are applied to.

The administration of the Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic Nations had Circles (Krieses) as administrative divisions. While the Reichstag operated nationwide, Landtage were local level administration apparatus. In addition, Circles were local administrations that assisted military and economic needs of the Empire when necessary. The Circles also checked upon the tax collection if it is done properly.

The cities were the main residence places for the ruling elite and commoners in the Holy Roman Empire. The royals, aristocrats, burghers, and their families resided inside castle walls. Outside of the city walls were the place for peasants and serfs and they sought to immigrate inside the walls to become a burgher. This circulation of manpower is important for evaluation of administration due more centralized the administration becomes, harder the immigration is. This circulation evolves from peasant to burgher subject to peasant to worker citizen as the administration gets more centralized in centuries to come. Only in the Holy Roman Empire such interoperability was possible unlike in the other monarchies of Medieval Europe.

2.1.4.1. Military Education in the Holy Roman Empire:

Importance of Qualified Personnel for

Federation of States

It is among the most important subject to display the importance of qualified personnel and their education in the Holy Roman Empire, as this issue is the precursor of the military and academic education of post-transpose period of Germanic governance in which the modern state occurred. The evolution from federation of states to a federal state, even though still having sui generis terms such as EU does make no change, has the overall process driven by qualified personnel.

In the Holy Roman Empire, main kneel of the military was knighthood. The requirements to begin the military education to be a knight are two:

- Being male
- Being from nobility

There are three periods of Knighthood education:

- Elementary Period
- Secondary Period
- High Period/Seminary

In coordination with these three periods of education, knight candidates are intensely modified with moral and military training. These training are mainly on site with their instructors and seniors:

- Page Period
- Squire Period

- Knighthood

Page period is between 8-14 years old. The Pages are called valets and they take French or German language courses while learning basic moral attitudes from ladies of the castle which they were sent for their education. Religious and military training were undertaken only fitting their condition level. Religious education is undertaken within books from churches.

Squire period is between 15-21 ages. Squires are called pledgeshields and recognized by carrying their seniors' shields outside the castle. In the 16-18 ages, squires are obliged to be gentries with high morality, piety, bravery, and good fighting skills. At the age of 21, Knighthood ceremony occurs, and squire is promoted to Knight, where he is ready to serve his lordship or anywhere, he is directed within the empire.

The rules of the Knighthood are clear despite lacks a written code, manhood, honour, and dignity guides these principles. Always serving the lords at best terms and abiding church rules are forthcoming rules while never abandoning battlefield against the enemy is crucial.

The knights are the main officers of kings and other lordship such as barons, dukes, marquees, though they get the proper education to direct, guard and facilitate any institution displayed above within the empire in the name of their seniors. On the other hand, rising in the nobility hierarchy requires to be a knight first.

A Portrait: Charles the Great (800 AD)

Charles the Great, known as Charlemagne⁹, crowned in the old Peter's Basilica, and buried to Aachen Cathedral, is among the most important charismatic leaders in the pre-Holy Roman Empire era in western Europe due his use of military power by not only consolidating his political entity but also spreading Christianity to Europe. As Emperor of the Frankish (Carolingian¹⁰) Empire, he was king of Franks and Lombards. He was crowned by Pope Leo III as the Emperor of all Romans long after he was already king of Franks and Lombards.

⁹ Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

¹⁰ Heinrich Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968).

2.2. Conclusion of Part II

2.2.1. The Understanding of Federation of States and a Federal State in the Germanic History

As it is observed in history of the Holy Roman Empire, Germanic administration managed to evaluate the feudal system to a law-binding one from a force wielding unstable one. The difference of the Germanic administrative system is empowered by the complex layers of the empire that boldened the Holy Roman Empire as a federation of states. The main analysis level is maintained as state as an actor whether sovereign or autonomous. All different layers of the Empire such as Kreises, Landtag, Imperial Aula, Counties serve in order to maintain the local level structures more efficiently while underlining the existence of the higher central authority. While lacking an absolute authority over the local particles of the administrative system, Holy Roman Empire successfully maintained its existence as a federation of states for more than 1000 years. It is important to add that even after the Treaties of Westphalia which guaranteed the borders of sovereign kingdoms, Holy Roman Empire managed to make its differentiated system continue with minor differences.

The multi-layered system of the Holy Roman Empire indicates a successful federation of states in the Germanic history that paved way for more deep and comprehensive integration techniques for European nations. Holy Roman Empire has ceased to exist in 1806, only one century before the two great wars. This timeline is important to underline the empire's contribution to Germanic and European way of administration.

2.2.1. Assessing the Education and Knighthood of the Medieval Times

This part is particularly important due underlining that the Holy Roman Empire bears the precursors of the military education that are blueprints of the evaluation from federation of states to a federal state on the basis of evolving from subjects to citizens.

The military education bears marks from ancient Roman and Greek periods as Pages receive literature, reading, writing, Latin, and German/French languages. The religious and moral education is added on. The research study clearly identifies that, medieval ages are not merely dark ages (despite the popular wrong knowledge), but a step to transpose of the values which will lead to Renaissance¹¹ in Northern Italy, then a part of the Holy Roman Empire. In this instance, understanding of modernization and transpose of values are within the history and governance way of Germanic governance and the renaissance is a result of catholic thought by transpose of values which is a step to modern Europe

¹¹ Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael O'Neill Printy, eds., *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, v. 20 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2010).

Part 3

The European Union: The New Paradigm for European Unity

3.1. The Fundamentals of the European Union

3.1.1. Local and Central Governance in the EU

The European Union is consisted of sovereign member states that limit themselves within the Treaties of the European Union. This means the sovereign states relinquish some of their rights in favour of the EU institutions. In this instance European Union¹² is neither a federation of states nor a single federal state but a union of sovereign states in which members are linked to an upper political entity by specialized agreements in different areas of interest.

The main actor of the local governance is the sovereign member state as the member state still embodies the privilege and right to act as an independent actor in international relations unless the Treaties of EU directs otherwise.

The main actors of the central governance are the EU institutions. Those institutions have the autonomy to make decisions by

¹² J. J. Richardson, ed., *European Union: Power and Policymaking*, 3rd ed, Routledge Research in European Public Policy (Abingdon [U.K.] ; New York: Routledge, 2006).

themselves unless their roof organizations declare otherwise such as European Commission or European Council.

The respect for human dignity, freedom and democracy requires providing zone for people to make their own decisions in local level. Thus, while maintaining a central unity, EU maintains its flexibility on certain issues in local level governance.

3.1.2. Differentiation of EU from the Terms of Federation and Federation of States

The complex relation¹³ between the local and central governance actors of the European Union differentiates it from the form of Federation of states or a federal state where the relations are determined by international and supranational bodies of decision-making. These bodies do not display the basic from up to down hierarchy but demonstrates the endeavours of maximizing the autonomy of member states (Sovereign states as the main local actor) while maintaining unity of the Union in the most critical areas of interest.

The European Union is described as a union of values in Treaty of European Union article 2:

“The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which

¹³ Alex Warleigh, ed., *Understanding European Union Institutions* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2002).

pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.”

This measuring of balance between the autonomy of sovereign states within the EU and the central powers of the EU institutions¹⁴ are a result of democratic principles and respect to state sovereignty while responding the necessity of union. This flexibility provides the differentiation of European Union structure from the term federation or any federation of the states. In the federation, the states are not sovereign political entities at all and are not eligible of opting out any international accord which is ratified by the federal entity.

The European Union doesn't count the responsibilities of member states as local governments of EU in sui generis form. Instead, the central governance bodies of EU draw the line eventually by decrees that are above national constitutions of member state. This issue provides zones for autonomous action for local governments and as sovereign states the central EU institutions do not violate the sovereignty of members. This complex and multi-layered relationship makes the EU different from any type of federation or federation of states by theoretical means.

In this instance, it is important to address that European Union is a supranational¹⁵ political entity which means different nationalities as

¹⁴ Alex Warleigh, ed., *Understanding European Union Institutions* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2002).

¹⁵ Wolfram Kaiser, Brigitte Leucht, and Morten Rasmussen, *The History of the European Union: Origins of a Trans- and Supranational Polity 1950-72* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

personnels working for EU institutions are represented under a single EU institutional banner while their countries still represented as a sovereign member state. This is an important attribute which is only valid for federation of states while the federation is only consisted of single nationality and there is only one state as a whole that represents sovereignty and nation state.

The federation of states requires a single standardized procedure¹⁶ or hierarchy between the local and central governance actors where in the EU it is complex and flexible. It is not possible to tell that EU is a federation at all. The term federation exercises ultimate sovereignty over its member states and leaves no chance of leaving unlike the EU structure. The federation does not include different governance types such as international or supranational organs as the federal decisions directly bind the local entities. Federation clearly does not provide the flexibility EU requires. Terms of federation and any form of federation of states does not allow their local particles to be parts of international organizations or own their own military structures except basic national guard which are ultimately dependent and bound to central governance authorities.

¹⁶ R. Daniel Kelemen, Anand Menon, and Jonathan B. Slapin, eds., *The European Union: Integration and Enlargement*, Journal of European Public Policy Series (London New York: Routledge, 2018).

3.2. Conclusion of Part 3

3.2.1. General Remarks

It is important to underline that the main point of the evaluation of the understanding of local-central relations of the Holy Roman Empire and the European Union is the change of leadership from traditional charismatic leadership to rational democratic administration. The understanding did not cause a shift in the main layers of the European/Germanic way of governance where complex relations between organs and structures exist apart from a standard hierarchy. The understanding of the necessity to provide ground for self-governance to local governance particles shifts from ability to subjugate by force to common understanding of needs and respect to people's will. The analysis level as the state and the complex relations between the local and central governance remains widely unchanged except new regulations demanded by democratic principles of rational contemporary societies. This particular issue underlines that the Germanic governance is beyond the standard understanding of any federation theory or any type of federation of states existing in a historical timeline.

The evaluation from feudalism to democratic local governance marks the widening of individual rights and liberties that come along with the transformation of subjects to citizens. This transformation and evaluation made the federalism and federation of state organs more sustainable and structured. However, Germanic way of governance differentiates from the medieval times to contemporary period and European Union stands as a different way of union of

sovereign states. This marks the continuation of Germanic way of governance sustainably for centuries, adapting the necessities of the time.

As the state still is the main analysis level in the second part, an analogy is valid for precise comparison. As the Holy Roman Empire included complex layers that provided better coordination between local and central governance elements, the European Union follows the same pattern with sovereign member states and central EU-wide organs such as European Council, European Commission, European Central Bank. In the structural and integrational level, the European Union is a successful federation of states just as the Holy Roman Empire of the Germanic Nations was. Even the name changes are complementary to this analogy as European Communities were named as European Union after Treaty of Amsterdam, while the Holy Roman Empire were named after all Germanic Nations when Rome was taken under German sphere of influence. Both cases indicate a decisive raise in spheres of influence while maintaining state as analysis level and bolstering the federation of states structure.

Both federation of states maintained their local level administrative structures within the moral values they preserved, and this is another mark of the continuation and evaluation of the Germanic and European governance. While the Holy Roman Empire was the centre of the western Christendom and all Germanic people, the European Union is the citadel for rule of law, democracy, human rights for all Europeans and actually the claim could be extended worldwide. It is important to add Treaties of European Union include values of

Christianity which is another mark of evaluation and continuation between two federations of states.

These multi-layered complex systems are only eligible for federation of states though the flexibility and autonomy provided to local authorities by central authority is crucial for success. This flexibility also provides the central governance more area for political manoeuvres in realpolitik in which being a federation of states is a political necessity for the two political entities.

3.2.2. Similarities of the Two Federation of States

Similarities of the two federation of states are also important for underlining the importance of local governance in Europe throughout the evaluation process of the Germanic and European administration. While the Holy Roman Empire maintained Circles, Landkreis and other local elements for local governance and public service, European Union allows sovereign member states to fulfil their own interior agenda while complementing cooperation between member states by Union-wide applications such as Schengen free movement of persons and services and Eurozone. While the administration evaluates into a more inclusive to all public within democratization of European societies, the principles of being federation of states continue to be applied similarly in Europe throughout centuries that marks the tradition of Germanic and European Governance and respect to local views other than central authorities within rules and law.

3.2.3. Two Federation of States: Idealism or Realism?

Not only Germanic governance and Europe maintains being a federation of states while the society evolves to a more democratic one in historical timeline, also the political thought of Germany and Europe also had its share of evaluation. The point is the strong tradition of respect to local governance while maintaining central government still continues in this political thought evaluation process.

It is precise to say that contemporary political thought of idealism and realism are intellectual outcomes of the post French Revolution era which is called the modern era. In the contemporary idealist thought, peace through cooperation and mutual gains are important and, in the realist thought it is about security dilemma and the more powerful gets more in politics.

In the medieval times it was considered that the Holy Bible would provide the ultimate peace and righteous path to faithful rulers and subjects. In this understanding, the peace through Christian cooperation is key and the Christian unity should be preserved against non-Christians. The idealist view is parallel with contemporary thought and supported by a realist thought against the outsiders where the strongest military power wins. In medieval times it is mainstream that the different political views are concentrated upon the decisions of the rulers who were commonly charismatic leaders. Apart from the charismatic leaders as Max Weber suggests there were patriarchs of society who get their power from the traditional ways they exercise and mainly from their age and experience in local community. However, the main changes were driven by the charismatic leaders though change is mainly derived

upon either wars or reforms. In a time and place where the outsiders lacked Holy Roman Empire's organizational capabilities, being a federation of states best suits Germanic governance due the change of politics and balances of Middle Ages. In a federal state or a centralized monarch, it could hardly be possible to govern all different layers and fight against different outsider foes.

European Union is a federation of states of the contemporary times where idealism and realism is practiced on a institutionalized manner in which the traditional leadership leaves its place to a rational leadership that is elected by vote on frequent basis. The decision of the ruler leaves its place to sustainable institutions where political agenda is important about decision-making not personality of ruler. In this instance, as a federation of state in the post French Revolution era, the European Union does not unify idealist and realist policies under a personal leadership but determines its political activities based on institutions and treaties that makes the two political thoughts are separated due necessity and interest maximization. It is also a necessity of rational leadership. In order to apply these political thoughts to all Europe, the only way is to be a federation of states otherwise specialized EU institutions cannot be created or work properly.

In federalism, EU institutions such as European Council, European Commission, European Central Bank cannot be created.

Thus, it is the strong tradition of being a federation of states that provides basis to the evaluation of not only the society but also the political thought throughout the historical timeline.

Part 4

An Exceptional Federation: United States of America

4.1. Founding and Structure of United States

4.1.1. The American Revolution and Structure of the USA

The American Revolution had a main reason: No taxation without representation. This main issue led the Americans uprise against their British colonialists and Americans emerged victorious. Americans gained their independence on the basis of not being represented equally thus, they have developed an important federal structure in order to achieve success in justice in representation and sustainability in administration. In order to achieve this, Americans formed states in the thirteen colonies, which were liberated from the British, then they have unified them under single banner within the constitution of the USA.

The American way of federalism provides the most autonomous instruments to the local level state behalf of governance sustainability and justice in representation hence American people are able to elect their own mayors, police chiefs, members of house and senate by voting on equal citizenship status. The federal institutions bother only when it comes to an issue that is related with more than one state or whole USA. The obligation to be abided by federal law makes USA a federation without a doubt, putting the American system beyond any federation of states.

The United States is consisted of fifty local-level states and one sovereign federal state above them by federal law which is administered from Washington District of Columbia. The administration is divided within the three powers namely, execution, jurisdiction, and legislation. The hard separation of powers provides all three powers to act without any dependence to each other which bolsters the American democracy and demonstrates respect to people's will. Importance of this issue is underlined though only successful federation with a presidential system in the world is United States of America. In this instance, American federation is democratic, respects powers of institutions, provides autonomy in local level while maintaining a strong federal single unity.

The United States of America is a federal state, and a democratic federal state as mentioned above, puts itself beyond any federation of states by moral and political level which provides union of its people and institutions in historical terms. The USA declares that United States is the one and only democracy that haven't had experienced any monarchy and feudalism period in its history. On contrary, the USA has rebelled against a colonialist monarchy thus, delivered democracy as its people's birth right and rational. Hence, this very birth right, the people's will, should be exercised within all fifty states at its very best while being under one single federal banner. This historical background provides an American way and identity to make American federalism exceptional which is for sure beyond any federation of states. The main question for the American administration is to preserve and extend the rights and gained status of the people as it is flexible and possible in federation of states system while maintaining the federal unity as a whole sovereign political entity. Meanwhile, USA always endeavoured to preserve a

foreign and economic policy that could utilize with such political system.

The local level states are on equal basis so their senate members in DC are same despite their population differs considerably in size. The lower house however indicates the population change in positive correlation with seats which indicates justice in representation while the senate equality stands for equality of states under federal USA which indicates sustainability of the administration structure of all USA. It is possible to criticize that the senate seat numbers do not demonstrate precise representation however I do not agree with the critics in this instance because every each of 50 states have the equal legitimate basis under the federal administration whether their populations in size are. The opinion and decisions related to legitimacy do not differ due population in size but legitimacy is derived directly from being a part of USA.

4.2. The Change of American Governance in International Relations in Political Timeline

The change of governance and attitude in international relations have particular importance for American journey to form a federalism. This journey¹⁷ is about how United States of America evolved from a federation of states to a single federal state.

¹⁷ Greg Ward and Justin Wintle, *The Timeline History of the USA* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2005).

In 18th century, precisely in 1755, patriotic continental army won the independence war against the British and loyalists and the thirteen colonies declared their independence. Before agreeing on a constitution, the thirteen colonies were a federation of states with weak link which was aimed at independence. After claiming the independence, the thirteen colonies agreed upon a single constitution which binds them all. This is the beginning of the United States of America as a federal sovereign state, evolved from federation of states that fought together for independence.

In the 19th century, the United States of America aimed to bolster its governance on three ways:

- Monroe Doctrine in foreign policy
- Expanding the USA territories¹⁸ westwards within expeditions
- Forming federal and local level institutions and governance methods

The Monroe Doctrine indicates that United States of America does not intervene to other states' affairs and does not allow any other to intervene in USA affairs. The Monroe Doctrine includes the Latin America territories that gained independence from colonialist Spain due they also made their own wars of independence and Latin America consists near abroad of mainland USA. Monroe

¹⁸ James T. Sparrow, William J. Novak, and Stephen W. Sawyer, eds., *Boundaries of the State in US History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015).

Doctrine provided basis for USA to develop its federal state and governing structures without intervention of other states and Americans concentrated for industrialising the country. The local level states found time to integrate further under federal laws which was evaluated upon time and experience of people.

Expanding¹⁹ USA territories westwards without any outsider support is particularly important to sustain the newly formed federal sovereign political entity of USA, by not allowing new states by other countries to be formed or any breakouts from the federal unity. New liberated territories were formed new local level states and integrated to federal American system by members of federal state. These new local level states are proclaimed to accept American values stated above and legitimacy of the post-war sovereign USA as they accept American constitution.

Forming federal and local level institutions and governance methods were possible and necessary with Monroe Doctrine in power and USA were gradually expanding, as the population grew in numbers, and people immigrating to USA from different backgrounds increased, new methods of governance both in local and federal levels occurred.

The changes especially focused on to preserve unity in federal level while showing tolerance to different backgrounds of people and thoughts. George

¹⁹ Christine Bolt, *A History of the U.S.A* (London: Macmillan, 1974).

Washington's leadership left its place to three parties namely Republican Democratic and Whig Party. The single command of Washington evolved into a federal structure where it is necessary to form the plurality required for federalism. In addition, it was necessary to represent people from different background while preserving the federal unity.

The Whig Party was abolished in 20th century while the democratic and republican parties changed their attitudes in politics, vice-versa with their 19th century counterparts. It is important to notice that the federal structure continued to be utilized upon the local level states while political parties pluralize and change their attitudes which means people's will are considered with their differences under one single sovereign entity and American upper identity in which the federal states strongly differ from any federation of states by law and values.

In the 20th century, the first world war was the last episode of the Monroe Doctrine. After the second world war USA system²⁰ was completed and United States was ready to export the democracy throughout the world against communism. The system referred here is the democratic federal sovereign political entity which respects all backgrounds and thoughts under citizenship law in local and federal level mentioned above. From now on any state would endeavour to

²⁰ Bruce Kuklick, *A Political History of the USA: One Nation under God*, Second edition (London: Red Globe Press : Macmillan International Higher Education, 2020).

be such United States, yet many fail. This issue also underlines the exceptional way of the USA.

About the change of the USA governance in the political timeline it is important to add that USA experienced several political agendas after the second world war which effected its strengthening of federal state structure, military, and economic modelling. These political agendas include traditionalist foreign policy attempts, revisionism on foreign policy, post-revisionist era of foreign policy, corporatism and finally militarisation of USA foreign policy and establishment of military/industrial complex. All these evaluation of foreign policy agendas could be only possible under a single sovereign authority that could imply a single purpose to all USA. In a any federation of states the local level authorities are not bound fully to the central authority such as in the Holy Roman Empire and the European Union.

4.3. Conclusion of Part 4

The evolution of the USA demonstrates that the forming a state structure is a process, rather than being a static issue. The American example which greatly differs from European counterparts has managed to imply the post-industrial era democracy, rights under its federal structure which includes local level governance. The USA example indicates that a political unity among people on federal level is possible without experiencing the feudal middle age era.

Taxation without representation of all Americans thought is an important framework for the federation system of the United States of America where all Americans are equal and taxpayer hence represented under the federal law, wherever they live among the fifty US states.

The federal system enables United States to choose over a weak isolationist president or strong intervening president if the international political consequences allow so. One sovereign federal state structure forbids local level to pursue their own exterior politics agenda as the USA governance evolved throughout history. In this instance unlike the Holy Roman Empire, the United States of America maintained its complete posture due its strong central governance despite the shifts in exterior political curriculum.

It is displayed that how American system evaluated and occurred in political timeline and if it is a federation of states or federal state. In addition, the reasons it is different and worth comparing with the other two, the European Union and the Holy Roman Empire, with the research question and analysis level is maintained.

Part 5

The Necessities in the USA

5.1. The Necessity of Central Governance in the USA

5.1.1. The Necessity by Interior Politics

The American Federalism required a strong central governance in interior politics due security reasons. The first inhabitants of the USA experienced that without security, it was impossible to settle on the new continent. The federal regulations are strict in both local level and federal level and any issue that is related to federal level is directly intervened by federal security forces. It is an important link between the local states that they are abided by a common security agenda. This issue distinguishes the federal USA from any federation of states.

5.1.2. The Necessity by Exterior Politics

The federal sovereign American state represents all 50 US local level states abroad. Sovereignty refers to this unprecedented power of representation and employs federal agents under secretariats who report directly to POTUS.

The United States foreign policy has evaluated within a learn-by-trying method due the obstacles USA countered were firsts of their

kind when USA endeavoured to solve them. In this instance, a resolute and united foreign policy stance was necessary for the 50 American states.

The evaluation of federalism by political agendas such as corporatism, revisionism and post revisionism also required a federal unified foreign policy approach which made USA to evaluate into more than just a federation of states but to a full-fledged federal state entity. For instance, the military industrial complex does not only about a united interior policy approach by 50 American states but also requires a unified security approach for all American states. Thus, particles cannot be separated in American system where federalism is a necessity. In any federation of states, especially in military and economic manners, flexibility and autonomy is provided. The European Union and the Holy Roman Empire displays that precisely.

5.1.3. The Necessity by Economics

The banking and economics required a federal level regulation. The FED prints official USA dollar banknotes that all states commonly circulate. The United States economy is programmed in order to circulate the USD currency as a worldwide trade currency. Hence, the dollar requires a federal-level adjustment for US interests. In a federation of states, a common currency is not obligatory between members but in a federal state there could be only one common currency.

5.2. Conclusion of Part V

Federation contains the local level states by legitimate and governance means and common measures such as economics, interior and exterior policies. It is important to underline that before the American Revolution the thirteen colonies did not have their own interior, exterior and economic policies either on local-level or any central manner, except the colonial rule. This issue did not prevent their evaluation into a federation of states for independence.

Final Conclusion

The research study is consisted of three parts as it demonstrates the evaluation of Germanic governance and compares²¹ it to American counterpart if they are/were federation of states of a federation. The very first part demonstrates the fundamentals of Germanic governance is a successful federation of states and displays the evaluation of the feudal states in the special occasion of Germany. No state or political entity but the Holy Roman Empire lays the framework for the future of European governance.

In the second part, another federation of states, the European Union is explained as a federation of states within its supranational and international organs. The comparison is important due the two federations of states are descendant to one another respectively. In addition, the evaluation, and duties of the public in both federation of states are added hence, the autonomy being a federation of states provided that flexibility for the subjects/citizens. The autonomy of the local entities provided positive attitudes not only to civilian population but also to governments both in the Holy Roman Empire and The European Union. Germany enjoys being an independent sovereign state while being an important hegemon in the European Union and in the Holy Roman Empire the Emperors were of German descent always had pro-German politics while governing the entire realm of the empire. No doubt that these attitudes and privileges would not be possible in a federal state.

²¹ Fritz Sager et al., *A Transatlantic History of Public Administration: Analyzing the USA, Germany and France* (Cheltenham, UK ; Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2018).

The research study also demonstrates the difference of the two federation of states and one federal state as the former has a historical evaluation period by traditional means while the other has exported values and governance modelling from Europe on pragmatic basis and necessities. Exporting of the economic modelling shifted vice-versa after the second world war as the European states endeavoured to rally together without losing their sovereign status which has resulted as forming of EU.

Final part is consisted of the contemporary approaches to governance studies in line with comparative federalism beyond the traditional understanding of federalism and local-central governance relations.

The comparative perspective is supported with the illustrations and images below in order to underline the similarities of the descendants and their difference from the federal state.

It is important to add that evolution from federation of states to a federal state includes shift from subject to individual by personal means that in timeline education is also separated between civic and military means. While transforming to a more centralized and federative governance, the flexibility provides civic manners to be improved, such as civil liberties and rights while the order that will sustain them is continued by a more centralist governance model than the previous timeline. The concentration of functions of governance bodies to more central ones also provided more horizontal movement among the individuals that includes right to be elected and elect as rulers and governors. It is clear to say that evolution from federation

of states to federal state occurs within democratization and successful transpose of values carried over.

The military education evolves from training of the knights to modern times in addition, the issue is not only limited to military by medieval means. To promote someone from the lowest conditions of society to highest by his (later also her) struggle to raise is embodied within the knighthood. An educated and well trained knight could rise to become a king or even emperor if he adheres to order of medieval times. In the contemporary times it is possible within democratic principles to one get elected to a governing or ruling position. The successful transpose of values provides people to rise in ranks both in federation of states and a federal state. In this layer, the analysis level is the same (state), though the individual is improved by both vertical and horizontal means in society. This explains the democratization of society and why it is the most successful in German and European governance model. The importance of the evolution from federation of states to federal state also lies within the ability to preserve the successful development of the whole society while preserving the roots. What embarks from the catholic thought to renaissance and evolves through modern state is only possible within a successful journey from federation of states to a federal state. The difference between the sui generis factors is derived from the outer events occurred while establishing the American state which forced Americans to forge a stricter central system while European Union successfully evaded any outer events which could disrupt its development. The flexibility of central and local governances played important role in this issue and marks the positive attribution of German/European governance model.

The flexibility is provided within the sovereignty shift to supranational level though supranational organizations include citizens from member countries of EU as officers as they represent not only their countries but whole EU. The United States of America, as explained in chapter 4, always was in need of bolstering central state's power in relation to 50 local level states due the necessity of exterior politics, international economics and military requirements. This main difference explains the layer of research question why federation of states or a federal state for the two political entities. For the Holy Roman Empire of Germanic Nations, despite the modern state literature is partly valid due historical timeline, its importance is still high because HRE demonstrates the precursors and roots of European governance and explains the basis of evolution of European governance model. The similarities between HRE and EU especially mark the transpose of values (also demonstrated in illustrations and images) which clarifies the evolution of governance.

Illustrations and Images

Illustrations and images aim to bolster the understanding of the research study. It is aimed to display the similarities and differences of the two federation of states (The European Union and the Holy Roman Empire) and one federal state (United States of America) in the visual context.



Illustration 1

A painting from 1510. Holy Roman Empire insignia which includes crucified Jesus Christ and local insignias of administrations of all Holy Roman Empire.



Image 1

The chart displays the official borders of European Union and member states. Flag of each member state is displayed on the right side.



Image 2

The map displays the federal and local level borders of the United States of America. DC refers to Washington District of Columbia, the federal capital city of the whole federation.



Image 3

The flag of the Holy Roman Empire of the German(ic) Nations between 1400-1806. The double headed eagle demonstrates aim to extend in east and west while underlining the traditional legitimacy of the charismatic leadership which was valid throughout Middle Ages in Europe. Federation of states utilizes at its best in such political entity. The two heads of eagle refer to being the only legitimate descendant to Roman Empire thus, the traditional universe and values.



Illustration 2

Renaissance era painting by Raphael. Displays the nature between mystical and reality which was common in Middle Ages knighthood. Important work that shows medieval-catholic roots of renaissance.



Image 4

The Flag of the European Union. The twelve stars demonstrate the circlet of Mary in Strasbourg Cathedral as the beginning of the treaties of European Union include Christian values essential. The stars and blue background refer to universalization of these values.

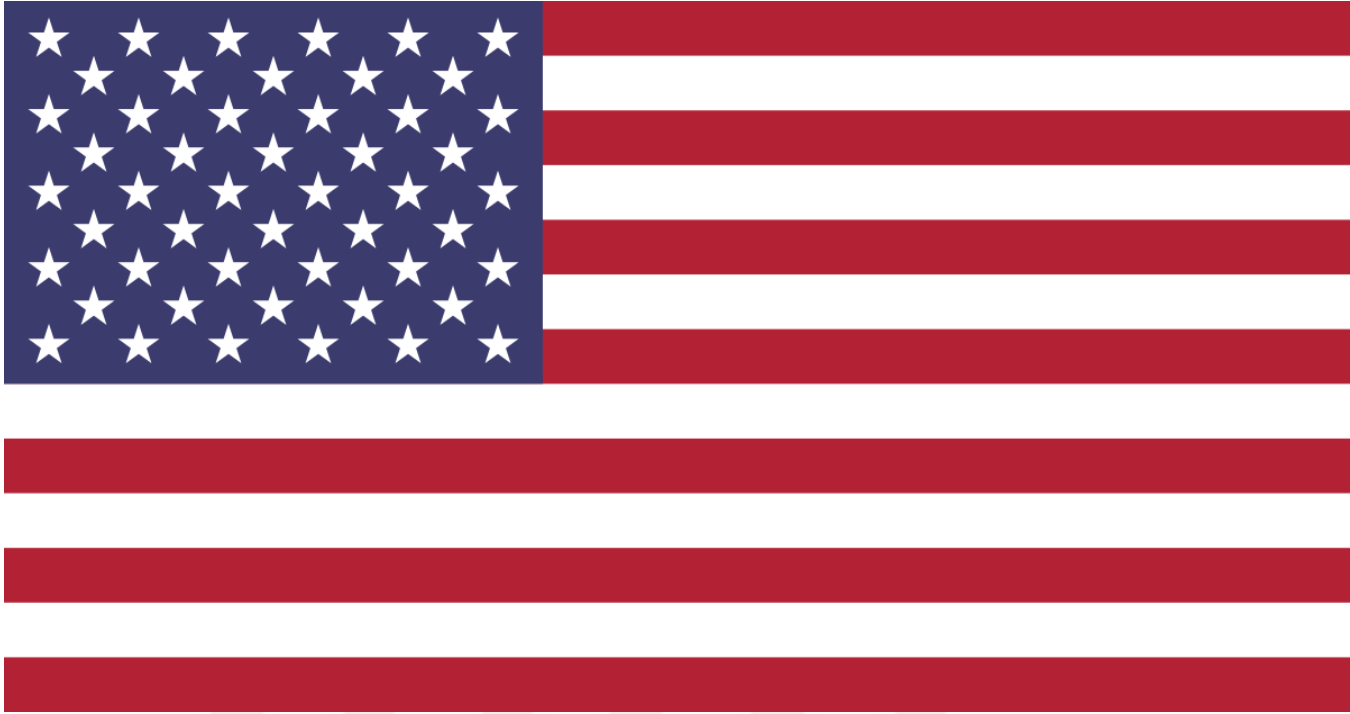


Image 5

The Flag of United States of America. 50 stars represent the 50 US states and blue background represent the federal unity. The stripes represent the extension of US values worldwide, either with peace(white) or war(red).



Image 6

The Aachen Cathedral. Ordered to be built by Charlemagne himself. Holy Roman Emperors were traditionally crowned in this cathedral.



Image 7

The European Council Building in Brussels. The heads of governments and president of EU commission gather in this building, presided by the president of the European Council.

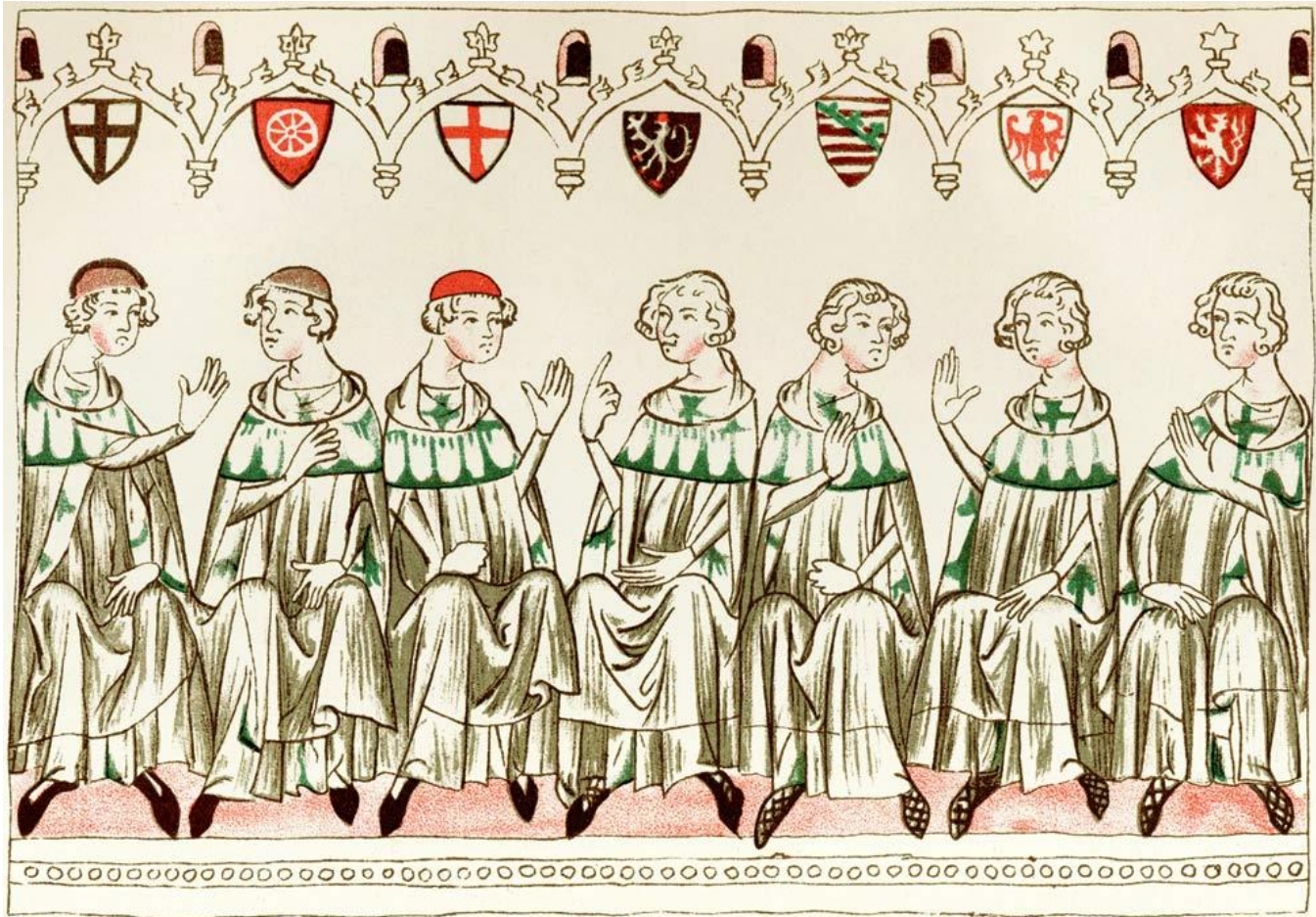


Illustration 3

A painting of the gather of Prince-Electors of the Holy Roman Empire with their insignias displayed above.



Image 8

The family photo of the European Council meeting which includes heads of all member states and president of the EU Council.



Illustration 4

Louis XIV, known as Sun King and symbol of absolutism while improving the cultural life of the high society.



Illustration 5

Charles the Great, crowned by Pope Leo III. He was declared only then the Emperor of all Romans.



Image 9

The royal throne of Charles the Great. It is made of marble and is inside the Aachen Cathedral.



Image 10



Image 11

Views from Palace of Versailles. Home to the Sun King Louis XIV.

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