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GROUNDINGS AND OUTCOMES OF STATES' PROPENSITY TO ALTERNATE MODEL IN POWER EXERTION

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ABSTRACT

As the purpose of present paper, power alternate means periodical rotation or transfer of power from state to citizens so that they can enjoy the right of removing or assigning the administration through public elections in order to achieve their citizenship goals and share in the route of overcoming the risks emanating from the domination of one group upon majority of the society. On this basis, alternate orientation is a guideline which can yield into public power rotation. The most important effect by this approach is that it enhances the efficacy of administrative entities, the strength and revival of citizens' contributive rights and institutionalization of alternate idea in power exertion. Therefore, in the context of such thoughts, one can tend that alternate – orientation in power can cause an open ambience in the society which opens power arena to citizens and builds an opportunity to enforce citizenship rights. Authors attempt to elucidate and justify power alternate theory through a historical – analytical approach so that research findings can enjoy the highest compatibility with the structure and nature of power alternate model in public arena.

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INTRODUCTION

Identifying the grounds of alternation in power exertion and belief in rightness and equality of all people against using the opportunities and situations in acquiring political power is a starting point and main element of present paper. Therefore, the state designates a part of its authorities to citizens and real owners of power (World Bank, 2010, p. 309). Belief in such initiative by states would break the governance in the favor of citizenship groups in the one hand; on the other hand, it will be an efficient mechanism in controlling the denaturalized and absolutist power. According to the belief on power contamination and this famous statement that “”, one can consider alternation as a democratic and citizen – based model which plays a vital role in granting power to people and their highlighted participation in general policymaking (Noyman, 1994, pp. 308 – 309). In such process, by designating a part of its authorities and incumbency, the state paves the ground for citizens' intervention in society's political management. Hence, we remind that throughout this paper, we plan to find

ways for citizens' entrance into the management of the society. Likewise, we analyze that power alternate theory is particularly emerged in which state's theoretic contexts from absolutist to contributive state and it would finally flows in which philosophical theory as the origination of citizenship – oriented effects.

The ground of shaping power alternate idea

On absolute power discourse

Absolutist state power is a common model of power exertion in which political power is neither divided nor limited. Different kinds of absolutist state are seen in UK as absolutist parliamentary state and in France as absolutist royal state. In fact, these states are types of preliminary modern states in which social classes won their fights against royalty and they could decrease or destroy Shah's capability in administration (Opllelo – Rostow, 2010, pp. 132 – 144).

The attributes of traditional absolutism

In absolutism, power is in its highest centrality free from time and place aspects in which the determinants include:

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- 1.1.1. Smaller and weaker political units are merged by bigger and stronger political structures;
- 1.1.2. The capability of administration on a united territory is strengthened there;
- 1.1.3. An integrated system of law and order is established throughout a territory;
- 1.1.4. Administration is managed by a single leadership based on such aims as unity, cohesion and efficacy (Held, 2007: 51)

It should be noted that such attributes for a state which demands absolutism require that it monitors increasingly on its subordinates and has the lowest level of intervention in beating the strangers on the other hand. Therefore, in absolutist state model, it is considered as symbol in different ages and it is constructed by mentioned attributes in modern age. The existence of tools to transfer the power in an immediate, steady and trusted manner to all part of governance is needed so that the state can exert its exclusivism on-time (Poggi, 2005: 04).

New aspects of absolutist state

Responding traditional attributes of absolutist state, innovations are made in recognizing this political model which needs a glance beyond absolutist state as below:

- 1.1.5. First, it emphasizes on the territorial attribute of the state;
- 1.1.6. Second, it acknowledges state's capability in controlling the tools of anger and force exertion;
- 1.1.7. Third, it recognizes an impersonal structure of political power for state;
- 1.1.8. Fourth, it considers political legitimacy for state.

It should be noted that absolutist state model and interstate system are the closest models to modern state theory particularly absolutist state model which has built continued severally a structure by claiming uniquely power exertion and by centralizing political power. Although being territorial is also an attribute of traditional absolutist states and the capability to exert force and impersonal structure of political power was neglected years after recognition, it is the only challenging attribute of political legitimacy. For the first time, such claims as Divine Right and State Right are challenged and men are considered as active political citizens rather than assigned and designated nationals of political administration and administrators. More importantly is citizens' loyalty. In traditional absolutist state paradigm, citizens' loyalty to state was an unquestionable political function while in newer indicators of absolutist state, political loyalty is a situation which should be attracted by the State (Held, *ibid*: 59). Overall, one can assert that establishment of absolutist state model should be based on conditions by which tendency to stabilize political power and maximized focus on different citizenship groups is common in its highest manner even in the process of power transitions and radically, the first reactions to the establishment of state's increasingly power were started by criticizing the structure of absolutist state and in the framework of thoughts on limiting state's power by constitutional state (Poggi, 1998: 68 – 73).

On constitutional power discourse

Constitutionalism emerged to react state's incremental power and to remove absolutist administrators. Warp and woof of constitutionalism is woven around power limitation thinking since state is seen as an entity which naturally looks for more power.

Constitutionalism theoretical basis

Theoretically, one should look for profound roots of constitutional state in The Middle Ages. The main feature of The Middle Ages was political power limitation. Monarchs were not beyond the lived power and law. Henry Bracton used the theory of power and law origination from people on constitutional state. It meant that monarch is only one of the power authorities (Vincent, 1991, p. 135). Hence, in all theories and concepts shaped around modern public laws and administration fundamentals, "constitutionalism" means that administrative officials are not free to do what they like; rather, they are obliged to limit their power to obey constitutional law which expresses the will of people. According to this theory, people are the single source and ultimate origination of political power and they announce the superior will to limit state power and obliging political administration (Felman, 2006: 239 – 241).

Constitutionalism justifications

In constitutional approach, absolutist power is a serious threat against man and his/her fundamental freedoms. Hence, the question is that "how should we treat such serious risk (state's Obligation)? Constitutionalists represent arguments to answer this question. First, they believe that since administration is an instrument to supply interests of the society, it is necessary that the state to be based on public unity or support more than other elements. Second, since administrations are not radically self – authorized political entities or structures, they should be responsiveness to their actions. In this line and in the format of constitutional power, two issues are considerable: The first one is to achieve public cohesion tools. In responding how to achieve unity, they believe that answer is general elections. Constitutionalists believe that elections are the most important tool to achieve public unity.

The second one is what extent of unity should be considered as the base of administration so that the commonest answer is public votes. However, such response is challengeable since description of people does not involve all citizens. Sometimes, it even does not involve men and in other cases it only means to satisfy a minority group of rich classes. Apart from such theoretical disputes kept on today, one can imagine that the existence and unity thinking in mind and citizens' reactions are fully depended on state's performance in rupture taking and alternation in political power and, consequently, people's share in democratic administration. Put it differently, such thinking is the result of democracy opinions which moves forward contributive democracy. In this vein, the principle of responsiveness is considered as a strong monitoring arm on administration despite of its limited application (Arbalester, 2009: 107 – 108 & 113).

On ruptured power discourse

By passing the Middle Age, power rupture is appeared in three periods of political systems: transition from feudalism or the society of Barons to syndicates, then from syndicates to absolutist state and finally from absolutist state to conditional states (Poggi, 2005, pp. 84 – 88). Hence, in rupture power dialogue, power transition from absolutist states to citizens is a macro conceptual framework under the concept of transition from non-democratic to democratic or contributive power. In rupture power theory and concerning the fact that power should be clarified in certain and well-established borders clearly and legally, an efficient and effective initiative is raised called “power separation principle.” In turn, the basis of emergence such principle was that since governance was considered indivisible and even if divisible, a higher authority was needed to judge in conflicts and acts as an effective administration (ibid: 109). It opened the way toward curbing and creating equilibrium and limitation in the route of absolutist power. Hence, rupture power relies upon several conditions to strengthen its base:

Legal preconditions for power frequency

Power limitation based on laws philosophical and ethical theories

In addition to law: based limitations, constitutionalists have considered other limitations to oblige state to respect and guarantee citizens’ rights emerged from human inner respect and political dignity. One can provide them as below:

Natural law: such theoreticians as Loch, Pofendorf, Grootis, Watel and Blackstone agreed that natural law guarantees and shows the governance of the people. Such strong theoretical basis confirms the existence of natural rights and limits the power of administration (Vincent, 1991, p. 162).

Natural and human rights: natural right thoughts are a part of natural law. Natural rights are legitimate demands to which man is merit due to his humanity and they belong to human due to its commonality among people that are based on nonsocial values (Ibid, p. 163).

Social contract: along with natural laws, it is an important tool to limit power. The main representatives of social contract in humanistic concept are Hobs, Lock and Russo. In this theory, a person is a rational and nonsocial entity which investigates its decision rationally in an actual or assumed natural situation. The certain function of the administration is to serve and promote citizens’ interests. Lock believes that the establishment of the society is the result of a contract but the administration is a trust assigned by people to state. Hobs believed that contract conclusion causes people to leave a much undesired situation. According to him, such contract is useless if the absolutist administrator who is not a party does not support it. Russo is more known as an influential thinker in contract-orientation. It is in contrary to an opinion which believes Russo is free of any mistake and innovation (Constant, 2010, p. 30). Fairly, one should say that Russo who influenced by precedent thinkers inserted liberty and equality into social contract. Although he apparently admires administrations’ classic categorization, he provides another

kind of administration. He believes that conditional administration is emerged by people’s contribution and will (Schualieh, 1991, pp. 153 & 170). According to Russo, public will is the unchangeable will of all people in the society by which they are considered and free and citizen (Rousseau, 2006, p. 416).

Satisfaction: there is strong relationship between citizens’ satisfaction and contract – orientation tradition. Lock was the first theoretician and inspirer of this thinking in political and ethical thinking systems. On this basis and reminding that people have the right of choice, a citizen gives the right of posing political power to another one and if he is deviated from this important path, it is easily possible to capture this right since by free and aware elections, citizen can intervene in criticizing and removing administrators. The mechanism to attract the agreement and satisfaction of citizens is a legitimate and reliable way to guarantee the tight of citizens against state. Based on this theory, since administration is established to defend and support all citizens’ interests, all its functions should be based on the demands and requests of people (Vincent, 1991, p. 168).

Power limitation based on constitutional law theories

Posing limitations on state so that state and its entities act in clear and well – established borders obviously and legally is considered as one of the most important basics of “power separation principle.” It not only challenges administration theory but also monitors and criticizes the basics of administrators’ actions. In such thinking, governance was indivisible and if it was divided, higher authority was needed to judge on conflicts between parties and such power was relied upon effective administration (Arblaster, 2009, p. 109). For instance, the oldest constitutional law to limit administrators politically was “ancient constitutional law theory”. Another theory to limit power through legal channels was “mixed constitutional law theory” returned to ancient Greece. In “The Laws”, Plato argues that unlimited power concentration in one person over total state would yield to contamination. Also, Aristotle puts mixed constitutional law under the concept of “polity”. Afterwards, there was “balanced constitutional law theory” emerged from mixed law to describe British political system: based on this theory, power was posed and executed limitedly based on the balanced equilibrium of social political elements adapted to citizens requests on recognizing the right of expression in politics and criticizing the performance of administrators and the aims of democracy on monitoring political officials.

The theory on powers mutual monitor was close balanced constitutional law opinion (Vincent, 1991, pp. 144 – 155). Constitutionalists got far from absolutist state theory initially in practice and then in theory and preferred to admire the risks from power division since they concerned concentrated and accumulated power more than the outcomes of absolutist power rupture. Thus, citizens’ security against dominating despotism was met though power separation principle (Arbalster, ibid). The domination of state’s power scope was highly limited by putting under a well – devised legal framework and “legal governance” theory. In cases that there was no law, constitutionalists posed something like “the spirit of law” on the actions and behavior of state as a strong manual

for legitimate elements. Establishment of law governance meant ending absolutist states and their replacement with legal and rational norms (ibid, p. 110).

Structural preconditions of power alternation

Adopting a mechanism to transfer public assets to private interests to citizens. It can be possible only under the light of law and its aim is the superiority of law to personal will

Commitment to originality paradigm and non-conflict of a person against state's unlimited power

Recognizing the tools for citizens to combat power abuse so that (1) decision are clear, (2) it is possible to resort to higher authorities to prevent power abuse

Inspiring the constitutional law is superior and power exertion should be in an alternation manner

Disseminating power alternation paradigm so that it yields to human and citizenship rights development in accordance to the constitutional law

Defining and setting the norms of power alternation so that one can govern through written rights and treaties and public law principles (Golmohammadi, 2013, pp. 193 – 195).

Monitoring on the fact that final decisions on political administration should be taken by elected officials

Citizens enjoy freedom in expressing their criticisms and opposing high ranking officials (Dahl – Brickner, 2013, pp. 155 – 156).

Normative preconditions of power alternation

Posing normative limitations to prevent willfully prevention on the one hand and guaranteeing the protection of people and associations on the other hand

The existence of instruments to condition and oblige power by controlling mechanisms and power equilibrium such as power separation, federalism, etc.

Exercising precise techniques to combat power abuse such as clear and transparent decisions and the possibility of resorting to upper authorities to prevent power abuse

Building norms and trends to distribute political responsibilities from state so that there are relevant norms and trends for periodical elections; and norms on citizens' social rights and free expression in the society (Golmohammadi, ibid: 193).

On this basis, the belief of limiting political power was yielded to such mechanisms as federalism (except than France and UK), two parliament system and power separation principle (Rahmatollahi, 2009: 98).

The effects of state alternation in exerting political power

In addition to theoretical points, power alternation idea can be also contemplated in terms of implementation. The attribute of

power alternation in political power is one of the main requirements of democratic system. Such political strategy roots in power separation and prevention of power accumulation in the hands of a given class. Although real distribution of power makes it possible that all people enjoy political power, many political systems tend to share their power only with those groups that take step in political arena through special and predetermined ways. Hence, political elites are oriented by predetermined intellectual directions. For instance, elites in single party systems in Yugoslavia and Tanzania only put those individuals in power while joint controlled parties or entities. In other similar regimes, single party states in Africa have changed to personal power arena after assigning as the leader of the party. Therefore, the most important threat against power alternation and power transition from state to citizens is conversion of collective dictatorship to personal administrations. Therefore, such process which leads into power transition for dominated party to absolutist governor is a radical barrier on power transition process from state to citizens and it is considered as a serious risk against the power of citizens. On this basis, we explore the main outcomes of power alternation in three fundamental components. Noteworthy, explaining all outcomes and alternation theory feedbacks with their positive value would lead into a long list. Hence, the domain of recognition is limited to three outcomes. We plan to investigate the impact of these feedbacks on the efficiency of the state in terms of decreasing or increasing related and synchronized forums. Then we measure their impacts on strengthening or weakening citizenship rights and finally to analyze such impacts on the rupture of the pattern resulted from power frequent transfer theory.

Enhancing citizens' legal status

Citizen means human and a single person as used in present paper. On the one hand, human is the foundation of metaphysics and liberalism epistemology while he is the ultimate of liberty on the other hand. Undoubtedly, human is prior to state and his fundamental liberties are protected from state aggression (Golmohammadi, ibid: 195). Here, the state is not entering what can be done by citizens. Put differently, state is converted from a net interferer (sovereign state) to an executor and supporter (manager state); the result is limiting state power and responsiveness of all administrative organs against their performance and social democratic control (Rahmatollahi, 2009: 282). In this way, the impact of rupture on enhancing citizenship status can be identified in passing from the concept of citizen to righteous and then redefining common behavioral patterns in power transition to citizens.

Inspiring the belief of powerfulness to citizens

As a rule-of-the-thumb, those states that have sustainable rupture thinking try to assign a part of their decision making authorities to people rationally and then to exert power through feedbacks and in the name of citizens and inspiring that citizens are decision makers (Quinten, 1992: 340). Undoubtedly, a state with such approach believes in power sharing paradigm. Hence, state attempts that all citizens can enjoy the opportunity of sharing in the power and can exert power in policymaking, monitoring on officials and disagreeing with policies and criticizing state demeanor (Lijphart, 1997: 129 – 132). For a historical instance, in ancient Greece system, one third of Athenians could be a

council member one time throughout their life and one third of them could be the leader of Athens one day in his life (Lipst, 701). In power transition process an important decision making is that power exertion in the name of people has no democratic and ethical justification even though it is broad or sympathetic and it is not approved by people. Therefore, to make power transition as a strong belief in citizens' minds and to stabilize their role in influencing power or, in other words, to make powerfulness belief as democratic and real, a collective and active action is needed to legitimize it (Goodin, 2009: 317 – 318).

Person as a righteous entity and dependent from state

Certainly, being righteous is a situation which confronts someone with the realities of political society and calls for interaction with state. Noteworthy, creating or lacking such transition situation undoubtedly is important in state's performance and treatment with citizens. At best, citizens consider human values such as liberty and independence simply as reliable guarantees for "have their right". However, the outcome of such behaviors on a minority group causes that citizens believe in "to be right" (Burdeau, 1999: 286) and they look for using any opportunity to exert their power as an independent identity from state. Therefore, the advantages of righteous people are other social identities including class, religion or ethnicity by which a society with independent personal identities is shaped which is righteous to enjoy radical rights. Under such perception on human right and righteous reactions, relevant transition conditions are regenerated and improved (Ibid: 140 – 141). In this approach, citizen is seen as an independent identity with undeniable natural rights that the rules of its behavior and interaction with state is no limited to internal fundamental laws determined by universal general principles and rules. By such belief, citizens share their nature with other people and they have joint requirements, capabilities and capacities and even their vulnerabilities are common. Each citizen enjoys high degree of perfection and self – sufficiency. Each citizen is autonomous and independent and their citizenship identity is specially respected (Tohidfam, 2004: 138 – 150).

Person as righteous in power exertion

Righteous glance at human asserts that to the same extent that political power of the state is limited, citizens' power is added and they would have the right to decide and execute as a part of transferred power from state. Here, state is more looking for inspiring this historic belief that obeying the state is more than every other thing, a right state on behalf of citizens. Over time, this belief is challenged so that the basis of such unilateral thinking is rejected. However, it is necessary that before inspiring such common beliefs, the state creates interactions with citizens so that they have enough time to achieve a righteous belief on unconditioned political power exertion after measuring it freely and rationally or before resorting to joint belief on state's obligation in order to arrive at a common point or they consider a mixture of them which is either close to political temperance or consider citizen as a person owns natural civil and political rights. Therefore it seems that the efficient and tangible guideline which makes state competent for ethicality in politics can be found in alternation paradigm of political power and assigning the authorities to righteous people. When there is righteous thinking in exerting political power, posing personal tendencies is minimized (Poggi, 2005:

163 – 164). Thus, one can assign shaping and sustainability of a person on being righteous in some fundamental principles: 1. Priority of legal administration over personal interests, 2. Obligation to originality and impossibility of personal aggression, 3. Principle of control, power balance and responsibility distribution (Golmohammadi, *ibid*: 182). Thus, the outcomes of power alternation theory can be used in several predicaments: (1) supporting citizens' natural right in facing with willfully action by state especially political authority and physical enforcement (looking for political power), (2) creating a maximal ground for exerting political power by people (looking for citizens' multilateral power), (3) creating the best opportunities equally for people to address themselves and awareness of their righteous situation completely (looking for cultural power), (4) expanding equal and fair access to economic situations in order to enhance citizens' participation right in market economy and its impact on regulating it (looking for economic power) (Hold, 1996: 145 – 146).

Institutionalization of power alternation idea

Among the most central outcomes of power alternation principle is the institutionalization of power rupture model or the emergence of controllable state. This model is the extension of participatory state theory. Of two macro perceptions on people governance theory where the first one means people sustainability against power and expresses the situation of citizens who demand a guarantee against state enthusiastically; and the second one which means using power by all people and draws the situation of citizens who demand power ownership since they believe that they possess power and try to use all capacities of power exertion in an alternated, rational temperance manner (Burdeau, *ibid*: 184), they more tended to the second one. Below, some relevant signals of rupture in power which seems simple and certain are referred. It should be noted that such outcomes can be seen as the introduction of controllable state.

Power alternation by citizens

This theory implies power upstream transition to citizens. Likewise, power alternation means that the term of citizens' incumbency is periodical. Therefore, it seems that one can identify the combination of both models in power wisdom distribution theory as a mechanism to rupture from state's governance authorities. In a general study, the components of power wisdom distribution theory can be categorized as below:

- Dividing power in political dominating board
- Separation of tasks and multiplicity of entities
- The limitation of incumbency and periodical political jobs and positions (Ghazi Shariat Panahi, 1998: 129 – 131).

Noteworthy, each trait namely periodical political position, separation of the tasks and functions of political entities and rotation of appointing elites in social and political positions can all lead into continuous participation and institutionalization of citizens' real power in running the country. In contrary, accumulation of power in the hands of a minority group in nondemocratic states is always crisis generating and would yield to waves of citizens' dissatisfactions. Hence, in facing with a crisis, a democratic political state tries to establish broad consensus among power

owners (citizens). Thus, the way to resolve such problem which challenges legitimacy of the system is to use the mechanism of rupture and people's participation in policymaking. Since in no political system, people access to power equally, one can conclude that such variables as organization, information, status, wealth and social links with those people who attempt for influence over society can impact on participators' access to political power (Pye, 2001: 291). Therefore, in the light of citizens' equality principle and believe in their rights in enjoying different socio political resources, power distribution in the society for political positions is the absolute right of all citizens. Hence, all people should be righteous so that they can enter political situation periodically and they should be assigned for key positions in order to serve public (Ghazi Shariat Panahi, *ibid*: 132).

Power network

Establishing the structure of power network requires power transition to all citizens for macro decision making in political management of the society. Hence, participation method is always accompanied with citizens' freedom and is taken equally and far from enforcement in decision making. Overall, involving people in power decision making network can be conducted in two ways: first, to run better a small neighborhood aimed at improving organizational efficiency and second, to select efficient political, executive and judicial representatives in macro political level. Therefore, one can consider such citizenship involvement in decision making with different degrees mainly as bi/multilateral participation (Zarei, 2003: 147 – 149). Some advantages of molecular – network advantages of power structure include;

- Diffusion voluntarily and spontaneous cooperation culture among people;
- Improving social morale and impetus in citizens to share in power exertion;
- Enhancing the extent of creativity, innovation, initiative and sociopolitical intelligence;
- Increasing the feeling of accountability and belonging to state;
- Promoting resilience and efficiency of governance agencies in treating with people;
- Better rotation of power in political society;
- Rational distribution and alternated transition of power among civil entities in order to satisfy people's demands

Therefore, realization of power network structure depends on integration and decisiveness by political governance on citizens' powerfulness since even if all citizens participate in decision making and policymaking, their real will is crystalized only when an integrated and decisive decision is taken to change a political procedure or to modify deficient structure (Arblaster, 2000: 102). Therefore, those political systems looking for executing power network structure and sharing citizens in a part of governance power are necessary to recognize citizens' concerns and then move forward shaping autonomous and independent groups. Otherwise, they would lose their biggest capital soon namely citizens to execute power network model. As a result, people would lose their trust to asset as the winning squad of an efficient political system. Undoubtedly, it would damage alternation irrevocably. In other words, desired political system called as "rupture

taking and alternation model is based on molecular structure. Such state is efficient in realizing its aims in political society and would have numerous benefits for citizens.

Conclusion

As mentioned as the presumption of present paper, accepting alternation pattern in political power is an important step in political development flow as well as an effective mechanism to realize fundamental values of citizens' general rights. In enforcing power alternation, one should add that many concepts and basics of general laws including the fundamental right of people's participation in running the society are conditioned to realize this principle. In fact, power alternation model assures many human rights and liberties. The principle of power alternation is political relations between state and citizens as a general and undeniable norm is revolved and restructured since modern age. Likewise, power alternation model is raised in response to absolutist state theory; it was grown in accordance with constitutional state and is adaptive to rupture state theory. Ultimately, it should be noted that it seems state tendency to political power transition periodically is a step toward recognizing the right of people in power exertion which would impact directly and rapidly on state increasingly efficiency in behaving people and it is a reliable tool in considering political system as democratic and removing historic, social, political and economic crises.

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