Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation:

To the memory of my father

To the memory of Abd Elwahab

Mother

Brothers & Sisters

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to my teachers and all the staff of English Department for their help during this year. I would like to express my gratefulness to my supervisor **Mr. Temagoult**, teacher of Civilization for his help and support by guiding me with his valuable instructions. He has been severe in making us work but his severances masked by his charmful smile and keenful sight which breaks the hearts in other to content him and reach the level he wants.

I want to thank the entire staff at the English Department of **Mohamed Kheider**University without forgetting our classmates of 2rd year Master of English LMD and my friends.

Abstract

The concept of alternation in power is one of the main features that characterized the U.S political system from its foundation tell now. This concept aims at enhancing the role of people in doing their democratic duty by the contribution in making and formulating decisions, people under the umbrella of democracy participate directly or indirectly by their representatives in the electoral institutions. The present study attempts to shed light on the concept of alternation in power using the presidential election in the U.S an element of alternation. While investigating this concept, we will take into consideration some theories that had a significant role in shaping the political regime such as Democracy and the Social Contract.

ملخص

يعتبر مبدأ التداول السلمي على السلطة من السمات البارزة التي ميزت النظام السياسي في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية منذ نشأته إلى يومنا هذا، ويهدف هذا المبدأ أساسا إلى تكريس الفعل الديمقراطي بإشراك المواطن في صناعة القرار عن طريق ممثليه في المجالس الانتخابية أو عن طريق رئيس البلاد الذي يختاره بواسطة آلية الانتخاب.

وعليه فإن هذه الدراسة تهدف إلى تسليط الضوء على مبدأ التداول على السلطة في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية،آخذين في عين الاعتبار الانتخابات الرئاسية كنموذج لهذا الانتقال،وفي هذا السياق سيكون هنالك تطرق إلى أهم النظريات السياسية التي أرست معالم التداول السلمي على السلطة كالديمقراطية و نظرية العقد الاجتماعي.

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Chapter One: General Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

In September 1786 delegates from several states met at Annapolis, Maryland, to discuss ways to improve American trade. They decided instead, with the backing of the Confederation Congress, to call a national convention to discuss ways of strengthening the Union. In May 1787, 55 delegates representing every state but Rhode Island, whose legislature had voted not to send a delegation convened in Philadelphia and drew up a new Constitution of the United States.

The delegates were cosmopolitans who wanted to strengthen national government, but they had to compromise on a number of issues among themselves. In addition, the delegates realized that their Constitution would have to be ratified by the citizenry, and they began compromising not only among themselves but also on their notions of what ordinary Americans would accept. The result of that was a Constitution for a new nation.

The creation of the constitution was a land mark in the united state history. It was the time when the nature of the political system started to take its shape. The leaders who attended that meeting agreed on some significant points that later on become the pillar of the United States of America political system over its history. The constitution establishes the basis of democracy that embodied in election and alternation in power. According to the second article of the U.S constitution the executive power is vested in the president who is elected to a four year term together with vice president, this article accentuate the democratic nature of the political system by the emphasis on election and alternation in power, the president could be elected only for two terms.

Departing from the monarchical tradition of Britain, the founding fathers of the United States created a system in which the American people had the power and responsibility to select their leader. Under this new order, George Washington, the first U.S. president, was elected in 1789.

1.2. The Aim of Study

The United States of America is considered as one of the greatest power over the history. This work intends to explore some conceptions that stand behind the continuity of the United States as a superpower such as democracy and alternation in power. Accordingly; the present work aims at the examination of the presidential election as a sample of alternation in power. It will also interpret the impact of democracy and social contract in shaping the United States constitution and the creation of the presidential election system.

1.3. Methodology of research

The present work will adopt a descriptive and analytical technique. Descriptive because it will provide us with accurate depiction for theories and definitions that contributed in making alternative political system. Analytical because, this study will attempt to explain how the founding fathers of the United States applied these theories in the political life of their nation. This research will be based on data collected from library and internet.

1.4. Researchquestion

The question that attracts the attention is: since election and alternation in power are two interrelated ideals of democracy, concerning the United States of America the founding fathers draw up approval constitution adopted election in case of selecting of the president, these rules spelled out in the second article. So that, the question is to what extent these principles applied in the presidential election?

1.5. Hypothesis

We assume that alternation in power and election are two inseparable ideals of democracy. Thus, there is no alternation in power without election. Indeed, there is no alternation in power in the absence of election.

1.6. Limitation of the Work

Throughout this research, the study will be not extensive, it concentrates on the process of alternation in power .the focal point is the presidential election in the United States as an element of alternation, in addition to the driven forces that contributed to the peaceful shifting of the executive power in the United States such as democracy and social contract.

1.7. Literature Review

The ideals and rhetoric of Locke later contributed to the establishment of the United States through their expression in the Declaration of Independence and The Federalist, two major documents of the American Revolution. Important contributions to republican and democratic ideals were also made by the French philosophers Jean Jacques Rousseau, who expressed ideas similar to those of Locke, and the Baron de Montesquieu, who proposed a separation of governmental powers in pre-Revolutionary 18th-century France similar to that later embodied in the U.S. Constitution. The political theories of Locke and the early Americans, constituting the attitude generally known as liberalism, were further refined by the 19th-century British philosopher John Stuart ("Political Theory "Encarta Encyclopaedia).

1.8. The Structure of The work

The present work is divided into four chapters. The first chapter is a general introduction in which we introduced and paved the way to the topic's main point by determining the destination that we will take while investigating the topic.

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The Second chapter is devoted to the theoretical framework in which extensively we

shall demonstrate the main political theories that led the United States to apply alternative

system departing the monarchical tradition that used to exist at that time.

The Third chapter will be about the origin and forces that shaped the constitution. In

addition to the main principles that emerged as a result of the constitution achievement such

as the checks and balance, separation of power and federalism. The second part in this

chapter, we will try to find out the intersection between the constitution and the concept of

alternation in power.

The Fourth chapter is devoted to the process of the presidential election; there will be a talk

on how the president is being elected. Further, we will see the embodiment of alternation in

power all over a series of presidential election.

Chapter Two: theoretical Framework

2.1. Introduction

Throughout the history of the United States, politicians engaged in debates over the

political nature of their country some of them sought democracy and the other side had

another views towards the shape of their regime. However, political theories have played an important role in formulating and creating the US political system. The ideals of john lock and the theory of Social Contract, in addition to democracy had a profound impact on the founding fathers of the United States political thought. In this chapter we will shed light on certain political theories and how does it contributed in the birth of the political regime.

2.2. Democracy

Democracy may be a word familiar to most, but it is a concept still misunderstood and misused in a time when totalitarian regimes and military dictatorships alike have attempted to claim democracy for the sack of gaining popular support. Yet the power of the democratic idea has also evoked some of history's most profound and moving expressions of human will and intellect: from Pericles in ancient Athens to Vaclav Havel in the modern Czech Republic, from Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence in 1776 to Andrei Sakharov's last speeches in 1989.

In the dictionary definition, democracy is government by the people in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised directly by them or by their elected agents under a free electoral system. In the phrase of Abraham Lincoln, Democracy is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people" (Democracy in brief 3).

Freedom and democracy are often interrelated, but the two are not synonymous. Democracy is indeed a set of ideas and principles about freedom, but it also consists of a set of practices and procedures that have been formed through a long, often tortuous history. In short, democracy is the institutionalization of freedom. For this reason, it is possible to identify the time-tested fundamentals of constitutional government, human rights, and equality before the law that any society must possess to be properly called democratic (Becker4-5).

There are two types of democracy, direct and representative. In a direct democracy, all citizens, without the intermediary of elected or appointed officials, can participate in making public decisions. Such a system is clearly only practical with relatively small numbers of people in a community organization or tribal council, for example, or the local unit of a labour union, where members can meet in a single room to discuss issues and arrive at decisions by approval or majority vote. Ancient Athens, the world's first democracy, managed to practice direct democracy with an assembly that may have numbered as many as 5,000 to 6,000 persons-perhaps the maximum number that can physically gather in one place and practice direct democracy.

Recent societies, with its size and complexity, give few opportunities for direct democracy. Even in the north-eastern United States, where the New England town meeting is a hallowed tradition, most communities have grown too large for all the residents to gather in a single location and vote directly on issues that affect their lives.

Today, the most common form of democracy, whether for a town of 50,000 or nations of 50 million, is representative democracy, in which citizens elect officials to make decisions, formulate laws, and mange programs for the public good. In the name of the people, such officials can deliberate on complex public issues in a thoughtful and systematic manner that requires an investment of time and energy that is often impractical for the vast majority of private citizens.

How such officials are elected can vary enormously. On the national level, for example, legislators can be chosen from districts that each elect a single representative. Alternatively, under a system of proportional representation, each political party is represented in the legislature according to its percentage of the total vote nationwide. Provincial and local elections can reflect these national models, or choose their representatives more informally

through group consensus instead of elections. Whatever the method used, public officials in a representative democracy hold office in the name of the people and remain accountable to the people for their actions ("Democracy." Encarta Encyclopaedia).

2.2.1. Majority Rule and Minority Rights

All democracies are systems in which citizens freely make political decisions by majority rule. But rule by the majority is not necessarily democratic: No one, for example, would call a system fair or just that permitted 51 percent of the population to oppress the remaining 49 percent in the name of the majority. In a democratic society, majority rule must be coupled with guarantees of individual human rights that, in turn, serve to protect the rights of minorities whether ethnic, religious, or political, or simply the losers in the debate over a piece of controversial legislation. The rights of minorities do not depend upon the goodwill of the majority and cannot be eliminated by majority vote. The rights of minorities are protected because democratic laws and institutions protect the rights of all citizens (Bassiouni and Beetham 28).

Diane Ravitch, scholar, author, and a former assistant U.S. secretary of education, wrote in a paper for an educational seminar in Poland: "When a representative democracy operates in accordance with a constitution that limits the powers of the government and guarantees fundamental rights to all citizens, this form of government is a constitutional democracy. In such a society, the majority rules, and the rights of minorities are protected by law and through the institutionalization of law." (34).

These elements define the fundamental elements of all modern democracies, no matter how varied in history, culture, and economy. Despite their enormous differences as nations and societies, the essential elements of constitutional government majority rule coupled with

individual and minority rights and the rule of law can be found in Canada and Costa Rica, France and Botswana, Japan and India.

What make people accept democracy without any sort of disappointment is that respects for minorities' rights and views within the concept of majority rule and minority rights. Indeed, under the rule of democracy there is no misuse of power in the name of majority rule; minority rights and individual freedom are taken into serious consideration for the sake of making balance among people despite of their views and conceptions. This concept consolidates the act of democracy and preserve nations and countries from falling apart.

2.2.2. Democratic Society

Democracy is more than a set of constitutional rules and procedures that determine how a government functions. In a democracy, government is only one element coexisting within social fabric of many and varied institutions, political parties, organizations, and associations. This diversity is called pluralism, and it assumes that the many organized groups and institutions in a democratic society do not depend upon government for their existence, legitimacy, or authority.

Thousands of private organizations operate in a democratic society, some local, some national. Many of them serve a mediating role between individuals and the complex social and governmental institutions of which they are a part, filling roles not given to the government and offering individuals opportunities to exercise their rights and responsibilities as citizens of a democracy.

These groups represent the interests of their members in a variety of ways by supporting candidates for public office, debating issues, and trying to influence policy decisions. Through such groups, individuals have an avenue for meaningful participation both

in government and in their own communities. The examples are many and varied: charitable organizations and churches, environmental and neighbourhood groups, business associations and labour unions.

In an authoritarian society, virtually all such organizations would be controlled, licensed, watched, or otherwise accountable to the government. In a democracy, the powers of the government are, by law, clearly defined and sharply limited. As a result, private organizations are free of government control on the contrary; many of them lobby the government and seek to hold it accountable for its actions. Other groups, concerned with the arts, the practice of religious faith, scholarly research, or other interests, may choose to have little or no contact with the government at all.

In this busy private realm of democratic society, citizens can explore the possibilities of freedom and the responsibilities of self-government unpressured by the potentially heavy hand of the state (The role of citizen in democratic society, 11-12).

2.2.3. The Limits and Requirements for Democracy

Democracy as political order has limits in order to protect the others rights, and requirements in order to achieve a full and fair democracy. Citizen and political parties are accounted to strengthen and preserve democracy by the application of its rules.

- If democracy is to work, citizens must not only participate and exercise their rights. They must also observe certain principles and rules of democratic conduct.
- People must respect the law and reject violence. Nothing ever justifies using
 violence against your political opponents, just because you disagree with them.

- Every citizen must respect the rights of his or her fellow citizens, and their dignity as human beings.
- No one should denounce a political opponent as evil and illegitimate, just because they have different views.
- People should question the decisions of the government, but not reject the government's authority.
- Every group has the right to practice its culture and to have some control over its own affairs, but each group should accept that it is a part of a democratic state.
- When you express your opinions, you should also listen to the views of other people, even people you disagree with. Everyone has a right to be heard.
- Don't be so convinced of the rightness of your views that you refuse to see any
 merit in another position. Consider different interests and points of view.
- When you make demands, you should understand that in a democracy, it is impossible for everyone to achieve everything they want.
- Democracy requires compromise. Groups with different interests and opinions must be willing to sit down with one another and negotiate.
- In a democracy, one group does not always win everything it wants. Different combinations of groups win on different issues. Over time, everyone wins something.
- If one group is always excluded and fails to be heard, it may turn against democracy in anger and frustration.
- Everyone who is willing to participate peacefully and respect the rights of
 others should have some say in the way the country is governed (Democratic
 challenges, sec.3).

2.3. The history of democracy in the United State

One of the early steps toward democracy in America was taken aboard to the Mayflower by the Pilgrims in 1620. Shortly before their arrival, the colonists agreed on a set of laws that would govern their Plymouth colony in Massachusetts. These laws, which later on named as the Mayflower Compact, it stated that the government would make "just laws and equal" with the consent of the colonists.

The Mayflower Compact was the first governing document of Plymouth Colony. It was written by the colonists, later together known to history as the Pilgrims, who crossed the Atlantic aboard the Mayflower. Almost half of the colonists were part of a separatist group seeking the freedom to practice Christianity according to their own determination and not the will of the English Church. It was signed on November 11, 1620 by 41 of the ship's more than one hundred passengers.

This was the logical outcome of the Calvinist' or Puritan theory of government that influenced even non-Puritans. The only problem here is the fact the Mayflower Compact itself swore an oath of loyalty to England. The idea taken from this was a charter between God and man seems to be the main idea carried forth to the American Constitution ("The Mayflower Compact". Encarta Encyclopaedia).

2.3.1. The Bible and ancient Israel

America always linked to be an exceptional model of many aspects even in democracy, which is not the same as the European mob of democracy. Indeed, there is a slight deference between them. Religion has a great contribution in giving new form of democracy.

The Jews did indeed invent democracy as practiced in the United States. This democracy was very different from the humanist mob democracy of the French Revolution that dominates Europe. Unlike Greek democracy based on humanist philosophy, American democracy was based on Protestantism.

The Protestant motto "solo scriptorium" (only the Bible) opened the door at least in America of individual interpretation outside the clutches of state churches as was the case in Europe. To quote:

"Protestantism was unimaginable without Jewish theologians (who exposed the incompatibilities of free will and original sin), not to mention Jewish bible translators Congregations must elect their church elders (Presbyterians) or even their pastors (Congregationalists), rather than accept church hierarchy" (The roots of the Bible, 45).

Thus what was an established religious institution of Anglo-Saxon Protestantism was carried into the secular realm. This was often from the "liberal wing" (unrelated to the statist philosophy of today) of Protestantism by a number of Separatist groups and churches. The King and the Church of England were far away while in states such as Virginia an alliance of groups such as Baptists, liberal Protestants, Deists, Jews, Quakers, and a number of Anglicans sought to loosen state control of religion and human affairs in general.

Besides their belief rights came from God, America's founders set forth with messianic ambitions. They saw themselves as a new Israel setting out to found a New Jerusalem, as in John Winthrop's famous sermon "On Christian Charity". "We shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when 10 of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies, when he shall make us a praise and glory, that men shall say of succeeding plantations, the Lord make it like

that of New England. For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us.

American democracy grew from a seed-crystal of representative institutions, beginning, as noted, with the election of church officials. Americans are used to governing their own affairs through a vast number of institutions at the capillary level of society (Lyons, 1-2).

We think that religion had a great impact on the US constitution and this is due to the theological nature of the society. Thus, The Founders were highly educated men and well read. Their familiarity with history, philosophy, and political theory is easily demonstrated. As a result many streams of influence combine to accomplish the document of the U. S. Constitution. However, most, if not all, Founders embraced the Judeo-Christian worldview. The Bible was respected, read, and used. Its application in such an important matter of life such as government would not have been dismissed easily. In light of the matters discussed above, especially the issue of religion, the Constitution is a document designed to maximize protection against political abuse and to take full advantage of the blessings of liberty. In this light, it is safe to suggest that there is a biblical basis for the U. S. Constitution.

2.4. The social contract

It seems to be unimportant step when we throw light on the theory of the social contract while investigating the concept of alternation in power. Nevertheless, it is a necessary for any researcher who is addressing such kind of political topics, because we cannot make separation between politics and theories .thus, the social contract as a theory established the basis of alternation in power and offered a space for people's participation in formulating decisions.

The concept of social contract theory is that in the beginning man lived in the state of nature .they had no government and there was no law to regulate them. There were hardships and oppression on the sections of the society.

By the first state, people sought protection of their lives and property. As a result of it a society was formed where people undertook to respect each other and live peace and harmony. By the second pact of subjections, people united together and right to an authority guaranteed everyone protection of life, property and to certain extent liberty. Thus, they must agree to establish society by collectively and reciprocally renouncing the rights they had against one another in the state of nature and they must imbue some one person or assembly of persons with the authority and power to enforce the initial contract. In other words, to ensure their escape from state of nature and they must both agree to live together under common laws, and created enforcement mechanism for the social contract and the laws that constitute it. Thus, the authority or the government or the sovereign or the states come into being because of the two agreements.

The idea of the social contract is one of the foundations of the American political system. This is the belief that the state only exists to serve the will of the people, and they are the source of all political power enjoyed by the state. They can choose to give or withhold this power.

The origin of the term social contract can be found in the writings of Plato. However, English philosopher Thomas Hobbes expanded on the idea when he wrote Leviathan in response to the English Civil War. In this book, he wrote that in the early history of human being there was no government. Instead, those who were the strongest could take control and use their power at any time over others. Hobbes' theory was that the people mutually agreed to create a state, only giving it enough power to provide protection of their well-being.

However, in Hobbes' theory, once the power was given to the state, the people then relinquished any right to that power. In effect, that would be the price of the protection they sought (The Social Contract, 23-24).

2.4.1. Analysis of the social contract

2.4.1.1. Thomas Hobbes

Thomas Hobbes theory of social contract appeared for the first time in leviathan published in the year 1651 during the civil war in Britain.

Hobbes legal theory is based on "social contract". According to him, prior to social contract, man lived in the state of nature .man's life in the state of nature was one of fear and selfishness. Man lived in chaotic condition of constant fear. Life in the state of nature was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.

Man has a natural desire for security and order. In order to secure self-protection and self-preservation, and to avoid misery and pain, man entered into a contract. This idea of self-preservation and self-protection are inherent in man's nature and in order to achieve this, they voluntarily surrendered all their right and freedoms to some authority by this contract who must command obedience. As a result of this contract, the mightiest authority is to protect and preserve their lives and property. This led to the emergence of the institution of the ruler or monarch, who shall be the absolute head.

Subjects had no rights against the absolute authority or the sovereign and he is to be obeyed in all obligations on the sovereign who shall be bound by natural law.

Hence, it can be deduced that, Hobbes was the supporter of absolutism. In the opinion of Hobbes, law is dependent upon the sanction of the sovereign and the government without sword are but words and of no strength to secure a man at all. He therefore, reiterated that

civil law because it is commanded and enforced by the sovereign. Thus, he upheld the principle of "might is always right".

Hobbes thus infers from his mechanistic theory of human nature that humans are necessary and exclusively self-interested. All men pursue only what they perceive to be in their own individuality considered best interests. They respond mechanistically by being drawn to that which they desire and repelled by that to which they are averse. In addition to being exclusively self-interested, Hobbes also argues that human beings are reasonable they have in theme the rational capacity to pursue their desires as efficiently and maximally as possible. From these premises of human nature Hobbes goes on to construct a provocative and compelling argument for which they ought to be willing to submit themselves to political authority. He did this by imagining persons in a situation prior to the establishment of society, the state of nature (Mourtiz, 123-124).

Hobbes impels subjects to surrender all their right and vest all liberties in the sovereign for preservation of peace, life and prosperity of the subjects. It is in this way the natural law become a moral guide or directive to the sovereign for preservation of the natural rights of the subjects. For Hobbes all law is dependent upon the sanction of the sovereign. All real law, the laws commanded and enforced by the sovereign and are brought into the world for nothing else but to limit the natural liberty of particular men, in such a manner, as they might not hurt but to assist one another and join together against a common enemy. He advocated for an established order. Hence, individualism, materialism, utilitarianism and absolutions are interwoven in the theory of Hobbes.

2.4.1.2. John Locke

John Locke theory of social contract is different than that of Hobbes. According to him .man lived in the state of nature, but his concept of the state of nature is different comparing

with Hobbesian theory. Locke's view about the state of nature is not miserable as that of Hobbes .it was reasonably good and enjoyable, but the property was not secure .he considered state of nature as a "Golden age". It was a state of peace, goodwill, mutual assistance, and preservation», in that state of nature, men had all the rights which nature could give them Locke justifies this by saying that in the state of nature .the natural condition of mankind was a state of perfect and complete liberty to conduct one's life as one best sees fit .it was free from the interference of other. In that state of nature, all were equal and independent. This does not mean, however, that it was a state of license. It was one not free to do anything at all one pleases, or even anything that one judges to be in one's interest. The state of nature, although a state wherein there was no civil authority or government to punish people for transgression against laws, was not a state without morality. The state of nature was prepolitical, but it was not pre-moral. Persons are assumed to be equal to one another in such a state, and therefore equally capable of discovering and being bound by the law of nature .so, the state of nature was a state of liberty, where persons are free to pursue their own interests and plans, free from interference and, because of the law of nature and the restrictions that it imposes upon persons, it is relatively peaceful.

Property also plays essential role in Locke's claim for civil government and the contract that establishes it. According to Locke, private property is created when a person mixes his labour with the raw materials of nature .given the implications of the law of nature, there are limits as to how much property one can own: one is not allowed to take so more from nature then oneself can use. One cannot take more than his own fair share .property is the linchpin of Locke's argument for the social contract and civil government because it is the protection of their property.

According to Locke, the purpose of the government and law is to uphold and protect the natural rights of men .so long as the government fulfils this purpose, the laws would have no

validity and the government can be thrown out of power. In Locke's view unlimited sovereignty is a contrary to natural law.

Hence, john Locke advocated the principle of State of liberty, not of license; in addition Locke advocated a state for the general good of people. He pleaded for a constitutionally limited government.

Lock, in fact made life, liberty and property his three cardinal rights which greatly dominated and influenced the declaration of independence, 1776 (Elahi.sec, 3).

2.4.1.3. Jean Jacques Rousseau

Jean Jacques Rousseau was a French philosopher who gave a new interpretation to the theory of social contract in his work. According to him social contract is not a historical fact but a hypothetical construction of reason.

Prior to the social contract, the life in the state of nature was happy and there was equality among men. As time passed .however, humanity faced certain changes. As the overall population increased, the means by which people could satisfy their needs had to change. People slowly began to live together in small families and discoveries and inventions mad life easier, giving rise to leisure time .such leisure time led people to make comparisons between themselves and other, resulting in public values, leading to shame and envy, pride. Most importantly however, according to Rousseau was the invention of pivotal moment in humanity's evolution out a simple, pure state into one characterized by greed, competition, vanity, inequality.

For Rousseau the invention of property constitutes humanity's fall from grace out of the state of nature. For this purpose, they surrendered their rights not to single individual but to the community as a whole which Rousseau termed as a general will.

According to Rousseau, the original freedom, happiness, equality and liberty which existed in primitive societies prior to the social contract was lost in modern civilization.

The essence of the Rousseau's theory of general will is that state and law were the product of general will of the people. State and law are made by it and if the government and laws do not conform to general will they would be discarded. While individual parts with his natural rights, In return he gets civil liberties such as freedom of speech, equality, assembly... (Bennett, 6-9).

The general will there for, for all purposes, was the will of majority citizens to which blind obedience was to be given . The majority was accepted on the belief that majority views is right than minority view. Each individual is not subject to any other individual but to the general will and to obey himself. His sovereignty is infallible, indivisible, unrepresentable and illimitable.

Thus, Rousseau favoured people's sovereignty. His natural law theory is confined to the freedom and liberty of the individual . For him, state, law, sovereignty, general will are interchangeable terms. Rousseau's theory inspired French and American Revolution in term of democracy and liberty.

He based his theory of Social Contract on the principle "man is born free, but everywhere he is in the chains".

We think that Jean Jacques Rousseau and John Locke each took the social contract theory one step further. Rousseau wrote The Social Contract, or Principles of Political Right in which he explained that the government is based on the idea of popular sovereignty. Thus the will of the people as a whole gives power and direction to the state. John Locke also based his political writings on the idea of the social contract. He stressed the role of the individual. He also believed that revolution was not just a right but an obligation if the state abused their

given power. Obviously these ideas had a huge impact on the Founding Fathers, especially and James Madison. The US Constitution itself starts with the three Thomas Jefferson words, "We the people..." embodying this idea of popular sovereignty in the very beginning of this key document.

2.5. Conclusion

Philosophy had a significant role in devolving and enhancing the political thoughts of nations. This is was the case in the United States, the theory of social contract and democracy had a great contribution in determining the destination of the country in term of adopting an appropriate political order that enable the country to live in harmony and balance in spite of its cultural and ethnic diversity. The famous George Washington saying during the constitutional convention in Philadelphia "all people are created equal" accentuated his philosophical awareness towards the social contract principles that claimed all people are created equal.

Chapter Three:

The American constitution and the concept of Alternation in power

3.1. Introduction

The creation of American constitution was a land mark that marked the birth of new nation. The American constitution set the pillars of the United States political system concerning the judicial, legislative and the executive branches. In addition to the limitation of the power of each branch by creating a system called Checks and Balances by which every

branch is controlled by the other branch in other to avoid a potential misuse of power. For instance, the American president could be elected only for two terms and this system is named in political science the alternation in power . The present chapter will focus on the creation of the American constitution and correlation between the constitution and the concept of alternation in power.

3.2. The origin of the constitution

The Constitution was written in secrecy over a summer in Philadelphia. Twelve of the thirteen states were represented. Once the drafters signed the Constitution, as seen here, it began to make a slow path around the states in search of ratification.

After their victory in the American Revolution, America's leaders were leery about establishing a powerful centralized government, due to their fear that such a government would only replace the tyranny of King George III with a new form of tyranny. As a result, the first U.S. constitution, the Articles of Confederation, created a decentralized new government. The Articles established the United States as a confederation of states a system in which the states were largely independent but were bound together by a weak national congress.

Ultimately, the Articles of Confederation proved ineffective, giving Congress little real power over the states, no means to enforce its decisions, and, most critically, no power to levy taxes.

As a result, the federal government was left at the mercy of the states, which often chose not to pay their taxes.

The need for change, delegates from nearly all the states met in 1787 to revise the Articles of Confederation but ended up drafting an entirely new document: the Constitution. The Constitution created a new government divided into three branches: legislative (Congress), executive (the president), and judicial (headed by the Supreme Court). After

much debate, the delegates compromised on a two-house Congress, consisting of an upper house (Senate) with equal representation for each state, and a lower house (House of Representatives) with proportional representation based on population. Congress also was given new abilities to levy national taxes and control interstate commerce (About the USA constitution, 3).

Although most states ratified the Constitution outright, some, especially New York, had reservations. In response, Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison argued the case for the Constitution in a series of essays called the Federalist Papers. These eighty-five essays are now regarded as some of the most important writings in American political thought.

However, many skeptics, or Anti-Federalists, remained unconvinced, believing that a stronger government would endanger the freedoms they had just won during the Revolution. As a compromise, the framers of the Constitution promised to add a series of amendments to guarantee important liberties. Sponsored by James Madison, the first ten amendments became known as the Bill of Rights. Their liberties secured, Anti-Federalists in the last remaining states grudgingly voted for the Constitution.

The 1790s were rocky for the United States: the new government functioned well, but disputes arose about how the government should act in situations in which the Constitution was vague. The foremost of these disagreements involved the question of whether or not the federal government had the right to found a national bank. "Strict constructionists" such as Thomas Jefferson interpreted the Constitution literally, believing that the document forbade everything it did not expressly permit. "Loose constructionists" such as Alexander Hamilton believed that the Constitution's "elastic clause" permitted everything the document did not expressly forbid such as the founding of a bank.

Hamilton and Jefferson disagreed often during George Washington's presidency, and eventually their ideas spread through the country and coalesced into the nation's first two political parties, the Hamiltonian Federalists and the Jeffersonian Democratic-Republicans. Although Washington begged Americans not to separate into dangerous political factions for he believed that factions and political parties would destroy the republican spirit and tear the Union apart the party system developed. Indeed, Washington's successor, the Federalist John Adams, tried to ruin the opposition party with his 1798 Sedition Act, which ultimately only made the Democratic-Republicans stronger.

When Adams's bitter rival Jefferson was elected president in 1800, many European observers thought the American "experiment" in republicanism would end. But when the transfer of power proved to be peaceful, many Europeans, seeing that republicanism could be viable and stable, began to believe the system might work for them too. The U.S. triumph over Britain and success in establishing a stable government had already encouraged the French to overthrow their own monarch in the French Revolution of 1789. Later, republicanism and democracy would spread beyond France to Britain and the rest of Europe. Thus, the drafting of the Constitution and the years that followed were enormously important in world history as well as American history ("The United States Constitution" Encarta Encyclopaedia).

One of the main reasons that made the United States a strong country in term of political system is the creation of an approval constitution. As we have seen the atmosphere and conditions that followed the establishment of the constitution, there was no misuse of authority or external interference influenced the process of the creation, but there was a debates and a variety of views, this political debates contributed in making democratic constitution without any marginalization of the other conceptions. This consideration for

many opinions influenced positively on the good of the country in a way that all people and minorities are accounted.

3.2.1. The constitutional convention

The Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia met between May and September of 1787 to address the problems of the weak central government that existed under the Articles of Confederation. The United States Constitution that emerged from the convention established a federal government with more specific powers, including those related to conducting relations with foreign governments. Under the reformed federal system, many of the responsibilities for foreign affairs fell under the authority of an executive branch, although important powers, such as treaty ratification, remained the responsibility of the legislative branch. After the necessary number of state ratifications, the Constitution came into effect in 1789 and has served as the basis of the United States Government ever since. Their product was a blueprint for a new kind of government based on the principles of separation of powers, checks and balances, and federalism. ("The constitutional convention "World book Encyclopaedia).

3.2.1.1. Separation of power

The Constitution is the basis of the United States government. All debates over laws have the few pages of the Constitution as their basis, and much political conflict has arisen due to different traditions of interpreting its clauses.

The Constitution provided for the structure and powers of Congress in Article I. It created a bicameral legislature, set qualifications for holding office in each house, and provided for methods of selecting representatives and senators. It carefully enumerated

powers, such as regulating interstate commerce and declaring wars. Article II vested the power to execute laws in a president of the United States. It set the president's term at four years, stated qualifications for office, and provided a mechanism to remove him from office.

The president's constitutional powers are very modest, but they include commander-inchief of the armed forces, negotiator of foreign treaties, and appointer of ambassadors, judges, and other officers of the United States. Article III established a Supreme Court and defines its jurisdiction. The Founders disagreed on how much power to give the judges, but they ultimately gave judges appointments for life and forbid Congress to lower their salaries while they hold office (singh.03).

3.2.1.2. Checks and Balances

The Founders were ever mindful of the dangers of tyrannical government. So they built a system in which the powers of each branch would be used to check the powers of the other two branches. Additionally, each house of the legislature could check one another. For example, both houses of Congress must vote to enact laws, the president can veto legislation, and the Supreme Court can rule laws unconstitutional. Congress can override presidential vetoes. The president nominates Supreme Court justices, but the Senate can refuse to confirm the nominees. The Congress can impeach and remove the president or a member of the Supreme Court. As a result, a "balance" was created among the three branches.

He may have been an elegant and refined statesman, but Alexander Hamilton's temper got him involved in a duel with Aaron Burr that resulted in death.

Wide differences of opinion existed even among the 55 delegates concerning the proper balance between liberty and order. Alexander Hamilton, for example, valued order more than liberty and supported the creation of a very strong executive. James Madison, influenced by his mentor Thomas Jefferson, conceded that an executive was necessary, but he saw the

legislature as the preserver of liberty and an important check on the power of the executive. George Washington's experience as the head of the Continental Army during the revolution convinced him that the chaotic government needed more structure. Thomas Jefferson did not attend the convention because he was serving as ambassador to France, but his belief that "a little rebellion now and then" was a good thing tilted his balance more toward liberty. (pauwels.10).

3.2.1.3. Federalism

Article IV defined the relationship between the federal government and the states in a system of federalism, which divides the power of government between national and state governments. This federal system was meant to correct the chaos of the country during the Articles of Confederation. However, it was still mindful of the threat of a tyrannical central government. This article included mechanisms for admitting new states to the Union.

Alexander Hamilton was one of the most important proponents of federalism at the Constitutional Convention. He presented a plan to create a strong executive branch, out of a belief that order is more important than liberty. ("Federalism" Encarta Encyclopaedia).

The relationship between national and state governments was defined in many other parts of the Constitution. For example, Article 1, Section 10 forbids the states to form alliances or enter with foreign countries or to coin their own money. Federalism was further defined in Article VI in which the constitution was declared "the Supreme Law of the Land." This supremacy clause, as well as the "elastic" clause (Article I, Section 8) tilts the federalist balance toward national law.

In our conception, the founding fathers did not devote any space for all sorts of tyranny or dictatorship in the constitution. Things are counted carefully; we can see that through the three principles: checks and balance, separation of power, federalism.

Checks and balance adopted mainly to create a kind of stability and equilibrium in a way that each branch is checked by the power of the other branches and the opposite.

Separation of power was to evade all kind of confusion between powers and to establish the independence of the branches in order to make them free from any form of interference. For example, the independence of justice enhances its role within the combination of democracy.

Federalism viewed carefully the combination of the US society which is a mixture of a various ethnics, it's not an easy task for any government to control and mange the affairs of such kind of society .Thus, federalism came to give a kind of liberty to state and to avoid the central authority, this order strengthen the country from inside since people participating in making their own issues.

3.3. Alternation in power

Alternation in power means to change the incumbent executives, after they serve a limited and concise term in duty. The alternation in power is the basic element in leading a wise, peaceful and successful political system.

America has an alternative framework, which indicates that the system is always in a "Reborn" track. The alternation in power, proved its efficiency during the decades of crisis and problems. America is leading the world now because it has the largest history of frequent alternations in presidential power.

This record is associated with the emergence of better governance, since each president rules according to his new sight to leadership and governing of the nation, helps insuring progress; through overcoming crisis during decades of depression and international disagreement, and spreading democracy; because every president is case in history of nation, for his deeds and achievements during a term.

Alternation in power means to change office holders, after they terminated their constitutional limited term. It is to replace an executive by putting in charge new person, who is selected because he fulfils all requirements to the office.

The alternation is expected to have a positive effect on nation policy, economy, foreign and domestic affairs. This is true, because the differentiation in views and policies; taken by each president is the basic element for the changes that overcome crisis and mistakes done by former president. In the United States, these major institutional reforms as the direct election of the Senate and the limitation on presidential terms were made by constitutional amendment and articles ("Political Systems". Encyc. Britannica).

The alternation is realized through two main circumstances. According to Bartolini is represented by the "possibility" of alternation and making change in government or the structure of a government. He wrote in an article entitled "Collusion, Competition and Democracy: Part II.": "the possibility for an incumbent government to be ousted and replaced or otherwise modified in its composition as a result of changes in voters' choices" (34).

3.3.1. Alternation in power throughout the constitution

The principle of Alternation in power is defined by the American constitution. The constitution restricts and puts limits on the term of the American officials, congressman and executives.

The Executive Power: The term of a president and vice president, who represents the executive branch of the United States, is limited by the Article II, Section I of the Constitution to four years.

Article. II.

Section. 1.

The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term (The World Encyc. 25).

President is not also permitted to serve more than two terms of four years. This is guaranteed by the constitution texts in the Amendment XXII, Section I. The

Context of the amendment is:

Amendment XXII (1951)

Section. 1.

No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. But this article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who maybe holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

The legislative power: The constitution guarantees that the legislative branch is due to alternation, through limiting the term of service of members of Congress, the Senate and House of Representatives.

The Senate: Senator Duration in service is limited to six years, as a senator of a state. This was legislated in the amendment XVII.

Amendment XVII (1913)

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branches of the State legislatures (38). And by the Article I, Section 2:

Section. 2.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, [chosen by the Legislature thereof,] for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote (20).

The House of Representatives: a representative finishes his duties in term of two years according to the Article I, Section 2 of the American constitution:

Article. I.

Section. 2.

The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature (19).

3.4. The division of the executive branch

Since our research is relevant to the presidential election as model of alternation in power, it is a necessary step to know more about the executive branch that is vested to the president and vice president and how does it operate according to the USA constitution.

3.4.1. The President

The President is both the head of state and head of government of the United States of America, and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces.

Under Article II of the Constitution, the President is responsible for the execution and enforcement of the laws created by Congress. Fifteen executive departments each led by an appointed member of the President's Cabinet carry out the day-to-day administration of the federal government. They are joined in this by other executive agencies such as the CIA and Environmental Protection Agency, the heads of which is not part of the Cabinet, but who are under the full authority of the President. The President also appoints the heads of more than 50 independent federal commissions, such as the Federal Reserve Board or the Securities and Exchange Commission, as well as federal judges, ambassadors, and other federal offices. The Executive Office of the President (EOP) consists of the immediate staff to the President, along with entities such as the Office of Management and Budget and the Office of the United States Trade Representative.

The President has the power either to sign legislation into law or to veto bills enacted by Congress, although Congress may override a veto with a two-thirds vote of both houses.

The Executive Branch conducts diplomacy with other nations, and the President has the power to negotiate and sign treaties, which also must be ratified by two-thirds of the Senate.

The President can issue executive orders, which direct executive officers or clarify and further existing laws. The President also has unlimited power to extend pardons and clemencies for federal crimes, except in cases of impeachment.

With these powers come several responsibilities, among them a constitutional requirement to "from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." Although the President may fulfil this requirement in any way he or she chooses, Presidents have traditionally given a State of the Union address to a joint session of Congress each January except in inaugural years outlining their agenda for the coming year.

The Constitution lists only three qualifications for the Presidency. The President must be 35 years of age, is a natural born citizen, and must have lived in the United States for at least 14 years. And though millions of Americans vote in a presidential election every four years, the President is not, in fact, directly elected by the people. Instead, on the first Tuesday in November of every fourth year, the people elect the members of the Electoral College. Apportioned by population to the 50 states one for each member of their congressional delegation (with the District of Columbia receiving 3 votes) these Electors then cast the votes for President. There are currently 538 electors in the Electoral College.

President Barack Obama is the 44th President of the United States. He is, however, only the 43rd person ever to serve as President; President Grover Cleveland served two non-consecutive terms, and thus is recognized as both the 22nd and the 24th President. Today, the President is limited to two four-year terms, but until the 22nd Amendment to the Constitution, ratified in 1951, a President could serve an unlimited number of terms. Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected President four times, serving from 1932 until his death in 1945; he is the only President ever to have served more than two terms.

By tradition, the President and the First Family live in the White House in Washington, D.C., also the location of the President's Oval Office and the offices of the his senior staff.

When the President travels by plane, his aircraft is designated Air Force One; he may also use

a Marine Corps helicopter, known as Marine One while the President is on board. For ground travel, the President uses an armoured Presidential limousine.

3.4.2. The Vice President

The primary responsibility of the Vice President of the United States is to be ready at a moment's notice to assume the Presidency if the President is unable to perform his duties.

This can be because of the President's death, resignation, or temporary incapacitation, or if the Vice President and a majority of the Cabinet judge that the President is no longer able to discharge the duties of the presidency.

The Vice President is elected along with the President by the Electoral College each elector casts one vote for President and another for Vice President. Before the ratification of the 12th Amendment in 1804, electors only voted for President, and the person who received the second greatest number of votes became Vice President.

The Vice President also serves as the President of the United States Senate, where he or she casts the deciding vote in the case of a tie. Except in the case of tiebreaking votes, the Vice President rarely actually presides over the Senate. Instead, the Senate selects one of their own members, usually junior members of the majority party, to preside over the Senate each day.

Joseph R. Biden is the 47th Vice President of the United States. Of the 45 previous Vice Presidents, nine have succeeded to the Presidency, and four have been elected to the Presidency in their own right. The duties of the Vice President, outside of those enumerated in the Constitution, are at the discretion of the current President. Each Vice President approaches the role differently some take on a specific policy portfolio; others serve simply as a top adviser to the President.

The Vice President has an office in the West Wing of the White House, as well as in the nearby Eisenhower Executive Office Building. Like the President, he also maintains an official residence, at the United States Naval Observatory in Northwest Washington, D.C. This peaceful mansion, has been the official home of the Vice President since 1974 previously, Vice Presidents had lived in their own private residences (Mckeever and Davies, 107).

3.4.3. Executive Office of the President

Every day, the President of the United States is faced with scores of decisions, each with important consequences for America's future. To provide the President with the support the he or she needs to govern effectively, the Executive Office of the President (EOP) was created in 1939 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The EOP has responsibility for tasks ranging from communicating the President's message to the American people to promoting our trade interests abroad.

The EOP, overseen by the White House Chief of Staff, has traditionally been home to many of the President's closest advisers. While Senate confirmation is required for some advisers, such as the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, most are appointed with full Presidential discretion. The individual offices that these advisors oversee have grown in size and number since the EOP was created. Some were formed by Congress, others as the President has needed them they are constantly shifting as each President identifies his needs and priorities, with the current EOP employing over 1,800 people.

Perhaps the most visible parts of the EOP are the White House Communications Office and Press Secretary's Office. The Press Secretary provides daily briefings for the media on the President's activities and agenda. Less visible to most Americans is the National Security Council, which advises the President on foreign policy, intelligence, and national security.

There are also a number of offices responsible for the practicalities of maintaining the White House and providing logistical support for the President. These include the White House Military Office, which is responsible for services ranging from Air Force One to the dining facilities, and the Office of Presidential Advance, which prepares sites remote from the White House for the President's arrival.

Many senior advisors in the EOP work near the President in the West Wing of the White House. However, the majority of the staff is housed in the Eisenhower Executive Office Building, just a few steps away and part of the White House compound.

3.4.4. The Cabinet

The Cabinet is an advisory body made up of the heads of the 15 executive departments. Appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, the members of the Cabinet are often the President's closest confidants. In addition to running major federal agencies, they play an important role in the Presidential line of succession after the Vice President, Speaker of the House and Senate President pro tempore, the line of succession continues with the Cabinet offices in the order in which the departments were created. All the members of the Cabinet take the title Secretary, excepting the head of the Justice Department, who is styled Attorney General (Pauwells, 13).

For the sake of enhancing and making strong branches, the US is mixture of many governments at the level of state. This variety aimed at reinforcing the role of states governments by decentralizing the authority and emancipating the work of the central government to the main issues of people. This system is relevant to the democratic society who paved the way to the application of the concept of alternation in power; this concept led the country to be an ideal mob of democracy.

3.5. Conclusion

As a sum up for this chapter, the constitution of the United States of America established the basis of the American political system in term of legislations and organizing the work of the other branches, by creating laws that regulated and determinate the power of each branch. Moreover, the alternation in power system was a significant element in the combination of democracy in United States by putting limits for the power of each branch. For example, the election of the president and vice-president are confined only for two terms.

Chapter Four: the presidential election process in the U.S

4.1. Introduction

The US presidential election system is a creation of the constitutional convention in Philadelphia 1787. This system is a part of the Great compromise between the small and large states of free settlers. The presidential election is a complicated process; it shows the democratic nature of the USA political system. As we will see in this chapter, election does

not exist only at the level of the presidents but also at the level of the political parties, because they held a series of elections in order to select the final candidate who will run the presidential election competition, This active atmosphere of elections at many levels contributes in making a well-balanced democracy. Thus, the focus in this chapter will be how the president is being elected and we will find out how does the alternation in power adopted throughout the presidential election.

4.2. Political parties

The modern political party system in the USA is two party system dominated by the Democratic and the Republican Party. These two parties have won every United States presidential election since 1852, and have controlled the United States congress.

4.2.1. The Democratic Party

The Democratic Party of the United States was founded in 1828 and traces its philosophy back to Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson, both of whom styled themselves as advocates of the common man. Despite these origins, the Democratic Party has not always been the most progressive party in the US. For example, the Republican Party of Abraham Lincoln, not the Democrats, took the lead in ending slavery in the country. And in the Progressive Era (roughly 1890–1920), the Republicans, with figures such as Teddy Roosevelt and Bob La Follette, again took the lead in fighting corruption, reforming the electoral process, curbing the power of big capital, and developing social welfare programs. But since the New Deal era of Franklin Roosevelt, it has been the Democratic Party that has taken the lead in taming the excesses of capitalism, promoting the economic interests of the middle and working classes, and pushing for social justice. The Republican Party, on the other hand, has adopted an emphatic pro-business and socially conservative stance, thereby positioning itself

consistently to the right of the Democrats on both economic and social issues. Barak Obama is the 15th Democrat to hold the office (A Brief history of Democratic Party ,1).

4.2.2. The Republican Party

The Republican Party was born in the early 1850's by anti-slavery activists and Individuals who believed that government should grant western lands to settlers free of charge. The first informal meeting of the party took place in Ripon, Wisconsin, a small town northwest of Milwaukee. The first official Republican meeting took place on July 6th, 1854 in Jackson, Michigan. The name "Republican" was chosen because it alluded to equality and reminded individuals of Thomas Jefferson's Democratic-Republican Party. At the Jackson convention, the new party adopted a platform and nominated candidates for office in Michigan. In 1856, the Republicans became a national party when John C. Fremont was nominated for President under the slogan: "Free soil, free labor, free speech, free men, Fremont." Even though they were considered a "third party" because the Democrats and Whigs represented the two-party system at the time, Fremont received 33% of the vote. Four years later, Abraham Lincoln became the first Republican to win the White House.

The Civil War erupted in 1861 and lasted four gruelling years. During the war, against the advice of his cabinet, Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation that freed the slaves. The Republicans of their day worked to pass the Thirteenth Amendment, which outlawed slavery, the Fourteenth, which guaranteed equal protection under the laws, and the Fifteenth, which helped secure voting rights for African-Americans.

The Republican Party also played a leading role in securing women the right to vote.

In 1896, Republicans were the first major party to favour women's suffrage. When the 19th

Amendment finally was added to the Constitution, 26 of 36 state legislatures that had voted to

ratify it were under Republican control. The first woman elected to Congress was a Republican, Jeanette Rankin from Montana in 1917 (The history of the Republican Party, 1).

We assume that existence of political parties in each country is healthy result of the democratic action. Political parties have a significant role in supervising the public opinion, and awaking the awareness of people towards the relevant issues of countries .concerning the US, Democratic and Republican parties had a great influence in shaping and determining the political decision ,national and foreign policies ,this role represent the importance of political parties in the democratic societies .Moreover, political parties competes to accomplish the benefit of people ,this competition works to keep the continuity of alternation in power .

4.3. The Primary and caucus election

There are two methods prevalent today for selecting the convention's delegates: the primary and caucus election. The rules governing these elections are to certain extent between states and between the Democratic and Republican parties.

In the period between February and June of election, each state holds either a primary or caucus election for each of the parties, but there are some requirements must be in the candidate for the presidential election spell out in the articles one and two of the US constitution:

- A candidate for the presidential election must be a natural-born citizen of the United
 States.
- He must be at least 35 years old.
- Resident at the United States at least 14 years.
- Also must be loyal, honest, well-educated (Mckeever and Davies, 111).

4.3.1. The primary election

The presidential primary election is a method used to select a party's nominee. The presidential primaries are a type of indirect primary because each party's nominee is chosen by delegates at the party's national convention not by popular vote. In most state presidential primary voters vote for the person they wish the party to nominate and the result tell the state's delegates which candidate they are to vote at the national convention. Because the delegates in most states are bound by the result of the primary election, voters have the most important role in the nomination of the presidential candidate. In another type of the presidential primary, voters directly elect candidates to the national convention .the delegates are listed on the ballot as pledged to a candidates or uncommitted .whatever the system used is, the national convention today serves mainly to ratify the results of the presidential primary and caucus (The presidential nominating process, 5).

4.3.2. The caucus election

Caucus is a meeting of the members of the political parties; they discuss the policies and the organizations of the party .they also begin the process of nominating a candidate for public office.

The word caucus is uncertain origin; there are many opinions about the roots of this word. The first usage was in connection with an 18th century political organization in Boston" the caucus club "which was influential in local election. From 1800 to 1824 the presidential election candidates was selected by congress members in meeting or caucus. Subsequently these candidates were selected by national political convention .however, congressional caucuses continued function for purpose of deciding the official party position on matters of importance before the legislature (Type of elections, 1).

4.4. The national convention

National conventions are part of the electoral process. National conventions have been held in August in recent election years, and they have to show both Republican and Democrat parties at their very best as the media coverage of these events is immense. Whether these conventions are a vital part of the American political structure, though, is open to debate.

In the past the two national conventions held by both parties prior to a national election) were of great importance in that it would be at these events that the parties would announce who had won the 'party ticket' and would represent that party as the presidential nomination in a national election. His running mate as vice presidential candidate would also be announced.

Therefore the behind the scenes political intrigue at these conventions was at its peak so that vested interests got 'their man' as the party's presidential nominee. This lead to clashes at a time when party unity had to be seen by the public as being at its peak. As a result of this both parties effectively know who their nominations are going to be by the time the national conventions convene. Such information can be easily gained from the stated political support registered at both local and state level in the primaries.

So what is the purpose of the national conventions? Historically, they are usually held in either July or August of the election year - though August was favored by both parties in 2000. They have a number of purposes:

- **1.** The official party candidates are announced to the public by both parties.
- **2.** Each party's policy platform is announced. This is essentially what each party plans to do if elected by the people. These platforms are then adopted by the parties but they are not binding on either candidates or state parties.

The political 'bloodshed' spilt in the past has meant that conventions are now nothing more than a media event. When the political parties finalize the process of choosing their appropriate candidate for holding the presidential office, another phase remain before arriving that office which is how to convince and attract people in your side in the general election here is the role of the presidential campaign(General election, 9-12).

4.5. The presidential campaign

In every election cycle, the major parties and their presidential candidates spend vast some of money and prodigious amounts energy on the campaign for the White House.

Thousands of journalists, campaign operatives, pollsters and media consultants derives their livings from this yearlong spectacle. Every day, interested citizen can read and watch detailed accounts and analysis of the candidates strategies, speeches and issues stand.

Political campaign is an organized effort by political parties or candidates for the public office to attract the support of voters in the election .Political campaign play an important role in the education and mobilization of citizens in most democratic countries. In the United States campaigns precede every election and often begin many months or years before the election.

Political campaigns have become multimillion dollar endeavours. Early in the campaign season students are inundated with advertisements. Today, the bulk of campaign funds are spent on television and radio commercials. But what about elections held early in the history of the United States? Here we will take a look at some of the broadsides, sheet music, photographs, motion pictures and audio recordings from past presidential campaigns. These items are found within the digitized collections of the Library of Congress. Closely look at the use of broadside posters to publicize candidates and the use of sheet music and political cartoons as means of looking at the issues candidates took a stand for or against.

A variety of policies, parties and personalities inspire American citizens to support or reject candidates. This was true in past elections and continues to be true today! Media coverage provides the American people with great detail about candidates' lives, both public and private.

Abraham Lincoln had songs written for him, just for being nominated. Conversely, his anti-slavery position aroused so much opposition toward the candidate.

Presidential candidates of the past and today use a variety of ways to communicate with Americans who will cast votes in an election and attempt to reach as many voters as possible. Throughout the years, new media formats have been introduced allowing candidates to broaden their reach and expand from local events such as speaking live outdoors to a gathered crowd to the production of recorded comments, motion pictures, print media and live broadcasts that allow millions to see and hear a candidate in real time regardless of location.

Today, a candidate's every word, action and expression is recorded and shared with the public. Showing the voter that they are both a leader and a "good person" is part of the challenge of the campaign. If we listen to an audio clip of candidate Calvin Coolidge on the subject of Law and Order it is hard to imagine this monotone voice, this "man of few words" appealing to modern voter (Brady, Johnston and Sides, 6).

4.5.1. Campaign financial

Financial resources are an important influence on the outcomes of uneven congressional races and ballot referendums, an effect which could be explained by the ability of the candidate with greater media resource better to manipulate many voters perception of the candidates' position on fundamental issues.

Parties with minimal financial resources and popular backing tend not to win any representation at all. Thus, it is hard for new parties to achieve a viable degree of proportional representation and achieve national clout (Electing the president, 6).

4.5.2. The Negative campaign techniques

There are two main techniques which are:

Attack: in that technique every candidate can talk about negative points which are on his competitor and the only thing that can talk about is the risks associated with the opponent.

Contrast: it's an ad which presents the positive information about the candidate and the negative information about the opponent and this in order to compare between the two candidates. In this technique negative and positive information has to be mentioned for the sack of making right comparison.

In spite of its democratic nature, lobbies and depression groups have an important role in shaping and orienting the public opinion, this is due to the huge amount of money they spend during the presidential Campaign. Moreover, most of newspaper, TV channels, and web sites are owned by lobbies, they work through it to orient people in favour of specific candidate. This phenomenon would undermine the act of democracy and rob people's will since their desire is available for being procured.

4.6. Voting right

The issue of voting right was a debatable point throughout the United States history, many amendments and acts was added aiming at giving more rights to minorities

 1776 White men with property have the right to vote, but Catholics, Jews, Quakers, and others are barred from voting.

- 1787 Constitution gave State the power to set voting mandates, most were still favourable to white males who owned property.
- 1830 Many states had dropped religion and property ownership as requirements for voting. Political parties were beginning to develop with such a large percentage of the population at the polls.
- 1868 The Fourteenth Amendment recognizes African Americans as citizens, giving them the right to vote. However, state officials continue attempts to deny this right.
- 1870 The Fifteenth Amendment recognizes freed slaves and other African American men the equal right to vote. It prohibited any state or local government from denying that right
- 1887 Congress passes the Dawes General Allotment Act that grants citizenship only to those Native Americans who give up their tribal affiliations.
- 1913 Voting power is expanded with the Seventeenth Amendment, calling for the popular elections of US Senators.
- 1920 The Nineteenth Amendment, adopted by Congress on June 4, 1919 is ratified by the states and becomes national law, giving women the right to vote.
- 1924 The Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 declares all non-citizen Native Americans born within the United States to be citizens, giving them the right to vote.
- 1940 Congress recognizes Native Americans as citizens. It was not until 1947 that all states granted them the right to vote.
- 1943 The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 is repealed, giving Chinese immigrants the right to citizenship and the right to vote.
- 1964 Congress ratifies the Twenty-fourth Amendment, outlawing the poll tax as a
 precondition for voting in federal elections. Two years later, the U.S. Supreme Court
 expands the ban, ruling that a poll tax violates the Fourteenth Amendment.

- 1965 President Lyndon B. Johnson signs the Voting Rights Act banning literacy tests,
 poll taxes and other obstacles designed to keep people from voting.
- 1971 The Twenty-sixth Amendment gives 18-year olds the right to vote.
- 1975 Congress expands the Voting Rights Act's definition of "test or device" to include English-only elections. This results in language assistance for citizens who have limited English proficiency.
- 1982 The Voting Rights Act Amendments that extend the right to vote guarantees
 given in the 1965 legislation. Further provisions for Americans with disabilities,
 voters not able to read and write, and those not fluent in English were added to insure
 their freedoms.
- 1990 Congress passes Americans with Disabilities Act that requires election workers
 and polling sites provide services to ensure people with disabilities can vote.
- 1993 National Voter Registration Act (Motor Voter) makes registration more uniform and accessible
- 2006 The Voting Rights Act Amendments of 2006 (Voting Rights Timeline, 111-112).

4.7. The Electoral College

At the first Tuesday following the first Monday of November, is the general election, in which all registered voters cast a ballot for the president. These votes are then used to determine which candidate wins the state elections and thus state electoral votes. In the general election, the president and vice president are selected together, only one vote is cast. Also, the winner of the state vote wins all of the state's electoral votes. At this stage of

election, the president does not elected yet, that's up to the Electoral College which determine who will be the president.

The Electoral College is an institution through which Americans elect the president and vice president of the United States. Many people are unaware of the Electoral College's role, in part because they mistakenly believe that they directly elect the president and vice president. In fact, when they cast their ballots for president and vice president, they are voting for officials called electors who are assigned to each presidential candidate.

Each state is allotted a number of electors equal to the number of its representatives and senators in the U.S. Congress. In addition, the 23rd Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, adopted in 1961, permits residents of the District of Columbia to vote for three electors in the same manner as residents of the states. Through its power of apportioning representatives among the states, Congress determines the number of presidential electors to which each state is entitled. At the present time the total of state and District of Columbia electors is 538; a simple majority of 270 is necessary for election to the presidency.

The electors have only one responsibility, to select the president and vice president. Each presidential candidate has a slate of electors assigned to that candidate. When the candidate wins the popular vote in a state or the District of Columbia, the electors assigned to that candidate are the ones who vote in the Electoral College. To do so, they meet in their respective states or the District of Columbia about five weeks after the November presidential election to cast their votes. Normally, the meeting is a mere formality. The electors vote for the presidential candidate who received the greatest number of votes in their state. The Electoral College simply ratifies the results of the popular vote.

In most cases the candidate who wins the popular vote also wins the Electoral College vote. If the election is close, however, as was the election of 2000, the Electoral College may

end up picking a candidate who did not receive most of the popular vote. The candidate who wins the presidency is the one who wins a majority of the Electoral College votes, rather than a majority of the popular vote. On four occasions in U.S. history in 1824, 1876, 1888, and 2000the candidate with the most popular votes did not win the presidency because he did not win the most Electoral College votes.

This is because Americans do not directly elect their president and vice president. If Americans directly elected their president, then the candidate with the most votes would automatically win (Mckeever and Davies, 107-108).

4.8. Method of selection

The U.S. Constitution sets forth only one requirement for serving as an elector. In Article II, Section 1, it provides that "no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector." No clear definition exists for the meaning of "office of trust or profit," but it is generally taken to mean that members of the Cabinet or other high-ranking executive branch members cannot serve as electors. However, in the election of 1876, an elector from Oregon was challenged on the grounds that he was a postmaster.

States have developed several different procedures for selecting electors. The most prominent method is the state party convention. Currently, 37 states nominate electors at their state party conventions. In 11 states and the District of Columbia, the state party's central committee makes the selection. Two other states leave the decision to the state parties to choose a method of selection.

The persons chosen at this stage are not yet actual electors. They must be formally appointed. All state legislatures have by law conferred upon the citizens of the state the right

to choose electors in the November election. As of 2000, the District of Columbia and all states except Maine and Nebraska had adopted the winner-take-all system.

Under the winner-take-all system, the electors assigned to the candidate who won most of the vote in their state are all represented in the Electoral College. Maine and Nebraska, however, employ the district system. Under this system, two electors are awarded to the winner of the state wide popular vote, and the remaining electors are awarded to the popular vote winner in each of the state's congressional districts.

Only a handful of states print the names of candidates for elector on the ballot. In the vast majority of states, when the voter votes for a party's candidates for president and vice president, the voter is simply assumed to have voted for the party's candidates for elector Only a handful of states print the names of candidates for elector on the ballot.

In the vast majority of states, when the voter votes for a party's candidates for president and vice president, the voter is simply assumed to have voted for the party's candidates for elector (Neal 5-6).

4.9. Counting voices

The electors meet, according to federal law, on the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December in a presidential election year. The Constitution requires that they meet "in their respective states" all across the country. Strictly speaking, therefore, there is no "college" of electors because they never convene jointly in a single national assembly. Most states provide by law that their electors meet in the state capital. Typically, these meetings are ceremonial; no debates occur, for there is nothing to debate.

In about half the states, electors are formally "pledged" that is, they are legally committed to vote for the candidate of the party with which they are affiliated. In the

remaining states, electors are "unpledged," meaning that no explicit legal requirement exists to vote for the affiliated candidate. Still, even unpledged electors could face legal difficulties if they "faithlessly" voted for a candidate other than the one associated with their slate of electors. This is because the people of the state voted for that slate of electors with the reasonable expectation that those electors would loyally reflect the peoples' choice.

In fact, the problem of "faithless electors" has been more theoretical than real. About 20,000 electors voted in all presidential elections from 1789 to 2000, and fewer than a dozen voted faithlessly. The outcome of an election has never been changed by faithless electors nevertheless, it could happen.

Each elector is required by federal law to sign and seal six copies of a certificate listing the elector's choice for president and vice president. One copy is sent to the president of the United States Senate that is, the incumbent vice president of the United States who announces the results when the electoral votes are counted in Washington, D.C., on January 6 or January 7 if the 6th falls on a Sunday. The vote count is done in a joint session of Congress that meets in the chamber of the House of Representatives.

The incumbent vice president presides. The actual counting is done by members of Congress appointed to do the vote count. For this occasion they are called tellers. After the results are announced, any member may object to the counting of any electoral vote from any state on the ground that it was not "regularly given" a term federal law does not define. To sustain the objection, both houses of Congress must agree, each by a majority vote, that the vote should not be counted. This has happened several times. After the elections of 1820 and 1832 Congress rejected votes on technical grounds. Some votes cast in 1872 were rejected because they had been cast for a deceased candidate (Horace Greeley). A vote in the election of 1880 was rejected because it had been made on the wrong day.

If no candidate receives a majority of the electoral votes, the Constitution requires that the U.S. president be chosen by the House of Representatives. The 12th Amendment to the Constitution requires that the House "immediately" choose the president "by ballot" from among the presidential candidates receiving the highest number of votes in the Electoral College. If there are more than two candidates receiving Electoral College votes, then the House chooses from the three candidates who received the most votes. In the House election each state has one vote.

The votes are taken state-by-state in alphabetical order. A majority of all the states, or 26 votes, is necessary to win. After all voting is finished and approved; the new president and vice president are sworn to oath on January 20th during the presidential inauguration or ceremonial opening ("Counting Voices". Encarta Encyclopaedia).

The United States of America considered as an ideal model of democracy. The appreciation of human rights and liberty was the driven force behind American revolution, people engaged in rebellion against British monarchy and aristocracy from 1765 to 1785 aiming at the foundation of new country that would give them all what they seek, their efforts resulted in the establishment of the united states of America.

A critic view towards the US political system accentuates many interesting points in term of to what extent there is a real democracy or indeed, is people will really accounted? The answer cannot be easily caught an account of the complexity of the political system. In 2004 ,George w. Bush won the election despite of his loss in the general election, the Electoral College agreed to select him as the president because the country at that time was in a state of war against of what so-called war on terrorism .

The Electoral College is the main element in the presidential election process, it determines who will be the president under the will of the electors whom they elected by

people in the General election. We think that the Electoral College could stand as an obstacle in the way of alternation in power and the will of people, the case of what happen in 2004 .in addition, lobbies also represent a threat in the way of democracy since they has authority under people will by their funding, this huge amount of money contribute in breaking out the rules of democracy and human right.

4.10. Is there alternation in power throughout the presidential election?

The answer of this question is on the table below .This table shows the successive changes of the United States presidents from George Washington to the present president Barack H. Obama.

A table of the USA presidents (1).

Presidents of the United States								
No.	Name	Term	Vice-President	Party				
1	George Washington	1789-1797	John Adams	None				
2	John Adams	1797-1801	Thomas Jefferson	Federalist				
3	Thomas Jefferson	1801-1809	Aaron Burr (1801-05) George Clinton (1805-09)	Democratic Republican				
4	James Madison	1809-1817	George Clinton (1809-12)(a) Elbridge Gerry (1813-14)(a)	Democratic - Republican				
5	James Monroe	1817-1825	Daniel D. Tompkins	Democratic - Republican				
6	John Quincy Adams	1825-1829	John C. Calhoun	National- Republican				
7	Andrew Jackson	1829-1837	John C. Calhoun (1829-32)(b) Martin Van Buren (1833-37)	Democrat				
8	Martin Van Buren	1837-1841	Richard M. Johnson	Democrat				
9	William H. Harrison	1841 (a)	John Tyler	Whig				
10	John Tyler	1841-1845	vacant	Whig				
11	James K. Polk	1845-1849	George M. Dallas	Democrat				

12	Zachary Taylor	1849-1850 (a)	Millard Fillmore	Whig
13	Millard Fillmore	1850-1853	vacant	Whig
14	Franklin Pierce	1853-1857	William R.D. King	Democrat
15	James Buchanan	1857-1861	John C. Breckinridge	Democrat
16	Abraham Lincoln	1861-1865 (a)	Hannibal Hamlin (1861-65) Andrew Johnson (1865)	Republican
17	Andrew Johnson	1865-1869	vacant	Republican
18	Ulysses S. Grant	1869-1877	Schuyler Colfax (1869-73) Henry Wilson (1873-75)(a)	Republican
19	Rutherford B. Hayes	1877-1881	William A. Wheeler	Republican
20	James A. Garfield	1881 (a)	Chester A. Arthur	Republican
21	Chester A. Arthur	1881-1885	vacant	Republican
22	Grover Cleveland	1885-1889	Thomas A. Hendricks (1885)(a)	Democrat
23	Benjamin Harrison	1889-1893	Levi P. Morton	Republican
24	Grover Cleveland	1893-1897	Adlai E. Stevenson	Democrat
25	William McKinley	1897-1901 (a)	Garret A. Hobart (1897-99) Theodore Roosevelt (1901)	Republican
26	Theodore Roosevelt	1901-1909	<i>vacant</i> (1901-05) Charles W. Fairbanks (1905-09)	Republican
27	William Howard Taft	1909-1913	James S. Sherman (1909-12)(a)	Republican
28	Woodrow Wilson	1913-1921	Thomas R. Marshall	Democrat
29	Warren G. Harding	1921-1923 (a)	Calvin Coolidge	Republican
30	Calvin Coolidge	1923-1929	vacant(1923-25) Charles G. Dawes (1925-29)	Republican
31	Herbert Hoover	1929-1933	Charles Curtis	Republican
32	Franklin D. Roosevelt	1933-1945 (a)	John N. Garner (1933-41) Henry A. Wallace (1941-45) Harry S. Truman (1945)	Democrat
33	Harry S Truman	1945-1953	<i>vacant</i> (1945-49) Alben W. Barkley (1949-53)	Democrat
34	Dwight D. Eisenhower	1953-1961	Richard M. Nixon	Republican
35	John F. Kennedy	1961-1963 (a)	Lyndon B. Johnson	Democrat
36	Lyndon B. Johnson	1963-1969	<i>vacant</i> (1963-65) Hubert H. Humphrey (1965-69)	Democrat
37	Richard M. Nixon	1969-1974 (c)	Spiro T. Agnew (1969-73) Gerald R. Ford (1973-74)(d)	Republican
38	Gerald R. Ford	1974-1977	Nelson A. Rockefeller (d)	Republican
39	James Earl Carter	1977-1981	Walter Mondale	Democrat

40	Ronald Reagan	1981-1989	George Bush	Republican
41	George Bush	1989-1993	J. Danforth Quayle	Republican
42	William J. Clinton	1993-2001	Albert Gore Jr.	Democrat
43	George W. Bush	2001-2009	Dick Cheney	Republican
44	Barack H. Obama	2009-	Joe Biden	Democrat

Source: AustralianPolitics.com.

Note: Whilst Barack Obama is designated the 44th President, he is actually only the 43rd man to hold the position. Grover Cleveland served two non-consecutive terms between (1885-1897).

4.11. Conclusion

The presidential election in the United States is a long process; it takes months or years before its starting. In order for one to become president he or she has a strong personality for the sack of convincing people in his side in addition to the significant role of media in shaping the public opinion. Moreover, the concept of alternation in power is embodied throughout the history of the presidential election, this alternative process contributed in making a strong nation, it also reflect the psychology of change because people in the united states tends to change everything ,this mentality existed even at the level of political and social life of this nation.

General Conclusion

The United States of America is a nation built up of nations, containing different cultures, religions and so on .This cultural diversity compelled the founding fathers to look for an appropriate order that would hold the variety of ethnical societies in the US. The result of

that was the adoption of democracy as an essential element in the political life of their new country.

Democracy allows people to participate in making decisions by their representative, as a political theory, democracy cannot stand without election and alternation in power, election represent the means through which citizens select their representatives, and then alternation in power which stands as the guarantee for the continuity of democracy at any nation and people's desire for change when they seek that.

Alternation in power contributes to the peaceful and successive transition of power. This system kept the United States far away from falling in political turmoil like what are happening in African countries where political leaders claim power over their citizens, the result of that was political stagnation and economic corruption. Moreover, the concept of alternation in power accomplished success and prosperity for the United States because political parties and presidents working within atmosphere of competition, they work to gain the support of people by suggesting new programs and strategies ,this competition among political parties had a positive impact on the good people.

The present work tried to demonstrate and explain the concept of alternation in power using the presidential election as a sample of study, for that sake we divided this work into for chapters:

The first chapter is the general introduction where we introduced and determined how the work will be about.

While the Second chapter is devoted to the theoretical framework, we focused on the political theories that stand behind the political thought of the founding fathers. They created approval constitution after a series of meetings and debates over the political destination of their country.

The main political theories that shaped the US constitution were: firstly the theory of democracy, we attempted to define democracy in general and then we go in depth to trace back the history of democracy in the United States. We have discussed the first immigrants whom they settled in the new land; the puritan signed a document named the Mayflower Compact, it was the first governing document of Plymouth colony.

The second theory is the Social Contract .It is considered as an essential theory in modern political science, it is an agreement among people in a society or between people and their government involves people to give up some of their freedom in return of benefit and state protection, the Social Contract gives an accurate justification for why political regimes has to adopt democracy .In addition, the political ideals of John Lock had a profound influence on the political thought of some of the founding fathers like George Washington .

The third chapter is devoted to the concept in alternation in power throughout the constitution. We tried to define this concept and to prove that the US constitution contained articles calling for alternation in power. Relatively speaking, in this chapter we offered a space to talk about the atmosphere and conditions that followed the creation of the constitution.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the process of the presidential election in the United States and the embodiment of the alternation in power. In this chapter we talked extensively on how the president of the US is being elected ,this process take a long time before its real starting ,political parties holding a series of elections in order to select the final candidate who will run the election. At the end of this chapter we have raised a question: Is there alternation in power throughout the presidential election? As an answer, we provided this a chapter with a table illustrating all the US presidents from Georg Washington tell Barak Obama. There are

44 presidents held the presidential office in the United States, this number accentuates clearly the truth of alternation in power.

Indeed, the conduct methodology of this investigation is the descriptive and analytical method. We provide our work with description and definition of theories and political ideals that had an important role in the formulation the US political system. We tried to find out the correspondence between these theories and the political actions all over the United States history, this correspondence represent the embodiment of such political ideals.

While preparing our work we faced some obstacles such as the lack of printed sources relevant to the US politics at the university library.

To sum up, the application of alternation in power led the United States to be one of the greatest nations around the world, this concept brought success and progress and make the country out tyranny and dictatorship. The absolute power was always the reason behind the political and the economic corruption and this is was the case in many African countries.

As a proposal, African countries are determined to apply alternation in power as a remedy for many of their problems, and to avoid all sorts of civil war and economic crisis that degenerated these societies.

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People's Democratic Republic of Algeria

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Rsearch

Mohammed Kheider University of Biskra

Faculty of Letters and Languages

Department of Foreign Languages

English Division



THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN THE USA AS AN ELEMENT OF ALTERNATION IN POWER

A Dissertation Submitted to the department of Foreign Languages in Partial requirement for the Fulfilment of Master degree in English language: Civilization and Literature

Submitted by: Supervised by:

Anter SAIDI Mr. S. TEMAGOULT