

MOHAMMED OTHMAN ALSAYYID'S POSITION ON THE LIBYAN THRONE SUCCESSION ISSUE (1951–1969)

A POSIÇÃO DE MOHAMMED OTHMAN ALSAYYID SOBRE A QUESTÃO DA SUCESSÃO AO TRONO DA LÍBIA (1951–1969)

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Abstract

The issue of throne succession in the Kingdom of Libya (1951–1969) was among the most prominent problems that contributed to weakening the monarchy and undermining its stability. This study aims to analyze the political and personal factors surrounding the succession crisis, with a focus on the overlapping interests within the Senussi family and the escalation of disputes among them, in addition to the growing influence of the Shalhi family and its attempt to play an influential role in the matter of succession. The study also addressed the nature of the relationship between King Idris Al-Senussi and his Crown Prince Hassan alRida, which was characterized by tension, as well as the latter's weak personality and inability to utilize internal support, particularly the support of Prime Minister Mohammed Othman AlSayyid, in addition to the external support he received. The study also discusses the hesitation that characterized King Idris's position between continuing with the monarchy or shifting to a republican system, which increased political ambiguity. Added to this was the divergence of positions among Libyan prime ministers, divided between supporters and opponents, which deepened the succession crisis. The study concludes that the interaction of these combined factors directly contributed to the aggravation of the succession crisis and paved the way for the fall of the Libyan monarchy in 1969.

Keywords: Throne Succession. Libyan Monarchy. Senussi Family. Mohammed Othman Alsayyid. Political Stability.

Resumo

A questão da sucessão ao trono no Reino da Líbia (1951–1969) foi um dos problemas mais proeminentes que contribuíram para enfraquecer a monarquia e minar sua estabilidade. Este estudo tem como objetivo analisar os fatores políticos e pessoais que envolveram a crise de sucessão, com foco nos interesses conflitantes dentro da família Senussi e na escalada de disputas entre seus membros, além da crescente influência da família Shalhi e de sua tentativa de desempenhar um papel influente na questão da sucessão. O estudo também abordou a natureza da relação entre o rei Idris Al-Senussi e seu príncipe herdeiro Hassan al-Rida, que se caracterizou por tensões, bem como a personalidade fraca deste último e sua incapacidade de utilizar o apoio interno, particularmente o apoio do primeiro-ministro Mohammed Othman Al-Sayyid, além do apoio externo que recebia. O estudo também discute a hesitação que caracterizou a posição do rei Idris entre continuar com a monarquia ou mudar para um sistema republicano, o que aumentou a ambiguidade política. Somado a isso, havia a divergência de posições entre os primeiros-ministros líbios, divididos entre apoiadores e opositores, o que aprofundou a crise de sucessão. O estudo conclui que a interação desses fatores combinados contribuiu diretamente para o agravamento da crise de sucessão e abriu caminho para a queda da monarquia líbia em 1969.



Palavras-chave: Sucessão ao Trono. Monarquia Líbia. Família Senussi. Mohammed Othman Alsayyid. Estabilidade Política.

1 INTRODUCTION

The issue of throne succession in Libya during the monarchy (1951–1969) was one of the most prominent political problems that directly affected the stability and nature of the political system. This issue was linked to complex internal balances among the ruling parties, as well as overlapping with external regional and international influences. The position of the political elites, especially Mohammed Othman AlSayyid, represented an important axis in understanding the course of this crisis, as he embodied a clear orientation supporting the continuation of the constitutional monarchy.

The importance of this study lies in shedding light on AlSayyid's position regarding the succession issue and analyzing his role in confronting attempts to change the system of government during a period that witnessed increasing calls for a republican system. It also aims to clarify the implications of these positions on the future of the monarchy until its fall in 1969.

The study relied on the historicalanalytical method, based on a set of primary sources and modern references, including Mohammed Othman AlSayyid's memoirs (*Stations from Libya's History*, first and second editions), Osama Mohammed Othman AlSayyid's book (*Libya as We Found It and as We Wish It*), and Mohammed Yusuf Al-Mughirif's (*Libya Between Past and Present: Pages from Political History*), as well as personal interviews conducted via social media with AlSayyid's son, Osama, among other sources that benefited the historical period of the research. The study is divided into an introduction, three chapters, and a conclusion.

The first chapter addressed his position on the succession issue until October 16, 1960, in which we examined the beginnings of the crisis and AlSayyid's stance until he assumed the premiership. The second chapter studied his position on attempts to change the monarchy during his premiership (1960–1963), in which we reviewed his efforts to strengthen Crown Prince Hassan alRida's position in preparation for succession, his rejection of King Idris's abdication attempts, and his endeavor to preserve the continuity

of the monarchy against attempts by some to transform it into a republic. The third chapter discussed his position on the problem of governance and the fall of the monarchy (1963–1969), in which we followed the succession issue during his membership in the House of Representatives until his retirement from political life in early 1965. His position did not differ from that of the earlier crisis, as he continued to call for adherence to the constitutional monarchy to be represented by Crown Prince Hassan alRida after the death of Idris Al-Senussi.

2 THE FIRST TOPIC: HIS POSITION ON THE ISSUE OF SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE UNTIL OCTOBER 16, 1960

Muhammad Othman Al-Essid's contacts with King Idris Al-Senussi ⁽²⁾ date back to 1947, following Al-Essid's visit to the state of Cyrenaica in order to obtain its help in supporting the struggle of the Fazanis against the French occupation, and despite the apologies of the Barqawis, this attempt represented the first beginnings of dealing between Al-Essid and King Idris, and the relationship continued until several months after the end of the monarchy ⁽³⁾. During the period of the royal era, Essid was one of the most important political figures defending the continuity of that era against internal and external forces aimed at changing the monarchy in the person of King Idris and the Crown Prince, and to understand the nature of this position, we must address the crisis of succession to the throne in the country.

The crisis of succession to the throne is one of the crises that occupied King Idris Al-Senussi during the royal era, and it was one of the most important reasons that led to the fall of that regime, and this crisis appeared after the independence of Libya in 1951, and the selection of Idris Al-Senussi as the king of that country, as the dispute over the succession of the throne began after he drafted a constitution for the country, Article (45) of which states that the throne of the Kingdom is hereditary and that the organization of the throne is left to royal orders issued in this regard⁽⁴⁾.

Subsequently, this created a dispute over the throne in the country between the branch of the Mahdi al-Senussi on the one hand and the branch of al-Sharif al-Senussi on the other, as the leadership of al-Senussi before 1916 was in the hands of Ahmed al-Sharif al-Senussi⁽⁵⁾, but the latter ceded it after this date to his cousin Idris al-Senussi, and

after the establishment of the constitution and the independence of the country, and as a result of the limitation of the inheritance of the throne to the family of Idris al-Senussi. The Ahmed Al-Sharif branch renewed their demand to return the inheritance of the throne to them, according to what was agreed in 1916, that his inheritance after Idris Al-Senussi would be to the son of Ahmed Al-Sharif, the Arab, Ahmed Al-Sharif Al-Senussi, considering that they were the heirs of the Senussi movement, but Idris Al-Senussi showed them that the leadership of the Senussi regime is different from the inheritance of the throne of the Kingdom that he set, and thus the inheritance of the throne is in the branch of Al-Mahdi Al-Senussi⁽⁶⁾.

As a result of the death of King Idris Senussi's son at an early age, the guardianship of the throne formed a large part of his thinking, and Muhammad Othman Al-Essid pointed out this matter, saying: "King Idris Al-Senussi's desire to maintain the continuation of the monarchy in Libya was unbridled in his heart , but he was deeply sad because he did not have children, and even the only son he had died one day after his birth on February 2, 1953"

Before the death of King Idris Senussi's son, the latter issued a royal decree on September 21, 1952, in which a system was established for the succession to the throne of the United Kingdom of Libya, and the position of crown prince remained vacant, as King Idris was expecting his birth from Queen Fatima Ahmed Al-Sharif, but after the death of the awaited crown prince, King Idris decided to choose a crown prince from the Senussi family, and his choice fell on his brother Muhammad al-Reda al-Mahdi al-Senussi. He issued an order appointing him Crown Prince on 21 December 1953.⁸

The issue of the inheritance of the throne in the branch of the Mahdi Al-Senussi family was a continuous concern for King Idris Al-Senussi and made him resign from the government on many occasions, and this case caused the continuation of the claims of the sons of Ahmed Al-Sharif that they were entitled to that inheritance, especially that the branch of Ahmed Al-Sharif had strong and reputable personalities that surpassed the names of the branch of Al-Mahdi Al-Senussi, but the rule of the system of succession to the throne set by King Idris Al-Senussi deprived them of that. The sons of Ahmed Al-Sharif believed that their continued exclusion from their right to this inheritance was fueled by members of the king's entourage, and among them was Ibrahim Al-Shallhi ⁽⁹⁾ who approached Abdullah Abed Al-Senussi ⁽¹⁰⁾ to be his support from the Senussi family alongside King

Idris Al-Senussi, so the sons of Ahmed Al-Sharif considered that he stood in the way of that case, so he was assassinated on October 5, 1954.

This incident had serious consequences on the issue of succession to the throne, and one of its repercussions was that King Idris began to think and work to make the necessary arrangements for his resignation, leaving the country and residing in the Hijaz, and he summoned his brother Muhammad al-Rida from Tripoli and told him that he intended to retire from power and leave the country, but the intervention of the Prime Minister Mustafa bin Halim ⁽¹²⁾ made him amend his decision and retract the idea of retirement⁽¹³⁾. While al-Sayed points out that King Idris told him that he took this step to find out the truth about the men who work with him, he gives the impression that he is thinking about something, and at the same time he intends to do something different, and after this incident all the members of the Senussi family were placed under house arrest:

On October 20, 1954, he issued a royal decree regulating the reign of the throne and limiting it to the person of the king and queen and their children, and the person of the crown prince, and stipulated that other members of the Senussi family would be deprived of any titles, privileges or rights:

Ben Halim tried to exploit the decision of the Senussi family to work to approach King Idris in December of the same year by transforming the federal monarchy into a republican unitary system ⁽¹⁶⁾, and Essid pointed out that this step taken by Ben Halim contributed to undermining the features of the monarchy in Libya, and King Idris's decision to remove the Senussi family from power made him isolated. The monarchy needs family members, especially those who are honest and sincere, in order to inform the king of official and unofficial news, and the distance of these important sources from him has led to the limitation of the source of his information:

In order to move forward with Ben Halim's proposals regarding the adoption of the republican system, a series of meetings were held during the period 11-15 January 1955 in Tobruk under the chairmanship of the King, Prime Minister Ben Halim, and Adrian Belt, the UN Representative to Libya, to express their views, as well as Hussein Mazeq ⁽¹⁸⁾, the governor of Cyrenaica, Abd al-Salam al-Busayri, the head of the royal court, and al-Busayri al-Shalhi ⁽¹⁹⁾. King Idris began the meeting by asking, is it time to turn the federal monarchy into a republic, and Al-Busayri Al-Shalhi, who was a supporter of the republic, to appoint a number of deputies, each of whom represents the president

in the three states, and when the president dies, a vice president is elected from among the three to assume the presidency of the republic, while Adrian Belt clung to the monarchy, and assured the king that the constitution stipulates that the monarchy system should not be reconsidered. He explained that this decision would be opposed from within and suggested instead that the king adopt a person who would raise him and teach him to succeed him in the throne, but King Idris rejected this idea, and in the end this meeting failed to achieve its goals:

While Al-Essid pointed out that this attempt was made by King Idris to find out the real intentions of Ibn Halim and Al-Busayri Al-Shalhi, and when he was sure that they were seeking to deceive him to establish the republican system, he decided to reserve the move, and demonstrations came out from the three states that oppose this idea, and bin Halim accused Hussein Mazeq of moving those demonstrations by inciting the tribes to reject them, while Al-Essid pointed out that this accusation was false and that these tribes acted on their own. Because she saw the monarchy as the guarantor of Libya's stability and progress:

Essid pointed out that Ben Halim did not only exploit the decision to exclude the Senussi family from the government to convince the king to change the monarchy to a republic, but he also took advantage of the matter in his meetings within the Council of Ministers, where he said that all the kings in the Middle East are the work of Britain, including Idris Senussi, and he was accompanied in this direction by other ministers such as the Minister of Justice Abdul Rahman Al-Qalhoud and the Minister of Finance Ali Al-Anzi. Essid and the Minister of Education, Ibrahim Ben Shaaban, and some ministers were confronting this talk within the Council of Ministers, and as a result, this position was one of the reasons for the tension between Essid and Ben Halim.²³

Ben Halim responded to the allegations of hunting and described his relationship with the Senussi family as a relationship of friendship and courtesy, and it never descended into material participation or hostility, but the relationship of friendship with them did not resolve between him and his advice to them to preserve the reputation of the royal family and to stay away from interfering in the work of government enterprises, and his relationship with them did not prevent him from criticizing them for practicing business and trying to use their influence to obtain government business. His words are corroborated by a report submitted by the British ambassador to the Foreign Office in

London on September 4 , 1954, in which it was stated ^{that} "with the exception of the king and his brother Prince Rida, the Senussi family has only a few elements that make it valid as a royal family, while the others, including Siddiq al-Rida, the king's nephew, have concentrated mainly on trade and obtaining government contracts and contracting."^[24]

After Ben Halim failed to implement his proposals to solve the issue of succession to the throne, he advised King Idris to solve the issue by marrying a second wife who would give birth to a son to succeed him on the throne, and the king accepted this opinion and married Alia Lamlum on June 5, 1955, the daughter of Abdel Qadir, one of the largest landowners in Egypt and her mother of Libyan origin, but this marriage did not last long as he left her after nine months and divorced her on March 5, 1958. The succession to the throne did not stop there, but became more complicated after the death of Crown Prince Muhammad al-Rida al-Senussi on July 29, 1955.

Following this, Fatih bin Halim Al-King Idris explained to him the disadvantages of the monarchy and the merits of the republican system, and the king asked him to write those proposals in a memorandum to be discussed, and the memorandum included several points, the most important of which is that the king becomes the president of the republic for life, and the period of the presidency after the stability of the system is ten years, and that the form of the government should be presidential in the style of the American system instead of being parliamentary, and that the age of the president and vice president of the republic should not be less than fifty years. When the king was surprised by the last two conditions, Ben Halim told him that I had made them specifically to avoid the accusation to win one of the two positions, as he was 33 years old at the time , and I was born in the diaspora in Egypt, despite this, Ben Halim's critics, including Essid, pointed out that he directed his attention to the position of vice president and that he hoped that after the death of King Idris, he would assume the presidency of the republic.

This is unlikely according to the conditions set by Ben Halim, since he set the age of the president and his vice president to be at least fifty years old , and to be born in Libya, and these conditions are not met by him, as he was 33 years old at the time and was born in Alexandria. Through this, we find that there is a great reward for Ben Halim by fishing, based on what we have mentioned above.

After that, the problem of who will succeed King Idris became more urgent, especially after the other members of the Senussi family were deprived of inheriting the

throne, and one of the proposals that was put forward and approved by the National Assembly was the formation of a throne council in the form of a law No. (33) on February 5, 1956, which stipulated the establishment of a throne council to exercise the king's powers by a will that he would write in his own handwriting and announce after his death before the National Assembly and the federal government ministers. The Council shall continue to exercise its powers until the Nation's referendum on the presidency of the State is held, and the maximum term of the Council shall be three years, and Essid was one of the six ministers who supported and signed this^{law.28}

Despite this, King Idris al-Senussi decided to grant the right of guardianship of the crown to Al-Hasan al-Rida⁽²⁹⁾, the youngest son of the late Crown Prince Muhammad al-Ridha , and King Idris ruled out the choice of al-Hasan al-Rida's elder brother, who was a friend al-Rida, who had a stronger personality than al-Hasan al-Rida, who was shy and weak , and the reason for the exclusion was that King Idris considered him an accomplice with the sons of Ahmad al-Sharif in the case of the assassination of Ibrahim al-Shalhi, so he imposed house arrest on him:

Regarding this choice of king, Essid pointed out^{that} "no one knew about this decision until the king sent the paragraph that he proposed to be added to the throne speech to be delivered by Ben Halim on November 26, 1956 on the occasion of the opening of the new parliamentary session, and the Council of Ministers expressed its satisfaction with this decision."⁽³¹⁾

Al-Hasan Al-Rida attended the Throne Speech on the date specified above, and Al-Essid pointed out in his memoirs the reasons for the king's choice of Al-Hasan Al-Rida that the latter's father had told the king before his death that his son was moral and kind and did not go against his instructions, and that he was reluctant to love money and did not covet it. Ben Halim pointed out that the king had consulted him in this regard in the summer of 1956 and had made it clear to him that he did not know him deeply, and that he had never asked him for a financial request, unlike the majority of his relatives, and that you could teach and train him under your supervision:

Al-Hasan Al-Rida's contemporaries agree that he is a weak personality with limited culture and education, and he tends to be introverted, and if it were not for the circumstances of the assassination of Ibrahim Al-Shalhi, no one would have imagined that he would have a chance to assume the position of the governor of the Crown, whether

from the sons of the Mahdi branch or Sharif Al-Senussi , and therefore King Idris felt that he had mischosen that appointment, and this made him neglect him and did not care about his guidance or training, and Al-Sayed repeatedly tried to pressure the king to take care of him and train him in order to be Able to take responsibility ⁽³⁴⁾. This reflects Essid's keenness to support the survival of the monarchy in the event of the death of Idris al-Senussi, as he believed that he was the most suitable regime to govern Libya, in addition to considering himself one of the men of this regime.

It is worth mentioning that Hunt's relationship with Crown Prince Hassan al-Rida dates back to 1957, when the latter was being treated in Switzerland, where the Crown Prince spent about seven months intermittently between May 8, 1957 and February 1958 in one of the sanatoriums for the treatment of tuberculosis, and Hunt was in Geneva during that period on the mission of representing Libya in the World Health Organization Conference⁽³⁵⁾, he visited him and stayed with him for ten days. From that date on, the relationship between them was strengthened and he began to visit him from time to time after his return to his country.

The problem of the Crown Prince's mandate and King Idris's threat to change the form of the regime to a republican did not end and continued even after Mohamed Othman Essid became prime minister, as several attempts were made to thwart it by several Essid shares.

3 THE SECOND TOPIC: HIS POSITION ON ATTEMPTS TO CHANGE THE MONARCHY DURING HIS PRESIDENCY OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS 1960-1963

After Essid formed his government in October 1960, attempts were made to change the system of government and convince King Idris to do so, and during his tenure as head of the Council of Ministers, Essid was able to thwart Al-Busayri Al-Shalhi's efforts to declare a republic in the country in agreement with Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser by inviting King Idris Al-Senussi to visit Egypt and persuade him to abolish the monarchy and declare the republic. Essid does not provide conclusive proof of what he claimed, but he pointed to a number of circumstances from which he deduced the truth of what he believed, including that the royal special supervisor, Al-Busayri al-Shalhi, had

a close relationship with Gamal Abdel Nasser, as he made many visits to Egypt, and was received in some of them by Abdel Nasser, and that Hassan Ibrahim al-Fiqi, a member of the Egyptian Revolutionary Command Council, arrived in Libya on February 7, 1961. He received Al-Busayri and the latter arranged a meeting with King Idris, during which he received an invitation from Abdel Nasser to visit Egypt, and the date of the visit was set at the end of September 1961.

At the end of August of the same year, Al-Busayri Al-Shalhi and Abdullah Abed Al-Senussi went to Cairo to complete the arrangements for that visit, which was scheduled to take place on the date above, and after that, the king decided on the news of the hunt regarding his intention to visit Egypt and sent him a telegram to Rome, where he was present for the purpose of treatment, asking him to return. When the latter arrived, he met the king on September 19, 1961, and was able to amend his opinion and persuade him to apologize to Abdel Nasser for his inability to visit Egypt, and Essid sent a delegation carrying a letter of apology to Abdel Nasser.³⁸ Fortunately, King Idris did not go to that visit, as that period witnessed the separation of unity between Egypt and Syria when it was announced on the 28th. In September of the same year, a military coup took place in Syria, and Nasser wanted to use force to restore unity, but he reversed his decision on the grounds that he hated the shedding of Arab blood.

In any case, there is no strong evidence that the purpose of the visit planned by Al-Busayri Al-Shalhi was to persuade King Idris to abandon the monarchy and declare a republic, and that this may be due to Al-Essid's belief in advance that Al-Busayri Al-Shalhi and some other Libyan politicians want to change the regime in Libya. The crisis of separation between Egypt and Syria that occurred at that stage.

In March 1962, King Idris again raised the idea of relinquishing power, so he summoned Prime Minister Essid, the presidents of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and informed them of his decision to step down, and that he preferred to leave the matter to the Libyan people to choose the form of government they wanted, so that they would not be responsible for any person after him who might make mistakes against the people and God Almighty would hold him accountable for those mistakes. But Essid persuaded him to retract this decision, and the presidents of the Senate and the House of Representatives supported him, telling him: "This idea is what God Almighty will hold you accountable for, because when the Libyan people pledged allegiance to you

and chose you as king of Libya, you did not have money, wealth or jobs to offer to anyone to tempt them to pledge allegiance to you, the people chose you to become king of Libya, and the constitution stipulates in one of its resources that you are authorized to choose the appropriate system to inherit the throne. Therefore, the regime has become not of your choice, but of the choice of the Libyan people who delegated you, and hence there is no minister over you in this aspect)", and in his conversation with the king, he accused the special supervisor of the royal Al-Busayri Al-Shallhi of standing behind the idea of the king in stepping down from power, and assured the king that all this was done at the behest of the Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser.

After the king gave up his resignation, he asked them for a suggestion on what they saw fit, and Essid advised him to focus his attention on the crown prince because he needed to be trained and acquainted with the affairs of the state, and to be approached to be like the king's private secretary, to attend the meetings of the ministers, to appoint specialized professors for him, and to organize visits to the countries with the monarchy, after which King Idris expressed the implementation of the proposal put forward by Essid and his companions:

This led to the annoyance of Al-Busayri Al-Shalhi, and since his selection of the position of Crown Prince, Al-Hassan Al-Rida began to see that he is the legitimate and constitutional heir to the monarchy in Libya, and these measures made the royal special supervisor see it as an obstacle to the achievement of his personal goals, as the latter believes after the assassination of his father Ibrahim Al-Shallhi that there is no point in the survival of the monarchy, so he sought alone and sometimes with Ben Halim to persuade King Idris to declare the republican system so that he could reach the position of the presidency of the republic. After the death of the king, especially since he felt entitled to assume the position after the death of the latter, he tried to block the way for the crown prince to ascend the throne:

Afterwards, Essid worked to involve the Crown Prince more in political life, especially at the level of foreign visits to Arab and international countries, the most important of which was the Crown Prince's visits to the United States of America, which came after relations between Libya and the US government were strained as a result of Essid's efforts to dissolve the institutions of common interests between the two countries due to the corruption that marred^{them.44}

Essid was able to organize this visit with the American side and it was decided that its date would be in October 1962⁽⁴⁵⁾, and the Crown Prince surprised Prime Minister Essid when he told him one day before the visit that he wanted to postpone it because his wife was very sick, but Essid informed him that the travel was necessary, and when the king learned of the news, he addressed Essid that the Crown Prince must travel even if his wife died because it was a matter of the future of the Libyan state with a state We want a king of the future, and the future king does not think about his wife, but thinks about the future of his country, and after the hunt with the crown prince, the latter was convinced and traveled on time, with the duration of the visit shortened to two days and the cancellation of some of its paragraphs:

After the Crown Prince traveled, he met with US President John F. Kennedy⁽⁴⁷⁾ in Washington on October 22 of the same year, and they discussed the throne of Libya, and Kennedy told him that the presence of King Idris on the throne of Libya is contrary to American interests, and asked him to carry out a coup in the palace to sit on the throne instead of his uncle. He assured him of Washington's immediate recognition of his accession to the throne and its support, support and protection of his coup, but the crown prince rejected the offer and expressed to Kennedy his displeasure with what he had offered him:

Researcher Mohamed Youssef Al-Magarief pointed out in his book (**Libya between Past and Present, Pages of Political History**) that during his excavation of American documents, he did not find any trace of the offer made by Kennedy to Al-Hasan Rida, and despite this, he does not deny that offer or encourage it:

After a while of the return of the Crown Prince, he returned to disappearance after a series of political activities, and King Idris was disappointed in his competence, but the hunt tried to take care of him a lot, in addition to his attempts several times to solve the problems that occurred between them, such as the Crown Prince importing furniture for his palace for a large amount without the knowledge of the king and hunting, as the latter pointed out that the Crown Prince used the phrases of condescension during his conversation with his uncle King Idris. In addition to holding lavish banquets and inviting people to whom the king is not pleased⁽⁵⁰⁾. These differences contributed to the formation of one of the most important factors in the fall of the monarchy in Libya, despite Essid's keenness and defense of the permanence of the monarchy in the country.

The researcher believes that the crown prince's superiority over King Idris may be due to his conviction of the American point of view and that his invitation to some undesirable people is an early attempt by him to carry out a coup against his uncle Idris, and that his rejection of the American offer is an attempt to gain his trust in preparation for his subsequent overthrow, and it can also be said that the Crown Prince's objection to the American offer may be due to his fear that King Idris would exclude him from taking the throne, or because he was weak and trying to distance himself About the exercise of power.

4 THE THIRD TOPIC: HIS POSITION ON THE PROBLEM OF GOVERNANCE AND THE FALL OF THE MONARCHY 1963-1969

The old age of King Idris and the many problems among the Libyan politicians and the way they managed the country contributed to pushing the King to re-submit his resignation after the National Assembly discussed in early March 1964 the issue of foreign bases in the country and the need to clear them, and this was during the second government of Mahmoud Al-Muntasir⁽⁵¹⁾.

At the end of the meeting, King Idris handed over his resignation letter to Mahmoud Al-Muntasir, and the latter believed that the King, as usual, would amend his resignation as happened in the past, in addition to the fact that his resignation was not regular, as it was not a relinquishment of the throne to the Crown Prince according to the Libyan Constitution. It is nothing more than an undeclared protest against the position of the victor and the parliament on the announcement of the abrogation of the British and American agreements, and the evacuation of foreign forces.

After the masses learned of these developments, they marched on the royal palace accompanied by a large number of politicians, including Mohamed Othman Essid and the parliamentary bloc he formed after he left the presidency of the Council of Ministers in March 1963, and met with the king and rejected the proposal of the victorious government to liquidate foreign bases in the country, stressing that the issue should be included in a non-urgent manner, and that it should be referred to the legislative committee and the foreign affairs committee to study it, and then the two committees submit their report to

the House of Representatives, and the attendees agreed to this. The proposal was unanimous, so the king decided to withdraw his resignation at their request.⁵³

After Mustafa Ben Halim's attempt to implement the republican system failed during the reign of his government, as it was the first attempt to implement it, it was renewed for the second time during the reign of the government of Hussein Mazaq, which was formed on March 18, 1965, when King Mahmoud Al-Montaser assigned the head of the Royal Court to make an amendment to the Libyan Constitution in April of the same year. A republican system in which the president and his vice president are elected for a period of four years by the National Assembly, and Ben Halim pointed out that the victor had consulted him with these steps and that King Idris had met with him and asked him to work on preparing the republican system for the country, but this step was like the previous one, as the masses came out rejecting the constitutional amendment and the republican system.

It is clear from this that the multiple resignations that the king submitted and then retracted have been used in order to preserve his throne, which was weak, and the king has not settled on a certain opinion regarding the succession to the throne, as sometimes he uses steps to strengthen it, while he backs down to torpedo it by expressing his desire to declare a republican system, and this confusion was an important factor in the end of the monarchy in Libya.

The country continued to suffer from the spiral of political conflicts over the succession to the throne, and the last years of the life of that regime witnessed the emergence of three main blocs, and these blocs were contradictory in their positions, as the first current was represented by senior army officers led by Abdulaziz al-Shallhi and supported by some politicians, and the latter was able to exclude a number of officers who were not loyal to it, and this group was seeking to control the government. The second group was represented by Queen Fatima, the wife of King Idris, Mahmoud al-Muntasir, and some politicians who tended to attribute the inheritance of the throne to the branch of Ahmed Sharif al-Senussi, while Muhammad Othman al-Essid was the leader of the third group, who believed that the crown prince was the first to assume the government.

During that period, and specifically after 1965, Al-Sayed tried to meet with the King again and again in order to share his views on the political arena and its

developments, but all his requests were rejected on the grounds that the King was busy and his health did not allow him to do so.

Prior to the coup, King Idris left the country for his final trip to Greece on June 12, 1969, where he was scheduled to take a rest and then head to Turkey for treatment, and before his last departure, he sent his special envoy to Libya to invite Miftah Erekih⁽⁵⁷⁾ and Abdul Hamid al-Abbar⁽⁵⁸⁾ to Greece to hand over his abdication document to Crown Prince Hassan al-Rida, which he signed in 1969. On August 4 of the same year, Al-Abbar and Areqib arrived in Greece at the request of King Idris, and they were received and spoke at length to dissuade him from resigning, but he indicated to them that he was determined to avoid politics and left the matter to the National Assembly, saying to them: "Behold, I am abdicating the throne to the Crown Prince Al-Hasan al-Rida, and if you accept him as king, then let him pledge allegiance and adopt him, and do not do what is good for you." Essid was not present at that summons because he was far from practicing any political activity within his country.⁽⁶⁰⁾

After the absence of King Idris, the United States Ambassador to Libya David Newsom held a meeting with Essid at his home in Tripoli in July of the same year, and told him that he had come to him to bid farewell to him and to be assigned by his government to discuss the situation in the country, and after King Idris's absence from the political scene, Newsom explained to Essid that the King did not want to continue ruling because of his old age. The men of Libya should think about the situation, as the American ambassador confirmed that Crown Prince Hassan al-Rida is incapable of running the country, and the king's response to him was by saying: "The guarantor of Libya's stability is the constitution that defines the powers of the institutions of the government and parliament and their relations with the king, and if the constitution is implemented and its articles are respected, the king's personality will not be affected." Newsom's response was that he did not see it that way, and that Libyans should consider another solution that would not be able to take the throne.

Mansour al-Mahjoub, the president of Mohammed bin Ali Al-Senussi University and the head of the Supreme Court during the royal era, pointed out that the Saudis told him in the summer of 1969 that there was a coup plotted in Libya to overthrow the monarchy, and after that he met with the crown prince and informed him of this, and pointed out to him that a state of emergency should be declared in the army, and the

answer of the crown prince was that he could not do this because he would provoke the anger of his uncle King Idris and he would think that he intended to overthrow him and would not do anything:

Mr. Osama Essid argues that everyone bears the responsibility for the coup that took place in 1969, there was no unified opinion, but the opinions were different, and there was a disharmony between the vision and outlook of King Idris on the one hand and the view of politicians and the crown prince on the other hand:

Through the previous presentation, it is understood that Essid was a rejection of the establishment of the republican system in Libya and was one of the advocates of the monarchy, and this is one of the reasons for his disagreement with some Libyan politicians who tried to cooperate with Gamal Abdel Nasser to overthrow the monarchy, headed by Al-Busayri Al-Shallhi and Mustafa Ben Halim, who stood against the assumption of the Libyan throne by Crown Prince Hassan Al-Rida. However, his attempts to strengthen the crown prince's position vis-à-vis the forces aspiring to control the country failed due to the weakness of Crown Prince Hassan al-Rida and his evasion of responsibility.

5 CONCLUSION

The study concluded with important results, including:

1- The issue of succession to the throne was a pivotal factor in weakening the monarchy in Libya, as it contributed to creating a state of political instability as a result of the conflict of interests between the centers of power within the state, and it was also found that King Idris Senussi was not able to resolve this issue clearly, which led to the continuation of rivalry within the Senussi family and the growth of political interventions.

2- The study showed that Mohamed Othman Essid was one of the most prominent figures who adopted the defense of the constitutional monarchy, and sought to strengthen the position of Crown Prince Hassan al-Rida, but his efforts collided with the latter's weakness, as well as the opposition of some political forces that tended to establish a republican system.

3- The results also confirmed that the divergence in the positions of the heads of government, along with external influences, especially regional and international, has

increased the complexity of the crisis, and in light of this, it can be said that the combination of these factors contributed to the weakening of the structure of the monarchy and paved the way for its fall in 1969.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Muhammad Othman Al-Essid (1924-2007): A Libyan politician born in the southern province of Fezzan in the village of Zawiya on October 17, 1924, he received his education in the Zawaya Senussi until he became a teacher and deputy judge in his village, he started his political activity in Fezzan against the French occupation in 1946 to enter French prisons, and after his discharge, he entered the political arena in the country by being elected to the legislative councils representing his mandate during the years (1950-1951). He took over the Ministry of Health after the formation of the first Libyan government after independence and held this position for almost seven years (1951-1958), he became the head of the fifth Libyan government (October 16, 1960 – March 19, 1963), then he was a member of the Libyan House of Representatives from his exit from the presidency of the government until the beginning of 1965, he left Libya to receive treatment in Switzerland one month before the coup in 1969, to prevent Muammar Gaddafi from entering the country as he represents one of the symbols of the monarchy in it. Morocco chose his headquarters and his political opposition against Gaddafi until his death on January 31, 2007. For more information, see: Mohamed Othman Al-Essid, Stations from the History of Libya, prepared by: Talha Jibril, 1st Edition, New An-Najah Press, Rabat, 1996; Mohamed Othman Al-Essid, Stations from the History of Libya, Prepared by: Talha Jibril, 2nd Edition, Khawatir for Printing and Publishing, Istanbul, 2024; Khaled Al-Muhair and Mohammed Al-Anzi, Fares Al-Waha, Documentary Film about Muhammad Othman Al-Essid, January 10, 2026.

(2) Idris Al-Senussi (1890-1983): A Libyan politician born in 1890 in Kufra, he participated with his father in resisting French colonialism in Africa, and after the death of his father, his cousin Ahmed Al-Sharif took care of him, he emigrated to the Hijaz in 1914, and after his return he strengthened his relations with the British in Egypt, and entered into a dispute with his cousin Ahmed Al-Sharif for waging war against Britain, and he led the Senussi movement after him. In 1951, he was able to reach power in Libya

to continue until the coup d'état of September 1, 1969 led by Muammar Gaddafi, and then to settle in Egypt until his death in 1983. For more details, see: Hind Adel Ismail Al-Nuaimi, Idris Al-Senussi and his role in the independence of Libya (1890-1952), Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Baghdad, Faculty of Education - Ibn Rushd, 2009; Idris Muhammad Hussein Abu Bakr, The Role of Idris Al-Senussi in the National Movement in Libya and His Establishment of the Kingdom of Libya (1911-1969), Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Ain Shams University, Faculty of Education for Girls for Arts, Science and Education, 2016, p. 287, Iman Jamil Sakhil Al-Aqili, King Idris Al-Senussi and his Political Role in Libya (1952-1969), Unpublished Master's Thesis, Dhi Qar University, Faculty of Arts, 2017.

⁽³⁾ Mohamed Zeinoba, TV interview with Osama Essid, Libya Al-Ahrar TV, Nawafz program, November 24, 2024.

⁽⁴⁾ Mustafa Ben Halim, Libya: The Resurgence of a Nation and the Fall of a State, Al-Jamal Publications, Cologne, Germany, 2003, p. 288.

⁽⁵⁾ Ahmed Al-Sharif Al-Senussi (1873-1933): A Libyan politician born in Al-Jaghub on October 7, 1922, he became the leader of the Senussi after the death of Muhammad Al-Mahdi Al-Senussi, and after the Italian occupation of Libya in 1911, the Ottomans forced him to participate in a losing war against the British in Egypt, which caused him to step down from the leadership of the Senussi movement and Muhammad Idris Al-Senussi took over its leadership, after which he emigrated to Turkey and then moved to Saudi Arabia .He died on March 10, 1933, and was buried in the cemetery of Al-Baqi'. See: Al-Taher Ahmed Al-Zawi, Flags of Libya, 3rd Edition, Dar Al-Mada Al-Islami, Lebanon, 2004, p. 35.

⁽⁶⁾ Muhammad Youssef Al-Magarif, Libya between the Past and the Present, Pages of Political History, Volume 2, Volume 1, Center for Libyan Studies - Oxford, 1st Edition, 2018, pp. 332-333.

⁽⁷⁾ Muhammad Othman Al-Essid, previous source, 1st edition, p. 164.

⁽⁸⁾ Muhammad Yusuf Al-Magarif, the previous source, vol. 2, vol. 1, p. 11.

⁽⁹⁾ Ibrahim Al-Shalhi (1899-1954): A political figure belonging to the Algerian Challuh tribe, born in 1899, he moved with his grandfather, who immigrated to Libya to belong to the Senussi movement there, then worked as a servant of Ahmed Sharif in 1913 and then joined the service of Idris Senussi, who brought him close to him until he became

his advisor and faithful servant, and then his influence escalated during the royal era until his assassination in 1954. See: Mustafa Ahmed Ben Halim, *Folded Pages of Libya's Political History*, International Books, London, 1992, pp. 111-115.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Abdullah Abed Al-Senussi (1917-1988): A Libyan politician and economist, born in 1917, he was educated in Al-Senussi's Zawiya, he had a role in supporting the Algerian and Palestinian cause financially, and he was one of the founders of the Libyan Red Crescent Society in 1957, and he owned the largest company in Libya during the fifties of the twentieth century, which was known as Sasco, and after the fall of the monarchy, the Gaddafi regime seized his property in Libya and confiscated it. Senussi preferred to reside in Cairo until his death there in 1988. See: Shukri Muhammad Al-Sinki, *King and Men: Biography of the Presidents of the Senate and the House of Representatives in Libya*, Dar Al-Rowwad, Libya, 2020, pp. 237-238.

⁽¹¹⁾ Mai Fadel Majeed Al-Rubaie, *Political Developments in Libya 1951-1963*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Baghdad, Faculty of Education, Ibn Rushd, 2000, p. 83.

⁽¹²⁾ Mustafa Ben Halim (1921-2021): A Libyan politician born in 1921 in Alexandria, completed his university studies in Egypt, and graduated as an engineer in 1946, he rose to ministerial positions after the independence of Libya when he took over the Ministry of Transportation in the first government of Mahmoud Al-Montaser, and in March 1954 he was assigned to the Prime Minister until his resignation in July 1957, and then he assumed the position of Libyan Ambassador to France. In 1960, he returned to Libya to practice his own business, and since 1969 he has been residing outside Libya, and obtained Saudi citizenship in 1975, and died in 2021. See: Sahar Jamil Jabbar, *Mustafa Ahmed Bin Halim and His Political Role in Libya 1921-1957*, Dhi Qar University, Faculty of Arts, 2017;

⁽¹³⁾ Masoud Mohamed Younis, *Parliamentary Life in the Era of the Kingdom of Libya 1951-1969*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Tanta University, Faculty of Arts, 2018, p. 136.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Muhammad Othman Al-Essid, previous source, 1st edition, p. 105.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Muhammad Yusuf Al-Magarief, the previous source, vol. 2, vol. 1, p. 324.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Muhammad Othman Al-Essid, previous source, 2nd edition, p. 265.

⁽¹⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, 1st edition, p. 165.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Hussein Mazeq (1918-2006): A Libyan politician born in 1918, from the Bara'asa tribe, he studied in Italian schools, held several positions, the most important of which was the governor of Cyrenaica for several years until 1961, and he became prime minister on March 21, 1965 until June 28, 1967. See: Marzouka Ali Noah, *The Libyan Unity, Obstacles and Investigation 1943-1969*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Zagazig University, Faculty of Arts, 2014, p. 283.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Al-Busayri Al-Shalhi (1931-1964): Born in 1931 in Egypt of Algerian origin, he became the royal private supervisor in 1954 after the assassination of his father Ibrahim Al-Shalhi by Mohieddine Senussi, and remained in his position until his death in 1964 in a traffic accident. See: Muhammad Youssef Al-Magarif, previous source, vol. 2, vol. 1, p. 321.

⁽²⁰⁾ Yasser Ward Farhan Al-Hamdani, *The Political System in Libya 1949-1963*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Baghdad, Faculty of Education, Ibn Rushd, 2014, p. 162.

⁽²¹⁾ Muhammad Othman Al-Essid, *Ibid.*, 1st edition, pp. 165-166.

⁽²²⁾ Ali Al-Anzi (1904-1983): A Libyan politician born in 1904 who completed his primary education in Benghazi and secondary and university in Italy, and in 1932 he obtained a bachelor's degree in agricultural sciences from the University of Florence, and a doctorate in philosophy of economics from the University of Naples, and after returning to Libya he held several positions, the most important of which was membership of the House of Representatives in 1952, then the Ministry of Finance 1953-1955. He then became the first governor of the Central Bank of Libya, dying in London in 1983. See: Walid Shuaib Adam, *Ali Nour Al-Din Al-Anzi and his National and Political Role 1904-1983*, University of Tobruk, Libya, 2022.

⁽²³⁾ Muhammad Othman Al-Essid, previous source, 2nd edition, p. 265.

⁽²⁴⁾ Muhammad Bin Ghalboun, *British Documents: An Important Episode in the Interpretation of the History of Libya*, Asharq Al-Awsat Newspaper, No. 5613, April 13, 1994, pp. 9-10.

⁽²⁵⁾ Muhammad Yusuf Al-Magarif, the previous source, vol. 2, vol. 1, p. 324; Masoud Muhammad Younis, the previous source, p. 139; Sahar Jameel Jabbar, the previous source, p. 45.

(26) Muhammad Yusuf Al-Magarief, the previous source, vol. 2, vol. 1, pp. 326-327.

(27) Sahar Jamil Jabbar, *Ibid.*, p. 44.

(28) The Kingdom of Libya: Ministry of Labor, *Encyclopedia of Libyan Legislation*, Presented by: Hussein Mazeq: Dar Al-Ma'arif, Egypt, 1965, pp. 57-59.

(29) Al-Hassan Al-Rida (1928-1992): He is the nephew of King Idris Al-Senussi, born in Benghazi on August 28, 1928, he was limited in culture and education and did not speak any foreign language, Mahmoud Abu Al-Saud took over the subject of history and mathematics, and he is not inclined to practice public activities, and in 1957 he went to Switzerland for treatment of tuberculosis, and he did not return until 1958. After the coup in 1969, he was arrested by the coup d'état, and remained in the regime's prisons and under house arrest until 1988, when the regime allowed him to travel to London for treatment, where he remained until he died in London on April 28, 1992. See: Mas'ood Muhammad Yunus, the previous source, p. 140.

(30) Iman Jamil Sakhil Al-Aqili, *Ibid.*, p. 31.

(31) Muhammad Othman Al-Essid, previous source, 1st edition, p. 167.

(32) *Ibid.*, p. 168.

(33) Mustafa Ahmed bin Halim, *Folded Pages of Libya's Political History*, p. 234.

(34) Muhammad Yusuf Al-Magarief, previous source, vol. 2, vol. 1, p. 336.

(35) World Health Organization: An international organization established in 1948 whose mission is to work to improve health care methods, set international standards related to health, and develop the efficiency of those working to provide health care in the developing world. For more information, see: Farida Qaki, *The Role of the World Health Organization in Preserving the Human Right to Health*, Published Master's Thesis, Mohamed Khedir University of Biskra, Faculty of Law and Political Science, 2021.

(36) Muhammad Othman Al-Essid, previous source, 1st edition, p. 168.

(37) Muhammad Yusuf Al-Magarief, the previous source, vol. 2, vol. 1, p. 277.

(38) Osama Muhammad Othman Al-Essid, *Libya as We Find It and As We Wish It to Be*, Khawatir Library for Printing and Publishing, Turkey, Istanbul, 2024, p. 71.

(39) Ali Abdel Moneim Shuaib, *Foreign Intervention and Crises of Governance in the Modern and Contemporary History of the Arabs*, Dar Al-Farabi, Beirut, 2005, p. 312.

(40) Muhammad Yusuf Al-Magarief, the previous source, vol. 3, vol. 1, p. 279.

- (41) Muhammad Othman Al-Essid, previous source, 1st edition, p. 163.
- (42) Osama Muhammad Othman Al-Essid, *Ibid.*, p. 72.
- (43) Muhammad Othman Al-Essid, previous source, 1st edition, p. 169.
Osama Muhammad Othman Al-Essid, *Ibid.*, p. 70⁽⁴⁴⁾
- (45) Foreign Relations of the United States, memorandum from secretary of state
rusk to president Kennedy, NO. 94, Washington, 15 June, 1962, p.140-141.
- (46) Muhammad Othman Al-Essid, previous source, 2nd edition, p. 274.
- (47) John F. Kennedy (1917-1963): American politician and leader of the American
Democratic Party, the first Catholic to be elected president of the United States, born on
May 29, 1917, and the 35th President of the United States of America, who held office
on January 20, 1961 until his assassination in Dallas, Texas on November 22, 1963. For
more, see: Amina Dakhil Shalash Tamimi, JFK and his policy towards the issues of the
Arab Mashreq 1961-1963. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Al-Mustansiriya University,
Faculty of Education, 2008.
- (48) Iman Jamil Sakhil Al-Aqili, *Ibid.*, p. 120.
- (49) Muhammad Yusuf Al-Magarif, the previous source, vol. 3, vol. 1, pp.329-330.
- (50) Muhammad Othman Al-Essid, previous source, 1st edition, p. 172.
- (51) Mahmoud Al-Muntasir (1903-1970): A Libyan politician born in the Tripoli
region, and belongs to the Al-Kawafi family, and his family enjoyed a prominent social
position and distinguished political influence, and many of the sons of this family
obtained titles and administrative positions during the Ottoman Empire, while his mother
is from the Kabbar family, he completed his primary education in Tripoli, then he traveled
to Italy to complete his studies, and entered the Military College but left it to complete
his studies at the Faculty of Administration and Economics. He was chosen to head the
first interim Libyan government in 1951, then the first Libyan federal government in the
same year, and in 1964 he headed the government for the second time, and when the Fateh
Revolution took place in 1969, Al-Muntasir was arrested and died in prison in 1970. For
more details, see: Sadiq Fadel Zughayr Al-Zuhairi, Mahmoud Ahmed Al-Muntasir and
his Political Role in Libya 1903-1970, Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of
Baghdad, Faculty of Education, Ibn Rushd, 2010.
- (52) Sadiq Fadhil Zughayr al-Zuhairi, *ibid.*, pp. 203-204.
- (53) Muhammad Othman Al-Essid, *Ibid.*, 1st Edition, pp. 277-278.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Mustafa Ahmed bin Halim, *Folded Pages of Libya's Political History*, pp. 140-143; Sadiq Fadhil Zughayri, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Osama Muhammad Othman Al-Essid, *Ibid.*, pp. 70-73.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ A communication made by the researcher with Osama Al-Essid via WhatsApp, on March 13, 2025.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Miftah Areqib (1905-1987): A Libyan politician born in Tripoli in 1905, he started his academic life by the hand of writers, then continued his studies in Turkish and Italian schools, he became involved in the business business in Tripoli to become one of its leading merchants, he was elected as a member of the House of Representatives after independence, and he headed the House of Representatives on February 15, 1960 until September 1, 1969 when the coup against the monarchy took place. Except for the period between September 1964 and November 1965, in addition to the ministerial portfolios he held between 1956 and 1958, including the Minister of Economy, Finance and Transportation, and the State for Parliamentary Affairs, he won by acclamation in most of the elections for the House of Representatives in the Surman district of Tripoli during the period between 1952 and 1968, he died in 1987 and was buried in his hometown of Surman in Tripoli. See, Shukri Muhammad al-Sanaki, previous source, pp. 228-235.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Abdel Hamid Al-Abbar (1880-1977): A Libyan politician born in Cyrenaica in 1880, he was educated in the Senussi Zawiyah, and participated in the battles of jihad against the Italians, and contributed to the achievement of the country's independence, he held several political positions after independence, the most important of which was his selection as a member of the Senate, then he became the president of the Council in place of Mahmoud Bouhadma and continued to be the president from his election in October 1961 until the coup against the monarchy on September 1, 1969. He died in 1977 in the city of Benghazi and was buried there. For more information, see, Nabila Awad Saleh, *Abdel Hamid Al-Abbar and his Role in the Struggle and Political in Libya 1880-1977*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Libyan Academy for Graduate Studies, Benghazi Branch, Department of History, Archaeological Studies and Tourist Guidance, 2025.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Shukri Muhammad al-Sanki, previous source, p. 247.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ The researcher's contact with Osama Al-Essid via WhatsApp, on March 13, 2025, and the researcher's contact with Rania Al-Essid via WhatsApp, on January 30, 2025.

- ⁽⁶¹⁾ Muhammad Othman Al-Essid, previous source, 1st edition, pp. 63-64.
- ⁽⁶²⁾ Shukri Muhammad al-Sanaki, previous source, p. 248.
- ⁽⁶³⁾ Osama Muhammad Othman Al-Essid, *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

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