

Parliamentary Life of Kuwaiti National Assembly (1963-1971)

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
Received: 20 Mar 2025	<p>This research examines the parliamentary life of the first Kuwaiti National Assembly from 1963 to 1971, a formative phase in Kuwait's parliamentary history following the promulgation of the Kuwaiti Constitution in 1962. This period witnessed the launch of the country's first constitutional experiment and the formation of the first elected National Assembly, which played a pivotal role in consolidating democratic principles, exercising oversight over the executive branch, and enacting vital legislation that laid the foundations of the modern state. The abstract discusses the political, legislative, and oversight aspects of the Assembly, the relationship between the legislative and executive branches, and the challenges facing parliamentary work during that period, such as the divergence of views between the government and the Assembly, and the tensions that later led to the dissolution of the first Assembly in 1976. The abstract also reviews the most prominent parliamentary figures, legislative achievements, and political stances that shaped this phase..</p> <p>Keywords: National Assembly, Parliamentary Life.</p>
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The importance of research:

Studying the parliamentary life of the first Kuwaiti National Assembly (1963–1971) is of particular importance, as it chronicles a founding phase in the history of political and constitutional life in the State of Kuwait. This assembly constituted the first parliamentary democratic experience after the promulgation of the Kuwaiti Constitution in 1962, and established a new approach to the relationship between the three branches of government, particularly between the legislative and executive branches. This period was also replete with significant political events and fundamental legislative decisions that had a profound impact on the process of building the modern Kuwaiti state. This makes studying it essential for understanding the development of the Kuwaiti political system and identifying the roots of the challenges and conflicts that subsequently accompanied parliamentary work..

Research objectives:

1. Documenting and analyzing the first parliamentary experience in Kuwait after the adoption of the constitution in 1962.
2. Highlighting the most prominent political and legislative milestones of the first National Assembly.
3. A study of the relationship between the National Assembly and the government during the period (1963-1971) and the manifestations of cooperation and conflict..
4. Highlighting the role of prominent parliamentary figures in shaping political life at that stage.
5. Identify the challenges facing parliamentary work that affected its continuity and development..
6. Contributing to enriching comparative political studies on emerging Gulf parliamentary systems.

Abstract:

This study examines the parliamentary life of Kuwait's first National Assembly during the period from 1963 to 1971, a foundational phase in the country's constitutional and legislative history following the promulgation of the Kuwaiti Constitution in 1962. This period marked the beginning of Kuwait's democratic experiment with the election of the first National Assembly, which played a pivotal role in establishing democratic principles, exercising oversight over the executive authority, and enacting key legislation that laid the groundwork for the modern state. The abstract explores

the political, legislative, and supervisory functions of the Assembly, the dynamics of the relationship between the legislative and executive branches, as well as the challenges faced by the parliamentary process, including differences in vision between the government and the Assembly, and tensions that eventually led to the dissolution of the Assembly in 1976. It also highlights the prominent parliamentary figures, major progressive achievements, and key political stances that shaped the character of this era.

Chapter One: The Kuwaiti National Assembly and its tasks

The Kuwaiti National Assembly is the first and main nucleus of political life in Kuwait, which is considered an advanced model compared to its Gulf counterparts. Despite not allowing political pluralism in its well-known partisan form, political movements are present in the general Kuwaiti scene, and they perform their roles under various banners, and participate effectively in parliamentary elections. The Kuwaiti Constitution stipulates that the National Assembly shall consist of fifty members, in addition to the ministers who are considered members of the National Assembly by virtue of their positions.¹⁾

The Kuwaiti legislator has focused on the necessity of selecting members of the National Assembly through free and direct elections, with the aim of enhancing effective participation in decision-making and promoting the principles of modern democracy. This Kuwaiti approach reflects a commitment to the values of democratic governance and strengthening the role of citizens in shaping the country's future. The scope of the tasks entrusted to the elected National Assembly also demonstrates the importance of popular opinion in guiding policies and making decisions, which reflects Kuwait's desire to build a political system that reflects the aspirations of society and enhances popular participation.²⁾ These tasks varied between legislative, financial and political, as follows:

1. Legislative function:

The Legislative Council is responsible for discussing draft laws by the elected members and the Council of Ministers, and then voting on them to approve or reject them. This rejection can only be done by a majority of the Council members. The Council also participates with the Emir in amending the Constitution.³⁾

2. Financial function:

In this context, the Council discusses the draft general budget law, which the government prepares and submits to the Council at least two months before the end of the calendar and economic year.⁴⁾

3. Political function:

The Kuwaiti Constitution has defined this function as directing questions to the ministers or the Prime Minister to clarify and present matters that fall within the scope of their jurisdiction, and forming investigation committees to obtain data and information not available to the members of the Council in any of the matters that fall within the Council's jurisdiction, and other means that enable the representatives of the people to hold the ministry accountable for its actions. Then the Ministry is responsible before His Highness the Emir and is subject to the oversight of the Council's authority.⁵⁾

The matters pointed out by Arab experts and politicians prompted a comparison of this parliamentary experience, due to its effectiveness in various fields of work, especially in the field of legislation. Despite the Emir's broad powers and authorities, he cannot override the will of the members of the National Assembly. It appears that the Emir does not possess absolute legislative authority, and must refer to the National Assembly in all cases related to legislation, so that the laws have the legitimacy to be enforced. In addition, the Emir's authority to influence the orientations of the National Assembly is limited, and this is a feature that distinguishes the Kuwaiti parliamentary experience from other Arab experiences.⁶⁾

Following Kuwait's independence, Law No. 1 of 1962 was issued, which included the Basic Law of Governance during the transitional period. It was a temporary constitution to be applied during the period preceding the issuance of the permanent constitution. The Basic Law entrusted the Constituent Assembly with the task of drafting a constitution for the country. The Constituent Assembly consisted of two types of members: members elected by direct, secret, universal suffrage, numbering twenty members, and members by virtue of their positions, namely ministers, numbering 11 members, all of whom were from the ruling Al-Sabah family. Abdul Latif Thunayan Al-Ghanim was elected.⁷⁾ Chairman of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Ahmed Al-Khatib (⁸⁾Vice-President of the Council, and the

Constitution Committee was elected, which consisted of five members. The committee referred the draft constitution to the Constituent Assembly for discussion and approval, while the explanatory memorandum for the constitution was approved in the session of the Constituent Assembly on November 3, 1962. The constitution was submitted in its final form to the Emir, Sheikh Abdullah Al-Salem, who approved it and issued it on November 11, 1962.⁹⁾

The second topic: National Assembly elections.

The first elections for the National Assembly were held in Kuwait. The country was divided into ten electoral districts, and the top five candidates in each district won parliamentary seats. The National Assembly consisted of two types of members: elected members, numbering up to fifty members, and members by virtue of their positions, who were ministers. The Kuwaiti constitution stipulated that the number of ministers should not exceed one-third of the elected members of the Assembly, who were 16 ministers, as Every Kuwaiti citizen who is of age 21 years of age has the right to participate in elections. This right is considered part of the democratic practice that allows citizens to choose their representatives in elected councils. However, there are exceptions and restrictions related to certain categories.¹⁰⁾

Women did not have the right to participate in running for office in the 1962 elections. At that time, the right to vote and run for office was restricted to men, according to the electoral laws in force at that time, which did not grant women this right. They had the right to be a member of the voting committee.¹¹⁾

The Arab nationalists and merchants were the prominent political forces in Kuwait at that time, and these forces achieved good success in the elections.¹²⁾ This parliamentary bloc contributed to the formulation and enactment of many important laws in the Council, including the establishment of civil society institutions and the formation of labor unions and student movements. During that period, Kuwait witnessed “the complexities of the transition from the tribal system and the monopoly of power to the democratic system.” The first legislative session came in accordance with the implementation of the provisions of the Constitution issued on November 11, 1962. Elections were held on January 23, 1963, to choose the country’s first National Assembly. Two hundred and five candidates competed for the fifty parliamentary seats, while the number of voters reached (16,889) voters distributed over the ten electoral districts. The election day began at 8:00 a.m. and ended with the closing of the ballot boxes at 8:00 p.m. The results were as follows:¹³⁾

The votes each of them received	Winners	Circle name
900 813 738 534 504	Habib Hassan Jawhar Hayat Ibrahim Ali Yousef Al-Kharbit Issa Abdullah Muhammad Bahman Ismail Ali Hajia Dashti Khaled Khalaf Al-Talaji	First District (East) 3,513 votes
674 642 598 592 586	Salem Khaled Dawood Al-Marzouq Ahmed Abdul Aziz Jassim Al-Saadoun Jassim Abdulaziz Abdulwahab Al-Qatami Jassim Mohammed Eid Al-Mohsen Al-Kharafi Jassim Hamad Al-Saqr	Second Circle (Qiblah) 2928 votes
1240 1070 937 922 912	Falah Mubarak Al-Hajraf Khaled Saleh Al-Ghanim Abdullah Fahd Al-Lafi Al-Shammari Youssef Majeed Abdullah Al-Shalal Al-Anzi	Third District (Shuwaikh) 6,156 votes

	Mohammed Daif Allah Al-Qahs	
1131 1101 1083 1045 966	Nasser Mutlaq Hazza Al-Hamad Al-Ajmi Faisal Bandar and Tayyan Al-Duwaish Khaled Nazal Al Rashid Al Moasab Abbas Habib Manawar Youssef Khaled Al-Mukhallad Al-Mutairi	Fourth District (Al-Shamia) 8328 votes
991 942 863 848 770	Nasser Al-Sunhat Sayer Al-Asimi Abdul Razzaq Abdul Hamid Al-Sanea Bandar Nasser Abdullah Mohsen Al-Bari Khaled Al-Masoud Al-Fahid Khalaf Hodayban prepared Al-Otaibi	Fifth District (Kaifan) 5003 votes
939 881 785 622 578	Dr. Abdulrahman Abdullah Al-Awadhi Abdullah Mohammed Al-Bannai Mohammed Habib Hassan Badr Mohammed Ahmed Al-Rashid Rashid Abdullah Ahmed Al-Farhan	Sixth District (Al-Qadisiyah) 4384 votes
1790 1657 1637 1513 1513	Abdul Muttalib Abdul Hussain Al-Kazemi Jassim Mohammed Issa Al-Qattan Hussein Makki Friday Hussein Mohammed Jawad Ma'rifi Abdullah Yaqoub Jassim Al-Wazzan	The Seventh District (Dasma) 6030 votes
1062 877 863 696 652	Jasser Khaled Al-Jasser Al-Rajhi Abdulaziz Fahd Al-Masaeed Dr. Ahmed Mohammed Al-Khatib Ali Abdullah Ahmed Al-Habashi Sami Ahmed Al-Manis	Eighth District (Hawalli) 4,150 votes
1159 1064 1012 956 898	Salem Abdullah Hamoud Al-Hamad Jumaan Mohammed Nasser Al-Hariti Rashid Awad Mutlaq Al-	Ninth District (Salmiya) 5089 votes

	Juwaisri Marzi Abdullah Radhi Al- Adhina Mohammed and Sami Nasser Al-Sudairan	
2142 1779 1716 1587 1434	Khaled Ajran Hussein Jaber Sultan Salman Sultan Al- Ajmi Saad Falah Tami Hadi Haif Al-Huwailah Marshan Saad Saqr Al-Ajmi	Tenth District (Ahmadi) 8,658 votes

Table No. (1) was prepared based on information from the (Kuwait Policy Database) by Professor Michael Herb:<https://kuwaitpolitics.org/maj196300.htm>

In November 1964, Kuwait witnessed its first constitutional crisis regarding the interpretation of Article 131 of the Constitution, which prohibits a minister, while holding a ministry, from holding another public office or engaging in industrial or commercial work. A group of members of parliament objected to the formation of the government on the pretext that it included some merchants. Ahmed Al-Khatib, who was a member of the 1963 parliament, stated that this crisis was an expression of the political conflict within the ruling family, specifically a conflict between Sheikh Jaber Al-Ali and Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad. Sheikh Jaber Al-Ali was seeking to reach the position of ruler, considering Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad his main competitor to assume the position of Crown Prince, especially in light of his expectation that Sheikh Sabah Al-Salem would assume it.¹⁴⁾The rule after the death of Prince Abdullah Al-Salem¹⁵⁾ Sheikh Jaber Al-Ali believed that the 1964 government included a group of merchants who supported Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad. As a result, a group of MPs who supported Sheikh Jaber Al-Ali boycotted parliamentary sessions and refused to take the ministerial oath several times, which prompted the government to submit its resignation to Emir Sheikh Abdullah Al-Salem. The Emir issued a decision to reconstitute the government, where ministers who were opposed by some members of parliament were excluded.¹⁶⁾

Prince Abdullah Al-Salem also took pro-parliament positions during his life, as was evident in the political crisis in 1964. He had a close relationship with the opposition forces in Parliament, as some members submitted their resignations. However, these opposition members did not submit their resignations from the Council in protest against the laws issued by the government until after the death of Sheikh Abdullah Al-Salem. Ahmed Al-Khatib mentioned that some ministers from the Al-Sabah family asked Prince Abdullah Al-Salem to end parliamentary life because the representatives in the Council were insulting them.¹⁷⁾The Emir's response to them was that they should accept the accountability of the representatives in Parliament, which led to the resignation of some of them from the government. However, the death of Emir Abdullah Al-Salem in November 1965 led to a significant change in the political scene, and there was a clear setback in the process of political development in Kuwait, as six months after his death, the government in Kuwait dissolved the Municipal Council. During the first period of 1966, a large-scale campaign of arrests was carried out by the government against supporters of Arab nationalists among the residents of Kuwait.¹⁸⁾The death of Prince Abdullah Al-Salem heralded the beginning of a new trend based on emptying democratic institutions of their content, as the anti-democratic forces regained their strength and began to reorganize their ranks.¹⁹⁾

The second National Assembly elections were held on January 25, 1967. The significance of this assembly stems from the fact that it came five years after the promulgation of the constitution in November 1962, a period stipulated by the constitution for the possibility of making constitutional amendments to achieve greater freedoms. A bloc of political forces was formed to contest these elections, including Arab nationalists, merchants, and labor unions. This bloc was expected to win a majority of seats in Kuwait's parliament. (220) candidates competed for the council seats, while the total number of electoral votes reached (27,296) votes.²⁰⁾The following won membership in the council for the ten districts:

Number of votes	Winners' names	electoral district	Number of votes	Winners' names	electoral district
650 627 496 491 458	Ali Abdul Rahman Ali Al-Omar Rashid Abdullah Al-Farhan Abdulrazzaq Al-Khaled Al-Zaid Al-Khaled Youssef Abdul Aziz Al-Wazzan Mubarak Abdul Aziz Al-Hasawi	Sixth District (Al-Qadisiyah) 1840 votes	1236 1123 1097 1031 841	Youssef Al-Sayed Hashem Al-Rifai Ibrahim Ali Yousef Al-Kharbit Issa Abdullah Muhammad Bahman Hassan Jawhar Ali Hayat Mansour Musa Al-Muzaidi	First District (Al Sharq) 2778 votes
981 954 933 855 810	Zaid Abdul Mohsen Al-Kazemi Abdul Latif Abdul Hussein Al-Kazemi Jassim Ahmed Suleiman, Professor Ibrahim Taher Abdullah Al-Mutawa Abdullah Ali Hajia Dashti	Seventh District (Fatty) 2936 votes	518 438 432 364 351	Sulaiman Yousef Saleh Al-Dhuwaikh Mohammed Abdul Mohsen Al-Kharafi Abdulaziz Hamad Al-Saqr Abdulaziz Ibrahim Al-Fulaij Ali Ibrahim Al-Mawash	Second District (The Kiss) 1168 voice
785 761 737 727 696	Khaled Abdul Latif Al-Muslim Abdulaziz Fahd Al-Masaeed Ahmed Zaid Al-Sarhan Ali Saleh Al-Fadala Nasser Ali Nasser Al-Muaili	Eighth District (Around me) 1863 votes	934 912 812 749 671	Hamad Mubarak Al-Ayyar Falah Mubarak Al-Hajraf Khaled Saleh Al-Ghanim Lafi Fahd Al-Lafi Al-Shammari Saleh Abdul Wahab Hussein Al-Rumi	Third District (Al-Shuwai kh) 2695 votes
951 893 878 735 653	Ali Thanyan Saleh Al-Adhina Jumaan Mohammed Nasser Al-Hariti Mohammed and Sami Al-Sudairan Marzi Abdullah Radhi Al-Adhina Rashid Awad Mutlaq Al-Juwaisri	Ninth District (Salmiya) 2471 votes	1082 761 744 743 730	Youssef Khaled Al-Mukhallad Al-Mutairi Abdul Karim Hilal Al-Jahdali Mohammed Hamad Nasser Al-Barrak Khaled Al-Nazzal Al-Rasheed Al-Moasab Abbas Habib Manawar	Fourth District (Al-Shamiya) 4504 votes
784 766 738 725 713	Rashid Saif Rashid Al-Azmi Faleh belt, Al-Mayeh belt Faleh Hamoud Al-Suwaileh Al-Azmi Mufleh Farhan Al-Nami Al-Azmi Mubarak Abdullah	Tenth District (Ahmadi) 3784 votes	1308 1216 979 874 856	Khaled Al-Masoud Al-Fahid Mohammed Yousef Al-Adasani Abdulaziz Abdullah Al-Sarawi Nasser Sunhat Sayer Al-Asimi Khalil Ibrahim Al-	Fifth District (Kaifan) 3257 votes

	Jassim Al-Dubos			Muzain	
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Table No. (2) was prepared based on information from the (Kuwait Policy Database) by Professor Michael Herb:<https://kuwaitpolitics.org/maj196300.htm>

But the election results were contrary to all expectations and resulted in the fall of most of the opposition elements. The government was accused at the time of rigging the elections, as police officers, instead of members of the electoral committee in each district, transferred the ballot boxes from the sub-committees to the main committees, without closing these boxes or sealing them with red wax.²¹⁾The voters' papers were replaced with other papers that all came with the same ink and color, and 38 candidates, including a number of representatives who won the elections, issued a statement denouncing the election fraud and describing it as invalid.²²⁾As a result, seven members of the 1967 parliament submitted their resignations, including one of the ministers. Despite the opposition's accusations that the government rigged the elections, the government insisted on denying any fraud that marred the electoral process in January 1967.²³⁾

The results of the 1967 elections and the fraud case led to a split in the ranks of the nationalist movement in Kuwait between a group that saw the necessity of boycotting the subsequent elections that took place in 1971, and this group was led by Jassim Al-Qatami (²⁴⁾Later, he founded the National Gathering (which represented the Nasserist movement in Kuwait), and another group led by (Ahmed Al-Khatib and Sami Al-Munais).²⁵⁾And Abdullah Al-Nibar²⁶⁾ who formed the Progressive Democratic Movement, called the Vanguard Group, and this group supported participation in the electoral process. On the external level, the nationalist movement in the region was subjected to a violent shock after the defeat of the June 1967 war, which was known as the "setback." The results of this war led to the emergence of a sharp division within the ranks of the mother nationalist movement in Beirut, led by George Habash. The dispute centered on the necessity of "Marxizing" the movement and adopting the approach of scientific socialism. This division in the Arab nationalist movement was reflected in the movement's branch in Kuwait, which lost it with the death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser.²⁷⁾In 1970, the strong ally that supported it, and in return, the alliance that linked the nationalists with the merchants in Kuwait weakened after the defeat of 1967 and the ideological transformations that occurred in the thought of the Arab Nationalist Movement, and the emergence of the leftist trend in it, which contradicted the interests of the merchants in Kuwait (²⁸⁾.

In addition, the defeat of June 1967 led to splits within the Arab Nationalist Movement organizations in several Arab countries.²⁹⁾In Kuwait, a youth group emerged that split off from the nationalists and was influenced by the Marxist approach of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, led by Nayef Hawatmeh. This youth group also established the Popular Revolutionary Movement for the Liberation of Oman and the Arabian Gulf in the Gulf countries. This movement participated in the Dhofar Revolution in Oman, and among its cadres in Kuwait were Ahmed Al-Rubaie and Ahmed Al-Dayen. The Popular Revolutionary Movement distributed leaflets and expressed protest on the second anniversary of the election fraud incident. It also planted sound bombs in the Ministry of Interior building, the home of the Minister of Interior, and the National Assembly building. Widespread arrests occurred among members of the movement in Kuwait.³⁰⁾

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Footnotes:

⁽¹⁾Adel Al-Tabtabaei, The Constitutional System in Kuwait, 5th ed., p. 671.

⁽²⁾Yahya Al-Jamal, The Constitutional System in Kuwait, Kuwait University Publications, Kuwait, 1971, pp. 183-184.

⁽³⁾Yazan Khalouk Muhammad Sajid, Legislative Authority and Public Policy Making in the Parliamentary System (A Comparative Study), Dar Al-Akademion for Publishing and Distribution, 2021, p. 123.

⁽⁴⁾Abdullah Awad Al-Mutairi, The Powers of the Kuwaiti National Assembly Regarding the Government Program, Master's Thesis, Middle East University, 2012, p. 22.

⁽⁵⁾Article (174) of the Kuwaiti Constitution stipulates that "the Emir and one-third of the members of the National Assembly have the right to propose amending this Constitution by amending or deleting one or more provisions, or by adding new provisions to it." If the Emir and the majority of the members of the National Assembly agree on the principle and subject of the amendment, the Assembly shall discuss the proposed draft article by article, and its approval requires the approval of two-thirds of the members of the Assembly. The amendment shall not be effective thereafter except after the Emir's ratification and issuance thereof, as an exception to the provisions of Articles (65-66) of the Constitution. For more details, see: Article (174) of the Kuwaiti Constitution.

⁽⁶⁾Hussein Al Baharna, The Modern Arab Gulf States: Their International Relations and the Development of Political, Legal and Constitutional Conditions Therein, Al Hayat Foundation Bloc, Beirut, 1973, pp. 96-98.

⁽⁷⁾Abdul Latif Thunayan Al-Ghanim: A prominent national figure in Kuwait's history, he served as Chairman of the Constituent Assembly in 1962, where he led the efforts to draft Kuwait's Constitution and laid the foundations for constitutional and democratic rule., and He was known for his contributions to economic and social development, and his support for national unity and the rule of law..He is considered one of the most prominent figures in the development of modern Kuwait. For more details, see: Hussein Ghobash, The Cultural Roots of Democracy in the Gulf: Kuwait and Bahrain: A History of Small Peoples, Al-Farabi Publishing House, Kuwait, 2010, p. 118.

⁽⁸⁾Ahmad Al-Khatib: An Arab nationalist politician and Kuwaiti physician, born in Al-Dahla in 1928. He is a former member of the Kuwaiti National Assembly, Vice President of the Kuwaiti Constituent Assembly, and one of the writers of the Kuwaiti Constitution. He is also the first Kuwaiti to obtain a degree in human medicine in the history of contemporary Kuwait. He served as Chairman of the Committee of Physicians of the Emir of the

State of Kuwait, Sheikh Abdullah Al-Salem Al-Sabah. In 1952, while studying in Lebanon, Al-Khatib founded the Arab Nationalist Movement with a group of his nationalist colleagues in American University of Beirut. For more details, see: Hassan Abdullah Al-Samak, The Politician Ahmed Al-Khatib: His Biography and Role in the Kuwaiti Constituent Assembly, Journal of the College of Education, University of Wasit, Vol. 2, No. 10, 2011, p. 51.

⁽⁹⁾Minutes of Session No. 26 held on Saturday, November 3, 1962, p. 7.

⁽¹⁰⁾This is what Kuwaiti law stipulates in Article (1) of Law No. 35 of 1962 AD, which states that "every Kuwaiti who has reached the age of twenty-one full Gregorian years has the right to vote, with the exception of a naturalized person who has not been naturalized for twenty Gregorian years, in accordance with the provisions of Article (6) of Amiri Decree No. 15 of 1959 AD regarding the Kuwaiti Nationality Law. It is a condition for women to nominate and vote that they adhere to the rules and provisions approved in Islamic Sharia."

⁽¹¹⁾This is what Kuwaiti law stipulates in Article (27) of Law No. 35 of 1962 AD, which states that "...each committee shall be formed of a member of the judiciary or the Public Prosecution, appointed by the Minister of Justice, who shall have the presidency, and a member appointed by the Minister of the Interior, from men or women, as the case may be, and a representative of each candidate. The head of the committee must verify the identity of the voter before he expresses his opinion based on the testimony of =His nationality, and the head of the committee may assign this to one of the female members of the committee..."

⁽¹²⁾Saleh Al-Saeedi, Authority and Political Currents in Kuwait: The Dialectic of Cooperation and Conflict, Dar Al-Qabas, 1st ed., 2010, p. 28.

⁽¹³⁾Ahmad Al-Khatib, Kuwait from Emirate to State: Memories of National Action, Arab Cultural Center, Morocco, 1st ed., 2007, p. 224.

⁽¹⁴⁾Sabah Salem Al-Sabah: Born in Kuwait, he was the 12th ruler of the country and the first to assume the post of Director of the Police in 1939, making it an acceptable profession among the people. He served as Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1961 to 1962 and as Prime Minister for several terms in the National Assembly. During his reign, Kuwait witnessed economic and social development, and the Kuwaiti Constitution was adopted. He also maintained political stability and suppressed any unwanted political activity. For more details, see: Muhammad Abbas Hamid Al-Khafaji, Kuwait during the Reign of Sheikh Sabah Salem Al-Sabah 1965-1977, MA thesis, Faculty of Arts, Mansoura University, Egypt, 2015, pp. 249-251.

⁽¹⁵⁾Nasser Mohammed bin Zamal, Encyclopedia of Twentieth Century Events, Al-Obeikan Library, Riyadh, 2005, p. 233.

⁽¹⁶⁾First Legislative Chapter, Third Regular Session, Fourth Session C, held on Tuesday, December 15, 1964, p. 3.

⁽¹⁷⁾See: Ahmed Al-Khatib, The Political Crisis in Kuwait 1964: The Positions of Prince Abdullah Al-Salem and the Relationship with Parliament, Dar Al-Fajr, Kuwait, 2010, p. 147.

⁽¹⁸⁾Ghanem Al-Najjar, Introduction to Political Development in Kuwait, Qirtas Publishing House, Kuwait, 3rd ed., 2000, pp. 85-86.

⁽¹⁹⁾Nasser bin Mohammed Zamal, Encyclopedia of Twentieth Century Events, Al-Obeikan Library, Riyadh, 1st ed., 2005, p. 233.

⁽²⁰⁾Al-Qabas Kuwaiti Newspaper, Issue 940, p. 5.

⁽²¹⁾Fahd Al-Otaibi, Parliamentary Elections in Kuwait, Arab Studies House, Kuwait, 2008, p. 136.

⁽²²⁾Second Legislative Chapter, First Regular Session, Minutes of the Fifth Session A, held on Tuesday, February 21, 1967, p. 51.

⁽²³⁾Second Legislative Chapter, First Regular Session, Minutes of the Fifth Session B, held on Tuesday, April 4, 1967, p. 18.

⁽²⁴⁾Jassim Al-Qatami: Born in 1927, he is a successful politician and businessman. He co-founded the Arab Organization for Human Rights and the Kuwait Society for Human Rights. He studied at the Police College in Egypt and was the first Kuwaiti to hold the position of Director of Police. In 1956, he resigned in protest against the suppression of Kuwaiti demonstrators against the Tripartite Aggression. He served as Undersecretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and then resigned to pursue parliamentary work, aiming to promote democratic life in Kuwait. See: Abdul Aziz Abel, Legislative Councils in the Gulf Cooperation Council States, Gulf International Forum, 2011, p. 6; Muhammad Jamal Barut, The Arab Nationalist Movement: Origins, Development, and Destinies, Arab Center for Strategic Studies, 1997, p. 111.

⁽²⁵⁾Sami Al-Munais: He was an influential political and economic figure in Kuwait, and an activist in its development after independence. He held several government positions and played a prominent role in shaping the economic and educational policies that influenced the course of the country. For more, see: Abdullah Ghuloum Al-Saleh and Maha Naji Ghanem, The Civil State and the Civilizational Dilemma, Dafaf Publications, Riyadh, 2014, p. 15.

⁽²⁶⁾Abdullah Al-Nibari is a prominent Kuwaiti politician and journalist. He has played a major role in Kuwaiti political life since the 1960s. He was a member of the Kuwaiti parliament and participated in numerous political dialogues that contributed to shaping public policy in the country. For more, see: Buthaina Al-Essa, The Honor of Trying: Our Small Battles Against Censorship, T كون Publications, Riyadh, 2024, pp. 27-31.

⁽²⁷⁾Gamal Abdel Nasser: Gamal Abdel Nasser was born in Alexandria in 1918 to a family from Upper Egypt. He attended primary and secondary schools in Alexandria and Helwan, then entered the Military College in 1937. He served in Sudan in 1941, then as an instructor at the Royal Military Academy in Cairo. He participated in the 1948 war, and in 1949, he helped form the "Free Officers" movement that led the 1952 revolution. He became Prime Minister and President of the Egyptian Republic from 1954 until his death in 1970. For more information, see: B.J. Vaticus, Gamal Abdel Nasser and His Generation, translated by Sayed Zahran, Solidarity House for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, Beirut, 1992, p. 43.

⁽²⁸⁾Abdullah Al-Nafisi, Kuwait: The Other Opinion, Dar Al-Hikma, London, 2009, p. 47.

⁽²⁹⁾Hoda Mahmoud Mohamed Ali Nayel, Managing the May Crisis and the Preludes to the June 1967 War, Journal of the Faculty of Arts, South Valley University, Volume (33), Issue (62), 2024, pp. 362-363.

⁽³⁰⁾Ahmed Al-Dayen, Aspects of Political History in Kuwait, Al-Tali'ah Publishing and Distribution House, Kuwait, 2012, p. 11.