How a leader turns to dictator?

- *Analysis of Kaddafi's life-story through leadership theories*

Author(s): François Dangreau

Leadership and Management in International Context

Tutor: Pr. Dr. Philippe Daudi

Examiner: Pr. Dr. Björn Bjerke

Subject: Business Administration

Level and semester: Master's Thesis, Spring 2012

Linnæus University
School of Business and Economics

Abstract

To the pantheon of grotesque and bloodthirsty dictators is now, on the front row, the Colonel Muammar Kaddafi who, for over 40 years, bought the silence of Western democracies with oil from his country and amuse the gallery with his folk outfit, his tents, his very close female guard, his reasoning and his degenerated offspring for a smoky diversion to hide the crimes of his regime. How the world has tolerated all these years, a fool like him who dictated the law to his enslaved people and executed worldwide opponents? Was it not enough to analyze his rambling speeches to understand that it was a Nero in power?

Initially, this fictional character, out of "The Autumn of the Patriarch" by Gabriel Garcia Marquez, was probably not as crazy. Certainly was perceived in the eyes of the shy Lieutenant interviewed on television after the "White Revolution", a certain arrogance, but we were still far from the image of the future dictator. In 1969, the lieutenant was wearing a simple uniform, without medals, he smiled constantly and dodged most questions put to him, he did nothing of the clown lawless that some years later, terrorized his people and the international community. Who is he? Where is he from? How has he grown from a single officer to a despot?

The phenomenon of Kaddafi was not new. The character looked like most dictators already known: totalitarian, he allowed no other political party, except his own, and model the constitution at his will to ensure the sustainability of his power; megalomaniac, he had delusions of grandeur and dreams of becoming the unifier of the Arab world; provocative and stubborn, he willingly employed a rhetoric that lacks of logic and insulted the intelligence; exhibitionist, he was always wearing, like Mussolini, accoutrements as surprising as ridiculous; irascible, he gesticulated and uttered during his speeches in the style of Hitler. Convinced that everything is permitted, he launched into projects and allowed excessive worst follies, like Idi Amin Dada, including the bombing of his own people. The paradox

was the constant of his regime. Corrupt, he castigated the corruption and pretended to fight it by imprisoning some scapegoats; they became billionaires, he claimed to be "socialist" and was intended as poor as his subjects who stuck in sub-sustainable development. Champion of democracy, the one who was proud to say that he granted the power to the Libyans by creating his "popular committees" eliminated his opponents, muzzled the media and cancelled the freedom of expression.

For most of us, leadership has become synonymous with competence, courage, and good character. How then do we explain these atrocities? This fraud? And other scandals? In spite of the countless glaring examples of bad leadership, why do we cling to an idealized notion of leadership that is more imagined than real?

This thesis is about the dark side of human condition. It paints leadership in shades of gray and black. In spite of all the work on leadership that assumes it by definition to be good, I describe how it is possible to exercise power, authority and influence in ways that do harm. This harm can be the result of the madness of one man and has calamitous consequences. The intend is here to draw attention to how and why it happens. I contend that this type of leadership is not an aberration nor a unique case but an ubiquitous and insidious part of everyday life that must be carefully examined and better understood.

Acknowledgements

With the following lines I want to express my gratitude to the people who supported, motivated and inspired us throughout the research project

In this sense, I would like to deeply thank our professor Philippe Daudi, who created this nurturing program, and acted as a guide and mentor throughout the whole year. This thesis project was inspired by his teachings.
Moreover, he provided me with fruitful tutoring and feedback and evoked me to look at things from different perspectives. My discussions with him enriched my view of the world and motivated me for becoming better; I want to thank him for that.

For his precious feedbacks, inspiring comments and support, I would like to thank Dr. Mikael Lundgren.

For their valuable comments and being part of the Thesis Committee, I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Björn Bjerke and Max Mikael.

I also want to say a warm, sincere "Thank you!" to Terese Johansson for her support throughout the year.

Furthermore, I would like to use this opportunity to thank my conversation partners most sincerely, who gave me rewarding and valuable inputs for my work.

Besides that, and above all, I want to emphasize here that this program as well as the whole year in Sweden was so rewarding because of the great people, colleagues and friends, who have contributed and that I will always be grateful for.

Finally, I thank my family and especially my father who continuously believe in me and permit me to follow my studies.

Table of contents

Chapter 1 Introduction..... 8

1.1 Research issue: WHAT?..... 9

1.2 Research question..... 9

1.3 Objective and purpose WHY?..... 10

1.4 Methodology HOW? *Conceptually and practically*..... 11

1.4.1 Qualitative research..... 12

1.4.2 Methodological stance and approach..... 13

1.4.3 Content analysis..... 13

1.4.4 Methodological view..... 14

1.4.5 Conversations..... 14

Case study: biography..... 15

Chapter 2 Leadership..... 19

2.1 Leadership styles..... 19

2.1.1 Authoritarian..... 20

2.1.2 Democratic..... 20

2.1.3 Laissez-faire..... 21

2.1.4 Transformational leadership..... 22

2.1.5 Transactional leadership..... 23

2.2 Case study..... 24

2.2.1 Laissez-faire ➔ transformational..... 24

2.2.2. Transformational ➔ democratic..... 25

2.2.3 Democratic ➔ Authoritarian..... 26

2.2.4 Transactional ➔ pseudo-transformational..... 27

2.2.5 Conclusion..... 28

2.3 Political leadership..... 28

2.3.1 Power structure 28
2.3.2 Reforms 31
2.3.3 Power source 34
Conclusion 38
2.4 Aesthetic leadership 39
2.5 Authentic and embodied leadership 42
2.7 Tyrannical leadership 47
2.7.1 Elimination 48
2.7.2 Absence of emotional ties 50
2.7.3 New enemies 52
2.7.4 Capricious behaviour 54
Chapter 3 : Intercultural Communication 57
3.1 Introduction 57
3.2 Cultural identity 58
3.2.1 Tradition and religion 59
3.2.2 Social but ritualistic 61
3.2.3 Loyalty and belonging 62
3.2.4 Power and formal informality 63
3.3 Intercultural communication 66
3.3.1 Conflict handling 67
3.3.2 Network and connections 69
Chapter 4 Construction of meaning 71
4.1 Influences 71
4.2 Vision 72
4.2.1 Pan Arabism ➔ Panafricanism >< anti-imperialism 73
4.2.2 State socialism ➔ Jamahiriya 75
4.2.3 “The Green Book” 75

Conclusion 78
4.3 Sensemaking 79
4.4 Speech analysis 81
Chapter 5 Toxic triangle 87
5.1 Destructive leaders 87
5.1.1 Charisma 88
5.1.2 Personalized need for power 90
5.1.3 Narcissism 91
5.1.3 Negative life themes 92
4.1.5 Ideology of hate 93
5.2 Susceptible followers 94
5.2.1 Unmet basic needs 95
5.2.2 Negative core self-evaluations 95
5.2.3 Low maturity 97
5.2.4 Ambition 98
5.3 Conducive environments 99
5.3.1 Instability 100
3.3.2 Perceived threat 101
5.3.3 Cultural values 101
5.3.4 Absence of checks, balances and institutionalization 102
Chapter 6 Conclusion 104
Chapter 7 References 106

Chapter 2 Introduction

Part of our enduring romance with leadership comes from its attractive explanatory power in the absence of rational, objective explanations of extraordinary organizational performances (Meindl, 1985). Several hundred definitions of leadership have been presented over the years and there are many different concepts of leadership. “A leader is first an individual (or, rarely, a set of individuals) who significantly affects the thoughts, feelings, and/or behaviours, of a significant number of individuals” Gardner, H. I truly believe that the understanding of leadership is easier to assimilate if it is done trough a life-story approach. World has witnessed many great leaders along the centuries and a considerable portions of them were described as crazy, extremely authoritarian, bloody..I do not think these persons were born like that but rather that their devastating power they built turned them mad and changed entirely their method of leading. To demonstrate my thought I selected to recognize, describe and analyze the existence of the Libyan leader who passed away last October; Muammar Kaddafi. Additionally, these analyses of biographical illustrations are combined with the concepts presented in literature.

Concerning the theoretical framework, this thesis takes part of the program of “leadership and management” I attended and could be seen as a sum up of all the notions we learned. Consequently, the study discusses different dimensions of leadership in connection with the case and presents the framework of “toxic triangle” as a different perspective on the interaction between leaders and followers in a certain environment, which can provide a new conception of the subtle way of leading.

Key words: leadership, Kaddafi, dictatorship, authoritarian, construction of meaning, communication.

1.1 Research issue: WHAT?

In his book “Leading minds” Howard Gardner emphasized that it is important for a leader to be a good story-teller. He said that leaders have the faculty to tell a story and make them understood, even by “untutored” mind. Stories provide context that can make it easier to internalize values and lessons of leadership and experience. Through this work, my objective is to tell you the story of Kaddafi by reflecting the main dimensions of his leadership.

Scholars and researchers have no specific definition of leadership and through the years new approaches have been studied to arrive at the conclusion that the styles of leadership depend on situations, followers and context. I truly believe there are not only brave leaders but that being able to reach the head of a state proves certain leadership qualities I will try to demonstrate. The aim is not only to confirm some leadership skills but also to emphasize the wrong way his leadership took and trying to find the reasons.

1.2 Research question

The aim of my study is to analyze the route of Muammar Kaddafi to reach the position of supreme leader of his country by discussing different approaches and leadership concepts. With regards to his life, my work aims to focus on the different leadership traits and prove that power tends to corrupt. Therefore the starting point of my project relates to the following research questions:

How did he build his leadership?

Which traits did allow him to lead?

How did he keep his top position so long?

Was he a bad leader or a good leader with a bad behaviour?

“Kaddafi: How leader turn to dictator? Life-story analysis through the leadership theories”

My preliminary research led me to identify the major concepts related to the analysis of the case study. This life-story approach on the multiple dimensions of the leadership took place within the frame of the program of leadership and management I followed this year. I divided my investigation in three areas; Leadership, communication and construction of meaning but I will also add theories from other sources in order to deliver a complete revision of leadership. My thesis is separated into five parts; the first part entails introduction, methodology and biography providing the reader besides a first sketch with worthwhile information about my research process as well as some explanatory notes on my approach towards writing this thesis, and a biography of the leader I studied. Then we will dive into the issue itself in part two, which is meant to introduce the reader to the leadership. We thus start with our understanding of the phenomenon of leadership and depict some concepts in order to analyze the case study. In the third part, I introduce the fundamental aspect of communication in a leadership outlook. The fifth part tends to initiate to the construction of meaning which from my point of view plays the most significant role in the leader-follower relationship. The last chapter is crucial and consist in drawing a whole portrait of destructive leader as I qualified Muammar Kaddafi.

1.3 Objective and purpose WHY?

The objective of my thesis is to gain a better understanding of certain leadership theories but also to demonstrate from a true example the dark side of this notion. It was a good occasion to finish my school year by acquiring a deeper knowledge of the theories we have seen at the courses. I chose to study the life of Muammar Kaddafi because even if he was characterized as a murderer, his leadership was described as total. It intrigued me to know how somebody can have a so overwhelming domination on people of his country.

The hide face of the international politic leaders really triggers my interest too and I could not stop questioning myself why leaders from the world have tolerated a tyrant like that for so many years, it is this type of question my work will allow me to answer. Therefore, I am personally interested in Diplomacy and by the readings this subject supposed, I enlarged my insight about that profession. The plan is to gather an in-depth interpretation of human behaviour and the reasons that govern such actions by comparing with theoretical studies. Finally, from a leadership perspective, I believe this way of leading can raise some questions about a new perceptive approach of leadership. Moreover, I attempted to highlight the fact that a leadership position can direct to another way of leading which does not respect the people anymore and it is vital to always keep the limits in mind.

1.4 Methodology HOW? *Conceptually and practically*

When writing an academic paper, it is inevitable to concern oneself consciously with methodology, which labels the approach towards understanding, gaining, processing, interpreting and presenting knowledge. As I want to emphasize, methodology is more about the knowledge creation process and its origin, than about the knowledge itself. For the choice of the methodology defines the perspective how one looks at reality. It makes a huge difference if one regards reality as something analytical, stable and describable, consisting of independent parameters (Arbnor & Bjerke, 2009, pp 81-101) or if someone is more advocate of holistic views, trying to analyze whole systems and taking interdependencies into account (ibid, pp 102-129). It is different again, if the researcher has a social constructivist view of the world, regarding every situation as unique, always depending on the certain context. This concerns surroundings and people involved along with their perceptions of reality, as well as the dynamics going on, and consequently make research more complex than the one in the first cases.

Thus, with a specific methodology, scientific writers always expose their personal ideals as individual researchers. Hence, methodology is not something “out there”, it is about you and your own style. Furthermore,

methodology should not simply considered by academic writers because some rules force them to, it rather provides the framework of their work, guides them into a certain direction and gives their work a specific personal touch (new approach). Applying a certain methodology means to consciously taking a stand for aim of the research as well as for the produced outcome and the argued statements. Actually, I see methodology as a scientifically appropriate way to create and express knowledge. If I had to find a metaphor which illustrates the methodology, I would say that my thesis and the assumptions I tried to demonstrate are like a place I want to reach and the methodology was the path I used to get there. It also helped me to find solution at some problems I had to face. It is the frame of my work. That is why for me it was primordial and I could not imagine deliver a good paper without handling a precise methodology.

1.4.1 Qualitative research

I split my research in two parts; the leader's life and the leadership theories. Due to the complexity and the variety of leadership styles, I consider using qualitative research, which focuses on situational concepts with non-statistical approaches (Strauss1987), to be more appropriate than quantitative methodology. Moreover, qualitative design considerably enables more freedom in choosing data than quantitative approach (Bjerke & Arbnor 2009). After the research and the readings, the writing part consisted in a set of concepts treated one by one. I selected Articles, books and websites according to the subjects, by this way it was be easier for me to cut the information during my writing task. I began to read when all the subjects I wanted to work on were selected, during my readings I underlined each relevant information related to the themes and completed them. Afterwards, I first defined the notions in a theoretical mode and then described it with the help of the leader's life. I have chosen this structure on purpose, according to my personal sense of logical argumentation while writing.

1.4.2 Methodological stance and approach

Concerning my methodological stance, I think that my topic belongs to an "ivory tower" research which does not necessarily lead to action. It implies to identify the main aspects of the empirical data and complete it with a theoretical basis. In other words, to build an empirical overview to explain the reality with the theoretical interpretations of leadership. Nevertheless, this topic deals also with an interpretative research which includes exploration of meanings and complexity of the structures. Concerning the theoretical framework, this thesis takes part of the program of "leadership and management" I attended and could be seen as a sum up of all the notions we learned. Beyond the general methodological approach, to apply my framework and connect it to information's I gathered, I abandoned the abductive approach and I used a conceptual – chronological techniques. It means that I first selected some concepts of leadership and I then demonstrated them with leader's life in a chronological manner. I exploited numerous biographies and leadership literatures to gain proper information's and transform knowledge into special insight I had.

1.4.3 Content analysis

To examine the speech and the thoughts of the leader, I adopted the content analysis, because as I saw during my research this type of analysis is the most appropriate method, Content analysis is intended to" speak the text ", that is to say to extract the meaning of the speech collected in connection with the objectives of the research. It is selective because guided by the objectives of the research and cutting the text into categories (themes or concepts that refer to the dimensions of the research). The first step of the content analysis is the constitution; the selection of documents is generally carried out according to a research question determined beforehand. Here it is mainly green book written by the guide and his speeches reflecting his will and vision. Then, content analysis adopts a reading of documents.During the subsequent reading and rereading, the researcher proceeds to document

classification. He creates categories that will allow him to differentiate between them eventually. The interpretation stage generally occurs in the steps of reading and classification. It is about extracting the ideas expressed by the author and then defending our own interpretations.

1.4.4 Methodological view

Relating to the three basic approaches about knowledge creation process highlighted by Arbnor & Bjerke (2009) I picked the analytical view instead of system and actor view. The analytical view presumes that reality consists of independent and describable variables. Researchers who work with this view start by setting up a hypothesis which they try to verify by observing and analyzing reality. In my case, it is a theory of destructive leadership through the life of Kaddafi. The aim is to detect cause-effect relations, which are consistent over time and can be generalized (Arbnor & Bjerke, 2009). Critics of the analytical view argue that the researcher‟s subjectivity influences too much the study results (ibid, pp. 332-335).

1.4.5 Conversations

I collected data from the most suitable ways (internet and books) and also newspapers or magazines (actual leader) but I also conducted conversations with scholars and experts in order to complete my reflection and my information with qualified persons. In this case, it is not only my interpretation of the facts which counts, I also have some other people‘s personal feelings and opinions. So, I took contacts with following experts:

Jon Aarum Andersen; is professor of business administration at Lillehammer University, Norway. He holds two master’s degrees from Norway as well as a PhD from Lund University. He has written twelve university level textbooks and has a number of international research publications over leadership. He is now engaged in lecturing and tutoring at the master and doctoral levels as well as in research on leadership and

organizational issues in Vaxjo, Sweden. Mr Andersen accepted to help me and guide me for the leadership concepts I used in my research.

Roger Emmanuel; works as housekeeper in Belgium but he is originally from Chad. Mr Emmanuel has lived some years in Libya when Kaddafi was still in power and has known very well the war between Libya and Chad. His testimony helped me to understand the effects of Kaddafi's leadership and reforms on the population.

Donatella Rivera; is reporter and searcher for Amnesty international in Brussels and London. She covered up the fall down of Kaddafi as middle-east specialist. I had a Skype interview with her and she gave me an exclusive overview of the situation in Libya for the last years.

Eugenie Bron; is specialist for Libya at "centre étude & recherche monde arabe & Mediterranee" in Genève, Switzerland. Mrs Bron gave me some references of literature which added information over Libya and mostly Kaddafi in order to complete my thesis.

Case study: biography

Muammar Kaddafi, born June 19, 1942 in Sirte and died October 20, 2011 near Sirte, Libya, also known as "Colonel Kaddafi," is the de facto head of state to Libya since 1970, following Coup State of 1 September 1969.

Officially, Kaddafi is designated as the guide of the great revolution of the Great Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

Al-Kaddafi is the youngest child of a peasant Bedouins family. He grew up in the desert region of Sirte, received a primary education and traditional religious, and then followed the course of the Sebha preparatory school in Fezzan from 1956 to 1961. Kaddafi and a small group of friends he met in this school came to form the nucleus of a group of revolutionary activists aiming to seize power. He was inspired by Gamal Abdel Nasser, president of

neighbouring Egypt, who rose to power by advocating Arab unity. In 1961, Kaddafi was expelled from Sebha because of his political activism.

Kaddafi studied law at the University of Libya. He then entered the Military Academy in Benghazi in 1963, where he organized with some militants an underground movement to overthrow the pro-Western Libyan monarchy. After his graduation in 1965 he was sent to Britain to track additional training in the British Army Staff College, and returned in 1966 as an officer in the Signal Corps.

On 1 September 1969, at age 27, he led a group of officers with a coup against King Idris al-Mahdi, while he was in Turkey for medical treatment. His nephew, Prince Hasan as-Senussi was set on the throne on 2 September 1969 when the abdication of King Idris was announced on August 4 to take effect. In the course of 1 September the monarchy was abolished, a republic was proclaimed, and the Prince went to prison. Kaddafi gave himself advancement from captain to colonel he held until his death.

About this grade, according to Western standards insufficient to run a country and ordered his army, he said that Libya was "governed by its people", and it provided the "guide "securities civilian or military individuals. This is not new and can be compared with that of Gamal Abdel Nasser that kept the title of colonel when he took power in Egypt, while Jerry Rawlings, former President of Ghana, has retained his rank of flight lieutenant.

Having taken power in Tripoli during the coup on 1 September 1969, he advocated the passage in its infancy to a state socialism tinged pan-Arabism. He nationalized some companies (including those owned by Italian nationals). In 1977, he declared "people's revolution": He changed the name of the country in Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and set up "revolutionary committees". Multiparty remains banned in Libya. He obliged the United States of America to evacuate their military bases under which Wheelus Airfield and nationalized oil companies.

In retaliation, over the 1980s, his regime was ostracized by the international community also because of his alleged support to numerous rebellions in the world and his supposed implications in several terrorist acts: bombing at a discotheque in Berlin frequented by U.S. military in 1986, Scotland Lockerbie bombing against an American civilian airliner that exploded in midair in 1988 (270 dead), although the actual involvement of Libya in the bombing is increasingly questionable, or still attack against a French plane, Flight 772 UTA from Brazzaville to Paris in 1989 (170 dead).

April 15, 1986, Ronald Reagan ordered a bombing raid (Operation El Dorado Canyon) against Tripoli and Benghazi. 45 soldiers and officials were killed and 15 civilians, including Kaddafi's adopted daughter, Hannah. This reprisal raid followed an intercepted message from the Libyan Embassy in East Berlin suggesting Libyan government involvement in the bombing of April 5 at a nightclub in West Berlin, where a U.S. military had been killed. Colonel Kaddafi was injured in the bombing of his residence.

From the mid-1990s, Kaddafi and his country were victim of embargo decided by western countries. Thus in 1999, intelligence agents suspected of the Lockerbie bomber was delivered to Scottish Justice, causing the suspension of UN sanctions against the country and the restoration of diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom.

Subsequently, in 2003, Libya officially recognized "the liability of its officers" in the Lockerbie bomber - and in that of UTA Flight 772 - and paid an indemnity of $ 2.16 billion to the families of Pan 270 Am victims, which led to the final lifting of UN sanctions and (partially) of the United States against them.

In parallel, Colonel Kaddafi began diplomatic negotiations, during all of 2003, between Libyan officials, British and American, and announced in December of that year he formally renounced his program of mass destruction weapons. Finally, in March 2004, he signed the Additional Protocol of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

He also established an easing of regulations on economic Jamahiriya for opening the local market to international companies, which helped the regime's survival. He thus managed to approach the Western powers and particularly in some European countries, such as the United Kingdom, France, Spain and Italy. Hence, Kaddafi said he intended to play a major role in the pacification of the world and the creation of a Middle East free of mass destruction weapons.

From 1999 to 2007, the foreign medics, tried for the contaminating Libyan children with the AIDS virus, were used for political purposes by Kaddafi and highly publicized worldwide. He wrote the Green Book, in reference to Little Red Book written by Mao Zedong, in which he succinctly explains his solutions to the problems of democracy and economy.

In February 2011, right in the Arab Spring, he had to face a popular revolt, he attempts to punish by live gunfire and aerial bombardment of the population. October 20, 2011, the National Transitional Council announces the death of Kaddafi in Sirte, his birthplace, which was plagued by heavy fighting. Mohamed Leith, initially announced to AFP that Kaddafi was arrested wounded in the legs and head but alive until later in the day, Khalifa Haftar, a senior military official announcement of the CNT's death the former Libyan leader and the liberation of the city of Sirte.

Chapter 3 Leadership

2.1 Leadership styles

"The art of leadership has been described as a process of social influence in which one person can enlist the help of a group to achieve a common task" (Chemers 1997)

Leaders and group members with whom they work influence each other but we all agree that a leader can play its role in different ways. Several years of research with groups and organizations have helped develop many theories about leadership styles.

In 1939, a group of researchers directed by psychologist Kurt Lewin and his collaborators Lippit and White led an extremely famous experiment to identify the influence of attitudes of leading work quality and morale of a group focused on a task. They set out to recognize different styles of leadership. After those further researches have renowned more specific types of leadership but this early study was very significant and established three major leadership styles. In the study, schoolchildren were allocated to one of three groups with an authoritarian, democratic or laissez-faire leader. The children were then led in an arts and crafts project while scholars and researchers were observing the behaviour of children in response to the different styles of leadership.

After defining the 3 concepts built up by Lewin, I try to describe the style of Kaddafi from the early stage of his ascension to power till his downfall.

2.1.1 Authoritarian

Authoritarian leadership, also known as autocratic is characterized by a leader who provides clear expectations for what, when, and how to do the work. There is also an apparent separation between the leader who makes all the decisions independently from the rest of the group and the subordinates who are expected to pursue the directives.

This style of leadership is based on the power of the chief on the group members; the assumption the leader knows everything better than others and the dedication of the followers to oneself.

As the research shows, this style is appropriated for certain environments such as military, education or prison. It has been proven that it leads to more respect and preferable to democracy for the achievement of tasks.

Authoritarian leadership is best applied to situations where there is little time for group decision-making or when the leader is the most knowledgeable member of the group. We can also add that in general, this rude style of leadership is less creative than the others because it does not let the people free to express their ideas.

2.1.2 Democratic

Democratic Leadership promotes decision making by a group. In this model of leadership, the leader (the boss, the team leader etc. …) consults his team and asked their opinions to make decisions. This style of leadership encourages each group member to make its voice heard, to advise, and participate. That is why we also give the name of Participative leadership. From this perception, participative leadership can be seen as a leadership style that relies heavily on the leader functioning as a facilitator rather than simply issuing orders or making assignments. This type of involved leadership style can be employed in business, political, and even volunteer organizations.

One of the main benefits of participative leadership is that the process allows for the development of additional leaders who can serve the organization at a later date. Because leaders who use this style support active involvement on the part of everyone on the team, people often are able to express their creativity and demonstrate abilities and talents that would not be made apparent otherwise. Even if it requires more time before the decision is taken, the discovery of these unseen assets help to benefit the work of the current team, but also alerts the organization to people within the team who should be provided with opportunities to further develop some skill or ability for future use.

However, it is important to note that the final decision is only made by the Chief. This takes into consideration the opinions of group members, but he always takes the final decision.

2.1.3 Laissez-faire

Laissez-faire leadership, also called Passive Leadership is a style in which the leader allows the group to make decisions. It is a hands-off approach of management style (Northouse, 2001) that allows employees to work without much control. The style often works best where employees are self-starters and have personal motivation that leads to their working successfully. Laissez-faire leadership also has drawbacks, where employees may run without proper guidance from managers.

Laissez-faire leadership attempts to achieve the control activities in a fine manner. For example, rather than being directly involved with how employees complete daily activities, the laissez-faire leader leaves the workers to their own devices.

From another point of view, the laissez-faire style is the avoidance or absence of leadership and is, by definition, the most inactive – as well as the most ineffective according to almost all research on the style (Bass & Avolio, 1994). By laissez-faire it is meant that the leader is not sufficiently motivated or adequately skilled to perform supervisory duties. While this

statement seems to be correct, there are also situations in which highly active leadership is not necessary. Hartog & Van Muijen (1997) state that a less active role of leaders could also lead to empowerment of followers which could even make for a useful component of transformational leadership.

Laissez-faire leadership was introduced since the first studies on the leadership style opposed to Authoritarian by Burn's or Lewin and in later research to transformational by Bass.

2.1.4 Transformational leadership

It is seen that there are differences in connection with the types of leadership. After the three leadership models found by Lewin and his colleagues (1939) we have just described, Burns (1978) developed the initial ideas on transformational and transactional leadership through a qualitative analysis of the biographies of various political leaders. Bass (1985) further refined these models and introduced them to the organizational literature. According to him, transformational leaders motivate their followers to perform beyond expectations by activating followers' higher order needs, fostering a climate of trust, and inducing followers to transcend their self interest for the sake of the organization. Bass (1985) elaborated on burn's conceptualization of these two types of leadership and argued that they are not opposite but two separate concepts.

The most recent version of his transformational leadership can be conceptually organized along four correlated dimensions: charisma-idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualized consideration. Using charisma, the leader inspires admiration, respect, and loyalty, and emphasizes the importance of having a collective sense of mission. By inspirational motivation, the leader creates a clear picture of the future state that is both optimistic and attainable, and encourages others to raise their expectations, reduces complexity to key issues and uses simple language to convey the mission. By intellectual stimulation, leaders stimulate their followers' efforts to be innovative and

creative by questioning assumptions, reframing problems, and approaching old situations in new ways. By individualized consideration, leaders pay special attention to each individual's needs for achievement and growth by acting as coach or mentor (Bass & Avolio, 1994).

2.1.5 Transactional leadership

According to Bass & Avolio (1994) transformational leadership is an expansion of transactional leadership. Transactional leadership emphasizes the transaction or exchange that takes place among leaders, colleagues, and followers. This exchange is based on the leader discussing with others what is required and specifying the conditions and rewards these others will receive if they fulfil those requirements. Transactional leadership diverges from transformational leadership in that the transactional leader does not individualize the needs of subordinates nor focus on their personal development (Northouse, 2009). In other words, transactional leader motivates subordinates to perform as expected while the transformational leader typically inspires followers to do more than originally expected (Hartog & Van Muijen, 1997). Contingent Reward and Management-by-Exception are the two dimensions which make up transactional leadership style. Contingent Reward is how the leader and followers exchange specific rewards for outcomes or results. Goals and objectives are agreed upon by both the leader and followers and the achievement is rewarded or punished. Management-by-Exception is when a leader makes corrective criticisms or uses negative reinforcement. This leadership behaviour monitors followers closely so they can point out mistakes and errors.

2.2 Case study

Transformational ➔ transactional ➔ Pseudo-transformational

Laissez-faire ➔democratic ➔ Autocratic

In their thesis “Autocracy and democracy” published in 1960, Lipitt and White highlighted the fact that it is more difficult to move from an authoritarian style to a democratic style than vice versa. According to them, abuse of the authoritarian style is usually viewed as controlling, bossy, and dictatorial. From the case studied, my perception is that the guide Muammar Kaddafi, through his 42years of reign has changed many times of style. If at the end he was perceived as a dictator, he did not start his career with such a powerful manner to lead. Under Kaddafi, Libya went from laissez faire to a totally authoritarian style.

Between the recognition of independence by United Nations General Assembly and the arrival in power of Kaddafi, Lybia was ruled by King Idris during more than 18 years. While his record is not as negative as it has been said, the weight of the foreign presence marked his reign. Indeed, King Idris was appointed to power by the major European countries present in Lybia (France, UK and Italy) and has never really been able to emerge as head of state because of these foreign influences. We could easily call his leadership of "laissez faire" because besides its symbolic role of king, it is the powerful foreign companies as well as some prominent families who ran the country in terms of political and economic.

2.2.1 Laissez-faire ➔ transformational

On the 1st September 1969, Kaddafi was then a mere captain in Libyan army when he overthrew the monarchy in place thanks to a coup. At this moment, Kaddafi fully embodies the four dimensions of transformational leadership described by Bass. He created his own revolution by recruiting gradually soldiers who have adhered to his ideas. He then motivated them to rebel and break down the King. Soon they came to power, Kaddafi and his

companion's had only one thing in mind: to transform Libya as quickly as possible. Aware of the country's dependence to other countries, they want to reduce the oil sector by developing industry, agriculture, livestock and infrastructure. In five years, the young guide will completely change Libya; he changed political and administrative system, nationalized oil companies and banks, modernized religious thought and the status of women and he freed the English and American bases located within his territory. To help him in his task, Kaddafi surrounds himself with his companions with whom he organized the putsch, smart people, bold and agree with his ideas. He enthroned them at the highest places of the state in order to reform the country which was polluted by corruption. He carefully observed them and focused exclusively on those who were bright and brave, he played the role of mentor for them in order to achieve his projects.

2.2.2. Transformational ➔ democratic

On 15th of April 1973, in a speech he gave in Benghazi, Kaddafi announced that this revolution was supposed to empower people and ensure their participation in decision making through committees. In fact, he wants to set up a system akin to direct democracy. To connect with people and relieve the administration of its unproductive components, Kaddafi and his companions decentralized and asked the people to govern themselves, through local committees that govern life and local affairs. Kaddafi has his own idea of democracy, according to him "the political struggle that led to the victory of a candidate with, for example 51% of the vote, led to a dictatorial system. Indeed, 49% of voters are then governed by a system they did not choose, and instead was forced on them, that is dictatorship" he wrote. This model of participatory leadership also requires the development of other leaders; this is why it was replaced very quickly. The first government was formed and the distribution of tasks was organized almost naturally. But Kaddafi is the only one master; He listens, he is thoughtful so he became very fast an uncontested and indisputable leader. However his

character too harsh and too affirmative leads him to take initiatives without consulting his fellows.

2.2.3 Democratic ➔ Authoritarian

Many parameters have shifted the leadership of Colonel Qaddafi, I will detail it later. But one the reasons is certainly the various attempts to plot against him, by former members of his team. In the first six years of his reign, no fewer than four coup attempts were thwarted. The reasons for the putsch are clear: the individualism of the guide, his hegemony, the lack of dialogue on the board or the rivalry between military leaders. Add to that his dream of Arab unity that moves away, the death of his mentor Nasser and the conditions were met for the guide to respond with rage.

In 1977, Colonel proclaims "the revolution of people" He replaces the board of the Revolutionary Command formed by his friend's coup plotters by a general secretariat of the people's congress he leads. Two years later, he proclaimed himself Guide, this position gives him impunity (he has no official responsibility), tenure (he has no superior) and longevity (he will cycle through eight U.S. presidents). This act is a milestone in the life of Kaddafi and Libya, even if after this he developed a lot the country, his power has expanded so much that he has no more opponents.

Step by step, He so adopted an autocratic style; any subordinates' attempt at questioning the directives given were discouraged. There was little or no opportunity for subordinates to develop initiative and creativity. Employee behaviour was closely controlled through such means as punishment, reward, arbitrary rules, and task orientation. Unlimited authority was thus rightly vested in the leader.

2.2.4 Transactional ➔ pseudo-transformational

The man often described as a lunatic lit, was not as crazy. He knew very well how to pick and choose his staff for each period and for each mission. His secret to lead men lived to a great extent in his talent as an observer and psychologist. He studied one by one his companions or those he wanted in the secret of his action. As De Funes said (la folie des grandeurs, 1971)" I am minister, I cannot do anything", Kaddafi did not do anything by himself but he discerned exactly who was the right person to achieve a certain task. He gathered as much information as he could on those guys before hiring them for a job. These practices by which the leader rewards or disciplines the follower depending on the adequacy of the follower's performance remind the transactional style of leadership. When we analyze closer the Colonel's leadership, we realize that this charismatic way of leading was more personalized than socialized. Mc Clelland (1975) depicted a pseudo transformational leadership style as based on personal dominance and authoritarian behaviour, self-aggrandizing, which serves self-interest, and exploitative of others. According to Howell and House (1992), personalized leaders rely deeply on manipulation, threat, and punishment, and show disregard for the established institutional procedures and for the rights and feelings of others. They are aggressive, narcissistic, and impulsive. Many examples of Kaddafi's biography prove these manners, for example, when his fellow soldier and coup plotter, Omar el-Mehechi distanced himself from the official policy of Colonel. He became furious, sent him out of the country and condemned him to death in absentia. This is in contrast to the truly transformational leaders who transcend their own self-interests for one of two reasons: utilitarian or moral. If utilitarian, their objective is to benefit their group or society. If a matter of moral, the point is to do what fits principles of responsibility and respect of authority. We could say that this approach of leading is a mix between both transactional and pseudo transformational because through his career, Kaddafi made use of money or designation to reward the work of his followers or punish them as a lesson, this can be equated with management-by-exception. All of this in order to

satisfy his own desires. As expressed in his biography of the guide, Mansour Al Kikhiya who served as former minister of foreign affairs in Libya under the colonel: "What Gaddafi dreams at night, he begins the day" but even if some of his ideas were basically fine, his behaviour increasingly authoritarian and disrespectful prevent him from achieving most of his projects.

2.2.5 Conclusion

If leadership styles are complex, Kaddafi juggled with them. Depending on the context, he unconsciously changed his model to reach the most powerful of them. As if he had heard teaching Lipitt (1960), he left the more democratic style to shape gradually his own one in order to get the supreme power. He also used the advantages of each style to get people to follow him and eliminate his competitors.

2.3 Political leadership

2.3.1 Power structure

Federal ➔ Unitary state

The governance system in Libya, after it gained independence in 1951, was federalism. Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and Fezzan were the three autonomous provinces. This system was abolished at the end of the reign of Idriss 1st to make way for a centralized state strengthened by Muammar Kaddafi after he took office in 1969. To establish his authority, Kaddafi has little by little changed the whole political structure. As Brass and Burkhardt stated, “structure provides the context that mediates the relationship between behaviour and power”, and power is the essence of leader behaviour (Yukl, 2002). From this perspective, the connection between organization structure and leadership is quite clear. In the realm of political leadership, organizational context reveals the issues that are integral to the creation of the political environment. On 2 March 1977, the process launched in 1973

by the discourse of Zouara leads the official transition to a new form of government. The regime engages in a radical change by taking the official name of Socialist people's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and by formally adopting a mode of government based on "direct democracy".

As Adolf Hitler with "Mein Kampf" which sets out the ideological base of the political program of the Führer, Muammar Kaddafi published a programme entitled "the Green book" considered as a new constitution. He advocated an innovative process to govern without parliament, political party or referendum which he accused of substituting the power of people. He therefore divides the people in basic people's congresses, representing the territorial basis (districts and municipalities). In turn, all adults had the right and duty to participate in the deliberation of their local Basic People's Congress (BPC), whose decisions were passed up to the GPC for consideration and implementation as national policy. The BPCs were in theory the repository of ultimate political authority and decision making, being the embodiment of what Kaddafi termed direct people's power. The set of Basic People's Congresses had to choose people's committees which replaced the government. Finally, a general people's congress is established and meets once a year all executive groups of people's congresses, people's committees and labour unions. The Secretaries of General people's Congress met in a general people's committee and serve as minister. There is so a large quantity of assemblies (without forgetting the revolutionary committee) which dilute the power and benefit to the guide. Using the strategy "divide and conquer", Kaddafi retained virtually all power, by heading the revolutionary committee, this military junta put in place in 1969 which control all instances of the country. The changes in Libyan leadership since 1976 culminated in March 1979, when the General People's Committee declared that the "vesting of power in the masses" and the "separation of the state from the revolution" were complete. Kaddafi relinquished his duties as general secretary of the GPC, being known thereafter as "the leader" or "Leader of the Revolution". In less than ten years, Libya passed from a federal to a unitary state governed as one single supreme unit.

The regime of Muammar Gaddafi knows various reforms over time, sometimes presented without apparent concern for maintaining consistency between them and the confusion about the real responsibilities of government. Although not engaged in any official, Kaddafi leads in fact the work of the General People's Congress officially as "adviser". Political decisions are taken in arbitrary conditions, by Kaddafi himself and his entourage by family and tribal. Based on the tribes, between which it strives to keep a certain balance to preserve their support, Kaddafi remains the absolute ruler of Libya beyond the institutional confusion that he sometimes knowingly maintains. The researcher Antoine Basbous summarizes the strategy of internal politics of Kaddafi by a desire to "create an indecipherable institutional mess for foreign countries which allows him to lock the system and privatize for eternity Libya for his single profit". Out of the tribal system, the civil society is weak and unstructured in Libya, so they cannot develop any efficient political opposition.

In 1980s, Libya tried to resolve problems arising from its international isolation by some economic liberalization and relative political openness. But the policy of openness did not last and prisons were quickly replenished by new political prisoners, including Islamists. Administrative reforms announced in early 1990, were proved to be inapplicable. While constantly claiming Islam, Kaddafi proposed a very personal approach to the Muslim religion and social issues, often progressive, and even iconoclastic. Nevertheless, in 1994, to prevent a challenge to his regime in the name of religious principles, he proclaims the application of Sharia (Islamic law) in Libya.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the Libyan manages to break its diplomatic isolation. Actor of the diplomatic opening to the head of the Kaddafi Foundation, Saif al-Islam Kaddafi is also the lawyer of reforms in terms of domestic politics, while trying to position himself as a potential successor to his father, who provides him unequal support. Nevertheless He

had to face significant resistance within the conservative elite of the regime. In the early 2000s, Libya had still not chosen representatives, nor any real constitution or instrument of control over the use of public funds, nor legal system.

Guide

General Secretary (prime minister)

Revolutionary congress (political militia)

General people's committee (ministers)

General people's congress (government)

People's committee (governor or mayor)

Basic people's congresses (council and commune)

2.3.2 Reforms

Jones and Olken (2005) found that changes in a country's leadership can trigger changes in gross domestic product (GDP) growth. They show that who is the head of the country matters for economic growth. Compare to King Idriss, Kaddafi with the reforms he held, has completely changed the economic situation of the country. From his first months in power, Muammar Kaddafi:

- nationalized oil companies and foreign banks

- claimed the monopoly of foreign trade

- asked the British army to leave Libya, after 13 years of presence

- ordered the U.S. to evacuate their military bases

-managed to impose for the first time an increase of oil prices

- doubled the minimum wage and cancelled the rents.

- released Royal palaces in public buildings

- required the education in Arabic

In 1977, Kaddafi's personal ideology, the "Third Universal Theory", was then applied gradually to the economic domain. As Kotsogiannis and Schwager (2006) argue, “the implementation of new and unknown policies is more demanding than running ‘business as usual’ since it requires imaginative leadership rather than operational routine”. Determined, the guide called for a natural socialism, based on equality of inputs and ensuring equitable distribution of land products. What are basic needs like housing, income or means of transport must be the property of the individual. Each worker with his work instrument can produce on his own thus preventing any exploitation. In Economy, Kaddafi follows in the same logic he had in politics of official suppression of "intermediaries". House must go back "to its occupant" earth "to the tiller", industrial enterprises to the state or "those who work there." Thanks to an agreed increase of oil prices, the guide had no financial worries and can handle just about anything. The real estate sector was partially nationalized. A program of confiscation of properties over 10 hectares was progressively implemented. Throughout the year 1978, elected committees take over private companies. Few months later, the abolition of small businesses was announced: from 1981, retail and wholesale trading operations were replaced by state-owned "people's supermarkets", where Libyans could in theory purchase whatever they needed even luxury goods at low prices. The liberal professions, deemed incompatible with the new economic system must be retrained.

The radical positions of the regime in terms of international politics does not necessarily translate into a severance of economic relations with hostile states, despite appalling relations between Libya and USA, American oil

companies remain active participation in Libya in early 1980. Regardless of the episode of the expulsion of the former colonists in 1970, Libya maintains strong trade links with Italy, which stays its main partner, including at the height of the international isolation of Kaddafi's regime.

The interventionism of the administration in the 1980s helps to stop the relative state of grace which, with its oil revenues, he enjoyed so far in the population: the removal of small businesses, highly unpopular, coincides with the collapse of oil revenues and the first austerity plans. Libya's population, after years of prosperity, discover shortages in the 1980s. Between 1980 and 1982, revenues are almost halved, and then are again reduced by half due to the fall of the U.S. dollar in1986; the economic embargo imposed by the United States exacerbates the situation. At the time of the fall in oil prices, the government realizes its dependence vis-à-vis foreign workers and attempts to limit inflows of migrants on its territory, but failed mainly because of illegal migration networks.

Libya under Kaddafi also continues to attract substantial immigration of foreign workers from neighbouring Arab countries, but also sub-Saharan Africa. The different categories of immigrants are regularly hit by waves of expulsion, often linked to the current political situation: in 1985, Libya Egyptian prohibits work on its soil in response to a similar measure taken by Egypt to Libyans; Tunisian workers are expelled - which causes a break in diplomatic relations with Tunisia - as well as Malians, Mauritanians, Syrians and Nigerians, officially because of a desire for self-sufficiency. The role of immigrants is nevertheless essential, particularly in the private sector after the resurgence of it. In the 1980s, foreigners make up more than half of the workforce in Libya.

On 26 March 1987, Kaddafi advocated to make a more flexible interpretation of the economic doctrine Jamahiriya. If the wage was still officially abolished, workforce could be hired in sectors reduced to inactivity by the expulsion of foreign workers a few years earlier. If the return to some economic liberalization, particularly in commercial, improves the image of

the regime, difficulties continued to accumulate in the 1990s with the increase of food prices and the tensions between Kaddafi's rule and private sector. During the Gulf War, oil revenues are growing up but from 1992, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is subject to a new economic embargo, also affecting the oil, this time because of its role in the bombing of Lockerbie. The sanctions were lifted by the security council of United Nations in 1999, after the extradition of Libyan officials responsible for the attack. After the end of the embargo which cost 28 billion$, Libya reinserted into international trade with a high oil price and its wealth of reserves, which allowed Libyan economy to grow very quickly. Excepted in 2009 due to the crisis, Libya experienced high growth. The country had a 5% growth in 2003 and 2007, in 2010 growth exceeded 10% and GDP per person increased by 8.5%.

2.3.3 Power source

Aristocratic = monarchy (1951-1969)

Military = junta (1969- 1979)

Democratic = Direct (1973 – 2011)

Despotism a single entity rules with absolute power

Oligarchy (aristocratic) group autocracy an individual (1979 – 2011)

Aristocracy ➔ Statocracy ➔ Democracy

Democracy ➔Oligarchy ➔Autocracy

Before Kaddafi, Libya was a monarchy which supposes an aristocratic way to lead. In 1969, thanks to a coup, a military junta took place at the head of the state. During some years, the country was a stratocracy which means that it was ruled directly by the military leaders known as CCR (commandment revolution committee) chaired by Kaddafi. But little by little, the Colonel who was afraid to lose his supreme power on his group of revolutionaries, eliminated most of them.

Domestically, the relationship between Kaddafi and other actors of the white revolution fester. Coups are multiplying: July 1970, a conspiracy which involved two ministers; Abdel Baccouche and Hussein Mazek, is foiled.

On August 7 the same year, two former companions of Colonel Kaddafi, the lieutenants, Adam Hawaz and Moussa Ahmad, arrested in December 1969 on charges of conspiracy, were sentenced to life in prison and 21 other officers were hit with penalties ranging from 3 to 30 years in prison.

In distress, Kaddafi then decided to relinquish power to the hands of the people by creating his own cultural revolution. He is still targeted in 1975, by officers and CCR's members who tried to overthrow him but failed. In 1977, the country officially became Socialist and Populist, Libya was at this moment considered as a democratic state. Unofficially, Kaddafi centralized power by creating the popular committees, reducing so the influence of the revolutionary committees.

A large number of free unionist officers are dismissed or executed. From the twelve officers of the board of the Revolutionary Command (CRR) who overthrew the monarchy in late 1969, they are three left; Mustapha Karroubi, Khouildi Hamidi and Abu Jaber, totally dedicated to the guide and elevated to the rank of general. Even the eternal dolphin, Abdesselam Djalloud, cannot avoid the disgrace, yet he has been so long number two of the CRR and Prime Minister from 72 to 77. He is progressively marginalized about tribal power struggle, disagreements on international politics and positioning for the succession. Since that time, the children of the guide have grown and have been instructed to key positions of the country, which sits a little more his authority and mark the Oligarchic form the state has taken.

Vilfredo Pareto had even recommended socialism as a means favourable for the creation of a new working-class élite, and he regarded the courage with which the socialist leaders face attack and persecution as a sign of their

vigor, and as the first condition requisite to the formation of a new political class. The sociological phenomena whose characteristics have been well described by Robert Michels in his chapter intituled “Democracy and the Iron Law of Oligarchy” which offers numerous vulnerable points to the scientific opponents of democracy. These phenomena would seem to prove beyond dispute that society cannot exist without dominant or political class, and that the ruling class, while its elements are subject to a frequent partial renewal, nevertheless constitutes the only factor of sufficiently durable efficacy in the history of human development. According to this view, the government, or, if the phrase be preferred, the state, cannot be anything other than the organization of a minority. It is the aim of this minority to impose upon the rest of society a “legal order”, which is the outcome of the exigencies of dominion and the exploitation of the mass of helots effected by the ruling minority, and can never be truly representative of the majority. The majority is thus permanently incapable of self government. Even when the discontent of the masses culminates in a successful attempt to deprive the bourgeoisie of power, this is after all, so Mosca contends, effected only in appearance; always and necessarily there springs from the masses a new organized minority which raises itself to the rank of governing class. Thus the majority of human beings, in a condition of eternal tutelage, are predestined by tragic necessity to submit to the dominion of a small minority, and must be content to constitute the pedestal of an oligarchy.

In the Arab world, nepotism is the rule: Bachar El Assad replaced his father, Hosni Mubarak paved the way for his son who happily took advantage of his status; Saddam Hussein and Udai left Qussai make it rain or shine in Iraq; Ben Ali was under the thumb of his wife "the regent of Carthage" ... A diplomatic cable published by WikiLeaks describes the pervasiveness of the family of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi, in key sectors of the economy. What do we know about the family of the Libyan tyrant? And what is the exact role played by each of his offspring?

Muammar Kaddafi had 9 children (one adopted daughter) from two different weddings: Fatiha Al Nourri (whom he divorced in 1970) gave him an only

son, Mohamed, who became president of the Libyan telecommunications organization, the Olympic Committee, the automobile Club and the Coca Cola franchise in Libya. With his second wife, Safia El Farkach Barrasi, he first had Seif Al Islam, very involved in politics of his country and designated as the successor of his father. He controls several major companies and holdings, such as the National Oil Company via the holding Oilinvest, and LAFICO (Lybian Arab Foreign Investment Company). He also runs the Kadhafi Foundation for the development project (FKD) founded in 1997 and has built an impressive network of connections in Europe in order to restore the prestige of the family. Seif Al Islam's younger brother, named Saadi (b. 1973), is a passionate of football. He is vice-president of the Libyan Football Federation, president of the largest club in the country and a shareholder in Juventus. As the country's development also involves real estate, it's Saadi who managed this area. Saadi had a career in the army where he led an elite unit; he was also the official importer of the Adidas brand in Lybia. The third from the second marriage is Khamis; formed in Russia, he is the head of an elite unit responsible for the safety of his father. It is also to him and his militia that are entrusted the difficult missions abroad. To "make a living" he also serves as an intermediary in the purchase of weapons. Mu'tasim Billah aka Hannibal is an army colonel, member of the National Security Council and head of the National Shipping Company which carries much of the Libyan oil. Since the lifting of UN economic sanctions, small businesses, including apparel, has shown some strength. Many new shops have sprung up in the country and, according to the diplomatic cable; it is the second wife of Kaddafi, Safia, and their daughter Aisha who control it. Aisha, graduated in law from the University of Paris is also director of the charity association Waatassimou. The last two children were the guide Seif Al arab, officer graduated from the Technische Universitat Munchen, who was killed in an air raid the night of 30 May 2011 and his adopted daughter Hannah. This one was killed at the age of 2 years during Operation "Eldorado Canyon" led by the U.S. in retaliation for the bombing of Berlin. We have very little information about these last two. Like all tyrants, Kaddafi showed nepotism by placing members of his family to the most important positions

of regime. Alike Ben Ali and Mubarak, he did not hesitate to give his family many advantages, and, to prevent his sons having too much influence over him, he played on their rivalry to lose none of his power. But all indications are that the escapades of his offspring have fuelled popular discontent and accelerated the process of revolt.

Conclusion

First, we can say from a survey about the impact of political leader's profession and education on reforms (Dreher, Lamla, Lein, Somogyi 2008) that Kaddafi's educational background mattered for the implementation of market reforms. Thirsty of equality and justice, he whose family worked hard and hopeless recognition took important measures to distribute wealth in the country. Then, it seems obvious to recognize that even if some of his reforms were quite interesting, their implementation was too radical and as in politics Kaddafi personalized too much his idea. The most interesting thing to emphasize is that Colonel Kaddafi through his long term at the head of the state changed completely the country and himself in the same time. He modified the political structure from a federal state as a monarchy to a unitary state governed first as a stratocracy represented by the military leaders and it finally resulted in an autocracy. Concerning economic field, he gave a new image of the country through many reforms which contributed to increase massively the financial means and the social situation of most of the Libyan. But in politics as in economy, he went too far in his decisions and abused of his power, the next part of this chapter will explain why and how by depicting his personality.

2.4 Aesthetic leadership

From a philosophical point of view, Aesthetics may be defined narrowly as the theory of beauty, or more broadly as that together with the philosophy of art. The aesthetic concept which came to be more appreciated in first time was associated with this, namely sublimate, which Edmund Burke theorized about in his "A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful. "Sublime" and "beautiful" are only two amongst the many terms which may be used to describe our aesthetic experiences. Another scientist, Frank Sibley wrote a notable series of articles, starting in 1959, defending a view of aesthetic concepts as a whole. He said that they were not rule or condition-governed, but required a heightened form of perception, which one might call taste, sensitivity, or judgment. Philosopher Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten is considered the father of aesthetics. Along with Vico (1744, reprinted in 1948), he contended that knowledge was as much about feelings as it was cognition (Baumgarte, 1750). Aesthetic knowledge involves sensuous perception in and through the body (Merleau-Ponty, 1962) and is inseparable from our direct experience of being in the world (Dewey, 1958). Aesthetic knowledge is similarly drawn from experience, guides action and is difficult to codify.

It has been argued that aesthetics is related to the emerged knowledge from the sensory experiences, and facilitates the understanding of the effects of thoughts and emotions to our cognitive positioning (Taylor & Hansen 2005). On this account, we believe that aesthetic perspective can enable us to comprehend how we do reasoning. Consequently, we believe that an aesthetic approach in leadership is essential to tackle the sensory reactions of followers and the impact of them on their responses. Aesthetics can also be interpreted as a knowledge that is derived from our emotions and thoughts as a reflection of the sensory perceptions that we experience. This aesthetic knowledge is presumed to be made up of „...language skills, listening, gazing, and treating emotion and feelings..." (Hansen, Ropo &Sauer 2007, p. 533).

Accordingly, we agree that leaders‟ aesthetic approaches generate the possibility to create more artful interactions with their followers, and foster more artful, beautiful outcomes (Daudi 2009). The art of leadership stipulates leaders to impress their followers by concentrating more on senses rather than normative aspects (Springborg 2010). From this perspective, we can say that leadership concentrates on creating beauty.

In magazine Vogue published in 2011, Cesare Cunaccia emphasized the aesthetics of dictators by describing a special imagery and representation. “Without having to recall the bombastic Cyclopean architecture devised by Speer and Piacentini respectively for Hitler and Mussolini or the profusion of symbols between modernist Gotham City and the neo-rococo gilding of the Stalin era in the USSR, we want to deal with dress codes. Horror vacui seems to unite the Valhalla of all time dictators, the same can be said for those that have marked the history of the twentieth century and the third millennium. Strange accessories and outfits with improbable decorations, dozens of them, dripping off the chest, smeared with dazzling enamels and stones, bizarre fur collars that not even the Russian Tsars in Siberia would wear, leopard skin fez that are a bit Lothar and a bit Mandrake and elaborate heraldic inspired collars with orders of mysterious significance.

A theatrical and fantastical hotch potch, reinterpreted around memories of the uber-kitsch, for example the libyan leader wearing a consul's tunic complete with velvet coat edged with Ermine and embroidered with gold thread. The histrionic Bokassa even had a crazy eagle shaped throne made, a mix of Nazi-Afro-Napoleonic influences that was completely absurd and almost unthinkable at the threshold of 2000. The Iraqi Saddam Hussein lived in a crazy building with an adjoining private zoo and clearly loved his astrakhan for hats and borders.

From Ugandan Idi Amin Dada there is so much to talk about from his madness to his rampant cruelty. An example of madness for madness's sake, the apotheosis also in terms of dress, of a hypertrophic disturbed

personality, pursuing a Nibelungen destiny towards that which for them, the dictators, was a horizon of glory, and what instead revealed itself to be pure mental deviation, an exaggeration and ridiculous self-importance more frequently seen in an operetta become a terrible farce with gloomy and tragic implications. Dressed to kill but also and especially, dressed to impress."

As his Ugandan model, the guide of the revolution eventually swap his lieutenant uniform against more impressive accoutrements: Colonel Kaddafi's appearances that remain unforgettable are those with the patterned djellaba with opulent colour schemes, in bunting, the traditional garb of North Africa, in Barracan, the Libyan cloak of brown wool, or in a white suit and dark glasses: in Saharan or dressed in a khaki gandoura (Bedouins clothes), wearing a fur hat as the Russian or a cap covering his curly hair. Sometimes he wore a military uniform bedecked with gold, his breast adorned with medals, like the dictator Trujillo described by Mario Vargas Liosa in The Feast of the Goat, "the Generalissimo was in uniform: long white tunic, with Basque , gold button trim and large golden fringe epaulets falling on the breastplate, where hung a colorful array of medals and decorations. "He admired Hitler, not for his ideas, but his way of wearing the uniform and chairing the parades. To attract African Kaddafi is also bedecked colourful tunics, huge door pin representing the African continent, and imrime on his shirts or tunics the map of Africa or the portraits of the great African leaders like Nasser, Patrice Lubumba, or Nelson Mandela. The man had a certain art of staging: during a trip to Senegal in 1985, he was received with his wife, five of his children and a suite of 250 persons, by Abdou Diouf amid cheers of a population curious about meeting this strange character.

Kaddafi who was described as a handsome man when he took power did not want to lose his charisma.

The colonel did not hesitate like Silvio Berlusconi to seek cosmetic surgery. According to the revelations of wikileaks, man often used botox to erase wrinkles. He even underwent a capillary transplantation. In an interview,

Liacyr Ribeiro, president of the Brazilian society of plastic surgery told that Colonel Kaddafi "has required imperceptible intervention". He said he was in power for many years and he did not want that young people see him as an old man. This demonstrates the willingness of the guide to please even at a certain age. But the aesthetic in the leadership of the Libyan leader is not just only about the cult of beauty or a will to surprise. One might qualify his extravagance and his reforms from an aesthetic point of view. His willingness to stand out from other leaders by staying in her Bedouin tent when going abroad or having women dressed in military trails as bodygards is also part of the leader's aesthetics. His economic reforms such as state socialism, wealth redistribution and anti-colonialism also prove a will to wake up sensory perceptions of his followers.

2.5 Authentic and embodied leadership

Authentic leaders are those that are true to themselves. They do not pretend to be leaders just because they are in leadership positions. In that sense, I believe that people have the ability to detect the difference between real and fake. It seems implausible that followers will judge whether or not leaders are "being themselves" from any objective criteria, yet people are incredibly adept at sensing when someone is being fake, when that individual is projecting is not "the real me". Additionally, we are all seeking the truth, we chose to believe in things or people that we perceive as real.

As the Sufi Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi (1207:1273) stated; „Appear as you are or be as you appear", we also believe that one"s self presentation should not be in contradiction with the inner self. In the literature, the embodiment and enactment of leaders" messages are emphasized as the fundamental aspects that affect the followers" perceptions of leaders (Ladkin & Taylor 2009). Gardner (1996) claims that leaders" ability in inspiring and convincing people lies in the leaders" embodiment of their messages. From this

perspective, it is reasonable to conceive the consistency between the actions and statements of a leader as the key fundamental factor for embodiment. Leaders are expected to act in compliance with their statements; otherwise it cannot be possible for people to follow them.

The lack of embodiment in leaders can raise these questions among followers: Why should I do this, if my leader is not doing ?

Different situations may stipulate certain feelings and emotions, thus in certain occasions leaders may feel a variety of emotions which may even contradict the attempts of showing the expected responses. The hidden emotions of leaders, which are preferred not to be displayed, can also be realized by their followers, and thus can damage the perception of the authenticity of the leader (Ladkin & Taylor 2009). Accordingly, in self-explosure, Ladkin and Taylor (2009) suggest that leaders‟ self assessment of their true feelings and emotions is very important in choosing the ways of expressing themselves.

Taking a definition of Eilam and Shamir (2005) I attempt to demonstrate the authenticity of Kaddafi through many examples of his life:

Authentic leaders do not fake their leadership. They do not pretend to be leaders just because they are in leadership position, for instance as a result of an appointment to a management position. Nor do they work on developing an image or persona of a leader. Performing a leadership function and related activities are self expressive acts for authentic leaders. It is part of what they feel to be their ‘true’ or ‘real’ self. In other words, when enacting the leadership role, authentic leaders are being themselves. Leadership is so authentic that I do not think can be learned, it is certainly possible to acquire certain skills but I truly believe that leadership is innate. Mouftah Ali a classmate of Kaddafi shows a child already, the guide had a kind of innate authority that made it a natural leader. Leadership can be detected very early; it is not uncommon to see teams of young leaders who are logically named captain for their abilities to manage the group.

Relatedly, authentic leaders do not take on a leadership role or engage in leadership activities for status, honour or other personal rewards. Rather, they lead from a conviction. They have a value based cause or a mission they want to promote, and they engage in leadership in order to promote this cause or mission. The first two defining characteristics mean that leadership is a eudemonic activity for authentic leaders. The term eudemonia originates from Aristotle and means being true to one's true self (daimon). They are fully engaged both in their own self actualization and in using their virtues, talents and skills in the service of the greater good (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Seligman, 2002; Waterman, 1993). This type of leaders is interested not only in being all that they can be but also in making a difference. Kaddafi, we will see it in detail later, had a lot of ambition, he defended a cause when he took power in 1969. He felt invested himself of a mission against imperialism he defended during all his years in power. His goal was to overthrow the first pro-western monarchy. We understand here that his position as leader had only one goal at the time, the establishment of his convictions.

Authentic leaders are originals, not copies. This does not mean that they are necessarily unique or very different from each other in their personality traits. Furthermore, their values, convictions, cause or mission may be similar in content to those of other leaders and followers. However, the process through which they have arrived at these convictions and causes is not a process of imitation. Rather, they have internalized them on the basis of their own personal experiences. They hold their values to be true not because these values are socially or politically appropriate, but because they have experienced them to be true. They have made these values and conviction highly personal through their lived experiences, experienced emotions, and an active process of reflection on these experiences and emotions. We believe this is what is meant by authenticity as the "owning" of one's personal experiences (Harter, 2002; Luthans & Avolio, 2003).

Bennis wrote that Leadership without perspective and point of view isn't leadership and of course it must be your own perspective, your own point of view. You cannot borrow a point of view any more than you can borrow someone else's eyes. It must be authentic, and if it is, it will be original, because you are original (Bennis, 1999).

His dream of Pan-Africanism comes from a man, the Egyptian Rais Nasser. Kaddafi was fascinated by the example of Colonel Nasser he long meditated during his studies at the military academy. Major ideological options chosen between 1961 and 1969 were directly taken from the reflections of Colonel Nasser. But after a few years in power, Kaddafi shaped his own ideology by creating the third universal theory. This set of political thoughts came from his own experiences as a Bedouin, as a military but especially as a Libyan. When we talk about personalization of emotions, We Could Say That the Second World War and resource exploitation by the Western countries in Libya Had a Direct Impact on Qaddafi's decisions to remove the foreign military and nationalize industries. No head of state around the world could be qualified as original as Kaddafi was, everything he did and he said was unique but in the same way it was more and more perceived as a provocation and as a proof of foolishness.

Authentic leaders are leaders whose actions are based on their values and convictions. What they say is consistent with what they believe, and their actions are consistent with both their talk and their beliefs. Because they act in accordance to their values and beliefs rather than to please an audience, gain popularity or advance some personal or narrow political interest, authentic leaders can be characterized as having a high level of integrity. Because their talk and actions are consistent with their beliefs and values, they can also be characterized as being highly transparent (see Gardner, Avolio, Luthans, May, & Walumbwa, 2005 in this issue).

Regarding the discussions in the literature, we agree that authentic leaders are not enacting leadership roles to be praised, but on the contrary, they lead in compliance with their beliefs, values and missions, which also

prevent them from being considered as fake. Moreover, it can be argued that authentic leaders are not acting to be perceived as if they were doing the right thing, but acting according to what they perceive to be the right thing. Thus, it is possible to say they reflect their own thoughts and opinions in their actions and expressions. Consequently, the followers‟ realization of the authenticity of their leaders may stipulate followers to trust their leader.

When he spoke Libyan dialect at the rostrum of United Nations in New-York in 2009, when he received his foreign counterparts in typical attire or when he stayed in his Bedouin tent in Paris in 2007, Kaddafi embodied the aesthetic and authenticity and made his people following him. When funding terrorist organizations worldwide, he also believes doing well. He did what he wanted and not what he had to, this has a significance to understand how good person turn bad after reaching a top position. He had his own opinion about everything and did not change his mind as for example about the status of women or Islam in his country. He has also undertaken important reforms consistently with both his talk and his beliefs, like for example the construction of a river to irrigate the desert. It is important to argue the fact that authenticity, aesthetic and charisma can also hide destructive actions. Even the speeches of the guide and his outspokenness surprised there is a will to stand out. It is precisely this independence of mind which explains the success of Kaddafi in countries where people are accustomed to the jargon and stereotypes of their leaders, and so appreciate his originality. The audacity of the leader appeals to people, he is sarcastic and irreverent, he shows some impudence (provoke United States in New York) and says what he really thinks. His remarks have some good truths to tell, but issued by a terrorist and draconian dictator, these truths ring hollow. However, depicting his behaviour we can agree that the Libyan guide was an authentic leader.

2.7 Tyrannical leadership

This part can be seen as the outcome of Kaddafi's leadership that we can easily qualify as Tyrannical. Comparing his methods with others well known dictators as Hitler, Stalin or more recently Hussein, it gives us an overview of such a powerful and capricious leadership style.

Tyrants, as the Greek philosopher Plato defined them in The Republic, are rulers who look to their own advantage rather than the well-being of their subjects and in the process are apt to employ extreme and cruel tactics.

He who calls himself "the Guide" fits well in any case with the portrait of the tyrant as portrayed by Roger-Pol Droit: "the tyrant, if we dare say, has no edge. His whims become laws, his fads become national projects, and his private vices are public sites ... for proof, read Plato and Aristotle. It will be rendered out of date. The tyrant as they describe, unawares the existence of common goods and public affairs. He confuses the public treasury with his own assets, budgets of the state with his personal accounts. He kills and captures, does not distinguish between his desires and the right, puts the courts in his boot, enlists the justice to satisfy his vengeance and to guarantee his impunity ..."

Often such persons make grandiose claims for themselves and their missions. In antiquity, as the Greek historian Herodotus noted, the Persian Kings Cyrus and Xerxes saw themselves as having godlike qualities. In contemporary times, both Stalin and Hitler projected themselves as creators of wholly new social orders. Hitler, for example, after the surrender of Czechoslovakia in 1939, predicted that he would be known as "the greatest German in history." His escapes from attempts on his life were interpreted as signs of his chosen role. He claimed to have a superior knowledge of history, music, and practically every field of endeavour. Shortly before his suicide, he exclaimed, "What an artist dies in me!" Former Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein, too, in the various monuments he built in Iraq has

suggested that he was the successor of Hammurabi, the great lawmaker; Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon; Sargon the Great, as well as Ali, a companion of the Prophet Muhammad, revered by the Shiite sect as its founder. Kaddafi, after he took power, has advanced himself from lieutenant to colonel. Then he became known as “the guide” and when he changed the name of the country became “the guide of the great Libyan Revolution and Arab”. He even proclaimed himself Imam as he preached in mosques and wanted to be called “king of the kings of Africa”.

2.7.1 Elimination

Tyrants assert to possess not only godlike powers but also the ability to do whatever it takes to achieve and consolidate their position. Extensive, overlapping spy networks are constructed to control the populations over which they seek dominance. Alliances are formed and changed as new opportunities arise. Potential rivals are eliminated from their ruling circle.

These plans are evident in the actions of several contemporary tyrants. As Stalin neared his pinnacle of power, for example, he shifted alliances to eliminate would-be competitors. First he was nominally allied with the Communist Party leaders on the left. He then eliminated those on the left by joining with those on the right. With the left destroyed, he turned on the right, thereby effectively eliminating his competition. By 1929 he had few remaining rivals. Eventually, all of his major competitors were murdered.

After Hitler had gained office, he, too, rid himself of all possible competitors. During the “Night of the Long Knives” in 1934, he oversaw the killing of hundreds of associates and followers. Murdered on his orders were SA (sturmabteilung, stormtrooper) leader Ernst Rohm, General von Schleicher, Hitler's predecessor as chancellor, and Gregor Strasser, who had broken with Hitler at the end of 1932. As for former leader Hussein, the moment he had secured the presidency in Iraq, he overtly marked for elimination, on trumped-up charges at a party conference, all potential competitors. Later, military heroes who might challenge his pre-eminence as a military

strategist were fired or killed. In 1982, for example, he executed approximately three hundred high-ranking officers—along with a small number of party officials

After they have attained supreme power, tyrants typically employ all the resources at their disposal to cover up any embarrassments from their past. In antiquity, the Roman Emperor Maximus put to death many who had supported him in his climb to power because they knew of his barbarian origin. Stalin eradicated almost everyone who had known him during his days in Georgia. He ordered the elimination from written histories and documents of the names of top party officials who had run afoul of him. Hitler went so far as to order the destruction in 1930 of Dollersheim, the small town in Austria where his father, Alois, had been born. No father had been named on Alois's birth certificate, making Alois an illegitimate offspring.

Kaddafi foiled a series of attempted coups from the army, the first held in December 1969. After the putsch internal RCC (revolutionary command council) in August 1975, political purges intensified. Executions, sometimes massive, of real or supposed conspirators were held with regularity. Kaddafi sets up at the end of 1977, the Revolutionary Committees, which was responsible for implementing a regime of terror, multiplying acts of repression and violence, like book burnings in the universities, the public hanging of Islamic teachers and the physical elimination of opponents on Libyan soil and abroad. Many real or potential opponents were arrested, tortured or "disappeared" altogether. Among the exiles, there were over thirty opponents murdered by assassins sent by the Libyan regime in five years; many of them were member Kaddafi's group who took power in 1969. Suffering from delusions of persecution, the guide was suspicious of all, he opted for a female guard for fear of male betrayal, and he eliminated one by one his opponents and did not hesitate to manipulate his own sons and to get some against another to prevent them taking his place before the hour.

2.7.2 Absence of emotional ties

Not everyone, of course, is psychologically inclined to kill, deceive, and cheat to secure power. Tyrants' ability to easily do whatever they see as necessary in their reach for absolute power is in part a reflection of a particular character structure. The cultural values they inherit are to be used to gain power, not to curtail any of their activities. Their ties to other people are fragile, subject to being cut as tyrants see political necessity.

Stalin's ability to outmanoeuvre the other old Bolsheviks in the mid-1920s was due, in part, to his lack of a commitment to any one idea of what communism might achieve. Lacking genuine ideological grounding, he could tack to the right or the left as it met his needs. Lacking genuine emotional ties to others, he could destroy even close associates in his pursuit. His first targets in the great purges of the 1930s—Nikolai Bukharin, Sergei Kirov, Serge Ordzhonikidze—were “friends” who had joined his family on picnics and cruises. In November 1985, Kaddafi executed, or commanded the execution of his own brother in law Ishkal Hassan, commander of the military region of Sirte, suspected, perhaps wrongly, to plot against with the assistance of Western countries. He even killed his second wife’s former husband to hang out with her.

Hitler's personal relationships, too, were shallow. Needing people around him, he could always command an audience. However, he had no real friends. Although Albert Speer, Hitler's minister of armaments, spent “endless time” with the Fuhrer, Speer testified that Hitler never really opened up to him. In the autumn of 1943 Hitler remarked to Speer, “One of these days I'll have only two friends left, Fraulein Braun and my dog” (Speer 1970).

Somewhat paradoxically, the character structure that gives would-be tyrants many advantages in the struggle for power can later become a source of personal and political vulnerabilities. Their grandiosity and their

self-idealization mask an underlying sense of inferiority. Lacking genuine self-confidence, they are sensitive to competition, cannot tolerate criticism, and have difficulties in dealing with political reversals.

As for Stalin, when he heard of anyone opposing him or saying negative things about him, he would undergo a psychological transformation. According to his daughter Svetlana, Stalin would feel completely betrayed and count that individual as his enemy, no matter how long or deep his relationship with that person might have been. Stalin also was jealous of any friendship that might develop among members of his entourage or in the politburo. To avoid such friendships, he would either provoke a quarrel or separate the individuals involved through transfers to new postings.

Hitler, too, found any sort of criticism, competition, or defeat intolerable. As was Stalin, Hitler was threatened by superior people. Except for Speer, Hitler's inner circle was composed mostly of people to whom he could feel superior. When he suffered military reversals in Moscow, in his offensive in the Caucuses, or at Stalingrad, Hitler placed the blame on his generals. During the final days of the war Hitler was enraged that the Luftwaffe (air force) could not operate because of weather factors. He blamed the setbacks on the western front on treachery by military commanders.

In the 1980 and 1990, Kaddafi's regime hardens again. A failed coup results in 1984, by the imprisonment of thousands of people. The repression is bloody and for several weeks, public executions are televised Al jamahiriya Libyan TV, as a warning. Kaddafi tolerated no criticism and to explain his failures, he overwhelmed his people of all evil, even to say that his revolution would have been better if his subjects were less ignorant.

When a leader with near-absolute power has these three qualities—grandiosity, ruthlessness, and insecurity—he or she can become dangerous

to others. Massive cruelties that serve no obvious political end are apt to ensue. In antiquity, Antonius Caracalla, the son of the Roman Emperor Severus, destroyed Alexandria and executed so many people in Rome that its population was significantly reduced. Commodus, the son and heir of the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius, allowed his soldiers to plunder the populace without restraint. On the contemporary scene, Stalin caused the deaths of millions of Soviet citizens—whether through the agricultural collectivization drive in the late 1920s or the purges of party and military leadership in the 1930s. Hitler's mass exterminations included 100,000 Germans who had been deemed “unworthy,” 6 million Jews, and 9 or 10 million others who were gassed or shot or beaten to death or died through starvation or overwork. Saddam Hussein in 1987 and 1988 killed thousands of Kurds with chemical weapons. They were mainly non-combatant civilians who included women and children. In June 1996, in two days, more than a thousand prisoners were killed in Abu Salim prison by regime forces, this massacre has been recognized by Muammar Gaddafi as the Lockerbie bombing in 1988 and theft UTA 772 in 1989.

2.7.3 New enemies

By engaging in these cruelties, tyrants create new enemies for themselves, heightening the need for future defensive actions. Saddam Hussein was quite explicit about this dynamic. Shortly after assuming the presidency he told a guest that he was sure many people were plotting to kill him, noting that he had assumed power with his own plots against his predecessors.

The acquisition of near-absolute power not only enables tyrants to put into play their more malevolent promptings, but also tempts them to strive for the grandiose fantasies of which they had heretofore only dreamed. Constrained in their rise to power by the need to pay homage to conventional values and attend to the interests and needs of others, tyrants find that the consolidation of their position gives them more freedom to act

as they please. Indeed, their early successes are apt to reinforce their feeling of omnipotence, convincing them that they no longer need to operate with care.

This fact is clear in Hitler's operations. By the late 1930s Hitler controlled every aspect of German life, and his subsequent conquests of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, France, Denmark, Norway, and Belgium seemed to offer the proof that in Europe he could create the empire of his imagination. However, Hitler dreamed of even greater conquests. After the quick victory over France, Hitler's self-confidence swelled. In February 1941 he ordered preparations for the conquest of India, with his armies going through Russia and Iran and North Africa. In the summer of 1942 he ordered the invasion of the Soviet Union, a three-pronged drive toward Leningrad, Moscow, and Stalingrad, as well as a move through the Caucasus to secure oil wells to the south. In these latter operations, he had gone too far. The decision to divide his troops on the southern front and the Russian winter contributed to the encirclement and surrender of German troops at Stalingrad. When the United States joined the British and the Soviet Union, Hitler's fate was all but sealed.

In the 1980s, reports, already difficult, between Libya and United States are deteriorating more and more, the Reagan administration is showing less and less tolerant with Kaddafi’s activism in Africa. U.S. ships in the early 1980s; regularly ply the Gulf of Sirte decreed "Libyan inland sea" by Kaddafi: in August 1981, the U.S. manoeuvres lead to an incident in which two Libyan fighter planes were destroyed in flight. In 1982, the United States declaring a boycott of Libya, accused of supporting international terrorism. The tension reached its peak during the year 1986: January 19, ships of the U.S. Navy re-enter the Gulf of Sirte, amid the shelling and missile. Their response runs five stars and a destroyed air defence posts. April 15, 1986, Ronald Reagan ordered a bombing raid (Operation El Dorado Canyon)

against Tripoli and Benghazi in order to kill the Libyan leader. Forty-five soldiers and officials were killed and five civilians.

2.7.4 Capricious behaviour

Reversals are likely to lead to the increasingly capricious behaviour of tyrants, further contributing to a diminution of their capacity for rational decision making. Stalin would issue orders at any time of day or night; agendas switched in accord with his whims. During Stalin's latter years in office, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev would later recall, “the government virtually ceased to function” for months at a time.

Hitler showed similar behaviour during the waning days of World War II. He delivered endless monologues at the dinner table on subjects, such as his early days in Vienna, permitting no discussion of current events and the military situation. Erratic behaviour would alternate with a frenzied dedication to detail; fear of failure would be followed by convictions that he would win the day. Even a month before his suicide, Hitler remained firmly convinced of his destiny, giving the impression that he was oblivious to events around him. At one point he even ordered the German politician Heinrich Himmler to kill all prisoners of war, an order that Himmler did not obey.

Early in their careers tyrants often purchase some relief from inner turmoil and ambiguity by dividing the world into friends and enemies, good and evil—projecting a rejected side of the self onto an exterior foe. For Stalin the progress and the good of the people were identified with the Communist Party, of which he became the final authority. Evil was laid at the door of the external enemy—the capitalist classes, the states they controlled, and the agents they had in his own Soviet camp. However, Stalin ended up making poor judgments about whom he might trust and whom he should suspect.

Hitler's failures as a painter, he hinted, could be attributed to what he saw as the Jewish control of the art world. As Hitler faced the demolition of his dreams of the Third Reich, his ability to separate the good Aryan Germans

from the bad Jews and other so-called inferior peoples collapsed. The entire German nation was insufficiently loyal. In his final days, it is said that he concluded, “Germany is not worthy of me; let her perish!” Indeed, the sacrifices he demanded from the German people as the war ended represented his vengeance against them for failing him.

When his son Hannibal was imprisoned in Switzerland in 2008 for abuse on his employees, Kaddafi in retaliation decided to arrest Max Goldi, Director of the ABB group in Tripoli and another Tunisian-Swiss officer in a construction company. At the same time, Libya prohibited the issuance of visas to Swiss citizens, announced the massive withdrawal of Libyan assets in Swiss banks and stopped oil deliveries, and then cancelled the connections made by the company Swissair. What did Kaddafi want? He claimed simply excuses and sanctions against the Swiss officers who arrested his son and his wife. After a long imbroglio and after having received the visit of President of the Swiss Confederation, Hans Rudolf Merz, who came to give him "the apology of Switzerland concerning the unjust arrest", the guide who asked the UN to dismantle Switzerland, eventually relented. On June 10, Max Goldi is released in exchange for a ransom of 1.5 million Swiss francs. This episode demonstrates the incredible folly of Muammar Kaddafi, ready to declare the war to a country as peaceful as Switzerland to avenge the insult done to his son who was wrong. No wonder, then, that the tyrant of Tripoli put Libya in fire and blood to avenge the insult that the insurgents had inflicted?

In fact the extravagances of the guide were often calculated; it was a theatrical process of propaganda he mastered well. But like Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, Saddam was a sociopath, a manipulator, coupled with a narcissistic pervert megalomaniac paranoid: centred on himself, with an oversized ego, he had no respect for others because for him, the other did not exist. He had the illusion of being a genius, a monopoly of truth: he lived in a bubble, disconnected from reality ... so that when the young rebel of his country, he found that they "take hallucinogenic pills" and believed his own lies, when the insurgents seized the city, he refused the position, minimized

events and claimed "that all is well in the brave new world"! To protect himself, Kaddafi was hiding behind anger or derision, disguised him willing to hide his ego and his inner wrap, and repeated his public speeches as if it was to convince him. His sentences short and choppy, disjointed speeches, especially in times of crisis, show that he had difficulty controlling his ideas and he suffered from what psychiatrists call "thought disorder»... In the words of Colonel, there was only his ego that counted. And if he claimed he was not president but he was “the guide of the revolution”, it was because he refused any hierarchy. He saw himself as god and in that, yes he was crazy!

Tyranny, as this analysis suggests, is the noxious result of the compounding of a malignant narcissistic personality structure and absolute power. To avoid such an outcome, it is best to prevent a person with the proclivities noted here from ever coming to power. However, after tyrants have attained high position, their threat to the rest of the world outside of their immediate domain will depend on their command over resources as well as the ability of others to mobilize against the tyrants. Compromises with tyrants will not work; compromises will only whet their appetite for acting out their grandiose fantasies. Confrontations that humiliate or threaten tyrants with a complete loss of position, however, are apt to result in destructive responses that harm all parties involved. Short of a final effort to bring down tyrants, the establishment of clear and firm boundaries around them may provide a check on their most extravagant actions.

U.S. containment doctrines since World War II are instructive along these lines. Stalin was kept from acting on his most extreme expansionistic tendencies. Libyan leader Muammar Kaddafi has been relatively quiet since the U.S. bombing of his base in the mid-1980s. One wonders what would have happened in 1980 if U.S. Ambassador April Glaspie had made it clear to Saddam Hussein, when he told her of his contemplated attack on Kuwait, that any such action would bring about a tough U.S. response.

Chapter 4 : Intercultural Communication

3.1 Introduction

A leader must be able to communicate effectively. When CEOs and other executives in all industries and countries are asked to list the most important skills a manager must possess, the answer consistently includes good communication skills. Leaders spend most of their day engaged in communication; in fact, older studies of how much time leaders spend on various activities show that communication occupies 70 to 90 percent of their time every day (Mintzberg, 1973; Eccles & Nohria, 1991).

“Researchers seldom agree completely on how best to define leadership, but most would agree that leaders are individuals who guide, direct, motivate, or inspire others. They are the men and women who influence others in an organization or in a community. They command others’ attention. They persuade others to follow them or pursue goals they define. They control situations. They improve the performance of groups and organizations. They get results. These individuals may not be presidents of countries or the CEOs of companies, but they could be. They could also be employees who step forward to mentor less experienced or younger employees, managers who direct successful project teams or vice presidents who lead divisions and motivate their staff to achieve company goals (D.J. Barrett, 2006).

Through effective communication, leaders lead. Good communication skills enable, foster, and create the understanding and trust necessary to encourage others to follow a leader. Without effective communication, a manager accomplishes little. Without effective communication, a manager is not an effective leader.

In fact, being able to communicate effectively is what allows a person to move into a leadership position. An early Harvard Business School study on what it takes to achieve success and be promoted in an organization says that the individual who gets ahead in business is the person who “is able to

communicate, to make sound decisions, and to get things done with and through people" (Bowman, Jones, Peterson, Gronouski, & Mahoney, 1964).

Communication is only one part, indeed I truly think that a great leader nowadays, has to cope with an intercultural context, mainly when you are at the head of a state. In this chapter I emphasize a particular definition of communication which underlines the important link between culture and communication.

3.2 Cultural identity

Here, my aim is to highlight the critical importance of cultural patterns in shaping the preferred ways to think, feel and act in a variety of situations. An equally interesting and important question in the development of intercultural communication competence concerns how people come to identify themselves as belonging to a particular cultural group. For example, how and when does a child begin to think of herself as a Latina, Japanese or American? When do adults who are born into one culture and living in another begin to think of their cultural identity as embracing parts of both their original culture and the later culture? Similarly, how are some people defined as "not members" of our cultural group? How and why do groups of people from one culture develop negative attitudes and actions toward other cultural groups? Can't we all, as Rodney king so poignantly asked, just get along? (M.W. Lustig & J. Koester, 2006)

"Culture somehow implies that rituals, climate values and behaviour tie together into a coherent whole; this patterning or integration is the essence of what we mean by culture" (Weich, 1995)

I will discuss the Arab culture focusing on certain themes related to the case study. Based on these themes it is possible to give a typified interpretation of a specific Arab leader. Western awareness of the Arab world jumped sharply with the events in the oil business of the 1970s and the nationalization of the oil companies which were conducted by Muammar Kaddafi and others. This is why the following description of Arab culture

matches perfectly with the life of our studied leader. It is also a manner to understand the context within Kaddafi has built his power.

3.2.1 Tradition and religion

One word is paramount in understanding culture throughout the Arab world. This word is religion. Religion relates to all aspects of life among Muslims. It also has a major impact on Arab thinking. Contrary to other religious views, Islam holds that the world is totally real, or rather built up of two realities: one divide and one created (Samovar et Al, 1981). Allah the divine, created the world and everything in it for the pleasure of humankind. The created reality is available to everybody, but the divine reality is revealed only to a few. To gain access to this divine reality there are many rules to follow for a Muslim. Religion becomes part of Muslim's day life.

To show that Islam is the state religion and that "the Koran is the Social Charter of the Jamahiriya," the colonel who was a fanatical activist, adopted in 1977, the green flag of Islam, symbol of hope and renewal. He also converted into a mosque the cathedrals of Benghazi and Tripoli, has banned liquor, encouraged men to get rid of the tie (cross symbol) and promoted the establishment of the Dawa al-Islamiyya (Association for the call Islamic) responsible for spreading Islam in Africa, Asia and Europe.

But Kaddafi wanted a progressive Islam, far from the traditionalists of Sudan and Saudi Arabia. But above all he aspires to change society and to this end it is necessary to adapt Islam, the ultimate reference of the population to modernity. On behalf of "ijtihad", the sovereign right given to every Muslim to interpret the Koran, he intends to impose his own interpretation of the sacred book. The one of the Libyan religious, the "Ulemas" is too traditional in his eyes. As for the "hadiths", the reported words and deeds of the Prophet, subjects of interpretations, they must, according to Kaddafi, be disregarded. He is also very attracted by virtue umbrella of Islam. "Its only merit is that today it brings together

internationally Arab, African or Asian who otherwise would have no reason to do" he explains it in an interview with “young Africa” newspaper in 1984.

Muslim Arab world is also a male-dominated society; women are usually not part of the entertainment scene. Equality of women is a negligible value in Arab countries (Sitaram and Cogdell, 1976). Upon his arrival in power, Colonel challenges the archaic interpretations of Ulemas on women. Fiercely progressive, he was convinced that the emancipation of society depended on them. The gamble was risky. The women were absent from public places, they did not work, were rare in the streets of the capital and left wrapped in long pink haikus, only their eyes were exposed. Even the king had failed to overturn the old mentalities. Some reforms have been passed (divorce, voting rights, access to education) but the Libyans had never really wanted to apply them. Kaddafi has nevertheless continued in this direction. For him, women had to work without rejecting tradition as long as his mother did. In other words, they had to remain feminine and positions of teachers and secretaries who did not shock too much. "In the tribal system, the woman occupies a definite place and takes the necessary tasks for the community which gives her a social status and identity. Kaddafi did not advocate a complete release, or a challenge to the traditional role of women or gender distinctions. For him, it was about defending certain fundamental rights, however, with the maintenance of an image of the traditional role of housewife, “explained Moncef Djaziri. His horses will battle were polygamy, the terms of divorce, celibacy where mothers cannot raise their children. And repudiation deemed backward and yet very practiced.

Most Arab leaders want to keep their countries free of undue influences from the western world. Most of them, therefore, are very censured. Generally speaking, religion can be a way of coping with an uncertain future, and it reinforces differences in uncertainty avoidance between cultures (Hofstede, 1984). In modern times, the dominating factor in the consciousness of most middle easterners has been the impact of the West and the transformation, some say dislocation, which it has brought. Most

cultures in the Middle east are traditional and Muslim and caught in the midst of conflict and change.

There is more emotional resistance to change in the Arab type of culture (Hofstede, 1984) and problem-solving procedures follow precedent or adapt old procedures to new situations. Departure from tradition is generally presumed to be bad until proved otherwise. The Arab world is a clear example of where modernization is not the same as Westernization. American themes are not, in general good sales arguments among Arabs, unlike among Japanese, for instance. The value pattern in traditional societies also sets a limit to technology transfer possibilities (Kedia and Baghat, 1988). Arabs are usually quite nationalistic and for this reason among others, the usefulness of western (American) management and leadership thinking is doubtful in Arab culture (Bjerke and Al-Meer, 1993). We can now understand easily why during his first years at the head of the state, Kaddafi has returned U.S. and English military bases, nationalized foreign companies, confiscated foreign assets and sent home thousands of European workers (mostly Italian).

3.2.2 Social but ritualistic

In one sense, Arabs are very social and informal. For instance, titles are not a general cultural manifestation, except for royal families, ministers and high-level military officers (RCC). Arabs are generally also very generous and hospitable. On the other hand, they place great importance on manners. Arabs are very proud; they are proud of their culture, people and achievements. They expect others to pay respect to what they are and what they have done. Nothing will motivate an Arab more than giving him pride. However there is a caveat here. Middle Easterners, who can be very sensitive to the feelings of others, are themselves often sensitive to criticism, in particular in public (Harris and Moran, 1987). To summarize, Arabs have a strong sense of pride, dignity and honour and the Arab culture is quite ritualistic.

For example Muammar Kaddafi who is a practicing Muslim, made his five daily prayers, after which he showered and changed systematically his clothes in order to stand spotless before God if he was suddenly recalled. He is never separated from his Bulgarian nurse, always accompanied by his Amazons (female bodyguards) and drinks camel milk every morning. Concerning dignity and pride, we saw earlier which sanctions he has inflicted on the Swiss for having arrested his son, or we could talk about the day he refused to shake hands with Hassan II because he previously praised Ariel Sharon.

3.2.3 Loyalty and belonging

Arab culture manifests a definite class structure. Some societies may define classes based on wealth, education or similarity of occupation. Sociologists commonly adopt a concept of class limits in terms of purely no subjective factors, such as income class (upper, middle and lower) productive and non-productive classes, educated class, landowning class and working class. The Arab class is based on the family (tribe) and its background.

The traditional model of classes is meant to separate the society such that each class is expected to conform to its own societal model: a culturally approved pattern of behaviour. The Arab class structure however does not separate people as much in behaviour as in power, prestige and esteem. An Arab class signifies the cultural status of a family and, in extension, historically a tribe. An individual's status, even his or her identity, is based on this social system. Such cultural status should not be confused with the legal status, even if there may be relations.

Kaddafi wanted to change this system, him who came from a poor tribe (Kadhafa), did not want to share the education of his family who was mostly illiterate. He very quickly understood the importance of education and did not hesitate to walk the 30km separating the school from the family tent, even sleeping in the village mosque. It was at this time that he measured the miserable conditions of Bedouin and decided to continue his studies. This

past will be deprecated later in his reforms; He directly liberalized a free institution for all and under his reign illiteracy decreased from 90 to 6%!

In the Arab type of culture, people are born into extended families or clans. Children are socialized in this kind of family structure and become closely identified with family and kin. Among Arab, like the Chinese, there is a deep commitment to family honour, loyalties and responsibilities. People are motivated by security and belonging (Hofstede, 1984). There is an intrinsic satisfaction in being loved and respected (Trompenaars, 1995).

Very attached to his Bedouin origins and with a strong sense of family values, it will put the control of committees (internal control) of the members of his tribe and to the highest offices of state, his own children.

3.2.4 Power and formal informality

It fits well with what we have seen of Arab culture so far that organization pyramids (many organizations in the Arab world appear more like 'organized chaos') are very steep-steepest of all in an international comparison by Trompenaars (1995). What usually follows such steep pyramids and maybe particularly so in the Arab type of culture is that top-down communication is dominant and that authoritarianism becomes a primary value (Sitaram and Cogdell, 1976). The cultural manifestation of authoritative management style in the Middle East can be explained by the following (Harris and Moran, 1987):

-Governments in the Middle East are generally authoritative. The absolute authority is vested in the hands of the ruling class; in our example the revolutionary committees controlled by Kaddafi.

-the paternalistic family structure; Arab leader is heavily influenced by the structure of the society and by the values, norms of its people. He sees himself as a father figure. The ideal superior to an Arab is a paternalistic but benevolent autocrat. That is one of the reasons Kaddafi proclaimed

himself guide, this position has no official sanction but is very symbolic for his people.

We could compare the form of the state under Kaddafi with the interpretation of an Arab company according to Harbison and Myers; here the manager is a dominant individual who extends his personal control over all phases of the business. There is no charted plan of organization, no formalized procedure for selection and development of managerial personnel, no publicized system of wage and salary classification…Authority is associated exclusively with an individual (Harbison and Myers 1959)

As described Hofstede (1984); some potential and real consequences of such a situation are:

-Other people are a potential threat to an individual's power and can rarely be trusted

-Latent conflict between the powerful and powerless (Kaddafi's clan and people)

-the way to change the social system is by dethroning those in power (revolution of 2011)

-Large wage differentials

-low qualification of lower strata

An 'organized chaos' as stated Trompenaars is the exact term to qualify the policy of the Libyan leader. Over the years, Kaddafi had maintained knowingly instability through a series of changes in administrative structures and announcements of reforms never implemented. Constant changes made very difficult to follow any public policy. Administrative confusion was associated with precarious status and positions of responsibility. The complexity of power structures constantly reformed led to disorganization of which Kaddafi was an instrument of power, to prevent any cons-power to be. The regular changes of government become a hallmark of Kaddafi's regime, in order to prevent the emergence of any

personality to rival authority with Gaddafi and his entourage. The researcher Antoine Basbous explains domestic political strategy followed by Kaddafi by a desire to "create an institutional allowing him to lock the system and privatize for eternity Libya for his own benefit."

Concerning the communication of the guide inside his country, it is quite simple to depict; Symptom of the great personalization of power, the Libyan regime's propaganda was directed over the years to the dissemination of a cult of personality organized around Muammar Gaddafi and his thoughts by the official media, as the Libyan news agency and state television Aljamahiriya TV. Kaddafi was presented as the hero of Arab unity and the Third World against Western hegemony. The third universal theory became the official doctrine of the Libyan; The Green book was printed millions of copies and distributed in multiple languages to disseminate the ideology Jamihiri; seminars were organized to praise the book and the "genius" of its author.

By controlling the Medias, Kaddafi is ubiquitous in the official information of Libya, which left relatively little room for other personalities. Faces or names, of some senior regime officials, as Musa Kusa (responsible for external security services, then Foreign Secretary) became publicly known during the Libyan uprising of 2011, when they appear for the first time on Libyan television.

There were at every street corners propaganda posters of the guide, he was constantly shown on television or in newspapers; it was a real indoctrination of the population. That marked the difference with our countries where political leaders are elected. Kaddafi acted as God in his country, he had full recognition and was considered as the absolute master, one who gave the way forward and that guided the people. An ideology very different from ours but which in this Muslim country made sense.

3.3 Intercultural communication

Previous definitions have described the central terms communication and culture. By combining the meaning of these terms with the ideas suggested in our discussion about the degrees of difference that can occur among people from dissimilar cultures, we offer the following definition of intercultural communication: “intercultural communication occurs when large and important cultural differences create dissimilar interpretations and expectations about how to communicate competently” (M. Lustig & J. Koester, 2006).

Over the 87 different spellings for his single name which posed some difficulties, the intercultural communication of Kaddafi could be summarizing in two words: conflicts and business. Indeed, or he is at war with a country or he is doing business with a country. During his 42years in power Kaddafi has known conflicts with a dozen different countries around the world. He has been arming (arms purchases) or financing (sale of oil) but in one way as the other he has proved certain skills for intercultural communication.

“The combination of education (whether at home or abroad) and the exposure to the west (through business and personal travel) has typically resulted in a bilingual Arab executive” (Muna, 1990). After obtaining his diploma in 1965, Gaddafi was sent to Britain to attend additional training at the “Royal School of Signals” in Blandford. He therefore spoke English in addition to Arabic and used his Libyan dialect to be aimed by only one part of the population. But what stood out internationally, was his incredible ability to negotiate. When he was the public enemy number one, described by Reagan as "Mad dog of the Middle East” or when, after his rehabilitation he was welcomed by all Europeans leaders, Kaddafi has always shown great business qualities. Certainly, he was head of an extremely rich country but his escapades have made for some time a "rogue state" banned of all international transactions. He managed to get rid of all the conflicts he led him and even forced the acceptance of the international community.

3.3.1 **Conflict handling**

As we saw at the course, conflict handling is part of intercultural competences. We can view conflicts as being life's challenge to us; inevitable and dynamic. They go hand-in-hand with any kind of change. They may lead to social development, more honestly and understanding amoung human beings, they may also bring about enmity, emotional crippling and stagnation. It all depends on how they are treated and handled.

Behind this view of conflict obviously lies a view of human nature: deep down, human beings wish to live in community. Trust is, according to the Danish philosopher K.E. Logstrup, a fundamental human relation. Personally, I am inclined to agree with the Dalai Lama when he says: "my philosophical starting-point is that basic human nature is to be gentle". This assumption does not spring from a naive illusion, but encapsulates knowledge of the endless suffering we inflict on each other; simply that, deep down, this is not what we wished to do.

Each conflict is different and similar. There are no two identical conflicts, in the same way as there are no two identical fingerprints. Each person, each conflict and each area follows its own path and course of events. Nevertheless, it appears that there are common and recognisable patterns in different conflicts. This applies when the conflicts are deadlocked in hostility as well as when they are relaxed and opened.

Kaddafi's life has always been marked by conflict; he was born during World War II and he died due to a conflict with his own people. He managed to get out of these quarrels by every means, peaceful or bloody, but it proved a certain sense of negotiation and communication between cultures. In every conflict he has been involved in, he attacked rather than evades or meets the conflict openly; that is why he has drawn fire from some of the great nations of war. But Kaddafi has always had a secret weapon, a massive bargaining power to defend himself against his opponents; Oil!

Kaddafi, as a true businessman, benefits from all the conflicts; In 84 already, in full quagmire Chad (he had taken the Aouzou band a no man's land of 114000km2 rich in uranium and manganese) he negotiated with Francois Mitterand (President of France) a non-aggression pact about Chad in exchange for major arms contracts. He finally came to terms with the new chief of Chad in return for lucrative financial agreements.

In the mid-1990s, Muammar Kaddafi works hard to ensure that his country ceases to be ostracized internationally. The intelligence agents suspected of the Lockerbie bombing are delivered to the Scottish courts, causing the suspension of UN sanctions against the country and the restoration of diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom. Subsequently, in 2003, Libya officially recognized "the liability of its officers" in the Lockerbie bombing - and in that of UTA flight 772 -, and pay compensation of $ 2.16 billion to the families of 270 Lockerbie victims, which led to the final lifting of UN sanctions and U.S. partial against him.

Meanwhile, Muammar Kaddafi renounced to his nuclear weapons program, and managed, thereby, to approach the Western powers, like the United Kingdom, France and Spain, Italy maintaining long-standing ties with Libya. The attacks of September 11, 2001 and the invasion of Iraq marked a decisive shift in international politics Kaddafi: wishing to avoid the fate of Saddam Hussein and determined opponent of Islamist terrorism, He was at this time a partner of Western countries in their "war against terrorism." Kaddafi declared he now intends to play a major role in the pacification of the world and the creation of a Middle East free of weapons of mass destruction. Libya was also working with European countries, including Italy, the fight against illegal immigration.

It looked like the famous scene from Shakespeare's Richard III, where Queen Elizabeth, sceptical, asked the king: "Shall I be tempted of the devil thus? Relentless and gets this response:" Ay, if the devil tempt thee to do good!". But Kaddafi did not do that only under the pressure of international community or by renewed consciousness. There are rewards; for example, in exchange for the release of Bulgarian nurses (held in a Libyan prison) he obtained from France of "remedies"; a highway, a road ferried, a new station in Tripoli, a special partnership with European Union, a development support and even an aid for archaeological excavations. The U.S. did not even wait for the settlement of the issue of "Bulgarian nurses" to announce the normalization of their diplomatic relations. The tension hose from the embargo imposed by the Reagan administration fades as contracts that Libya gave to the Major (biggest U.S. oil producers). Great-Britain, Italy and Germany are not left tributary and a lot of huge contracts are signed. Kaddafi got enriched and this "obsessed of unity" in the words of political scientist Ghassan Salameh, who has obtained a clean criminal record from the United Nations, got down to fulfil his dream African. With the support of new partner nations, and by financing humanitarian organizations to create alliances, he was elected president of the African Union for a term of one year, at the summit in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. He was then proclaimed "king of kings of traditional Africa" by a group of seven "kings" (African leaders). A title which had value of consolation from the failure of pan-Arabist ambitions.

3.3.2 **Network and connections**

But the inter-culturality of Kaddafi not only helped him to resolve conflicts or to enrich himself. He has also built up over the years an impressive network of connections around the world. Abroad, Kaddafi had many friends. The innermost was probably the Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu. It was also a win-win relationship since Libya procured oil and Romania sent specialists to develop agriculture. The two men cooperated well in the military sector. Among the other friends of the guide, it should be

noted Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky; the Greek Prime Minister Papandreou Andrés; Cuban leader Fidel Castro; former Prime Minister of Malaysia Mahathir; the brother of Jimmy Carter, the Businessman Billy Carter; Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez and of course his closest fellow the Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi. He was perceived as a global leader because he had a certain cultural intelligence as described by Elizabeth Plum (2008). He was not able to change historical way of thinking, doing or his behaviour according to the culture he was confronted but he respected the cultural differences and mainly he had this faculty to create a common enemy to bring other leaders to his cause. He built many cross-cultural partnerships through projects and transitory organizations. He was a leader of the world thanks to his numerous connections that he could use to protect him (German secret services foiled an assassination attempt against him). We can easily argue that such a cross-cultural leadership recognizes the moderating effect that culture can have on leadership processes.

Chapter 5 Construction of meaning

4.1 Influences

As stated J. Robert Clinton; "All Leadership is influence", leaders are also influenced themselves.

The wellsprings of Kaddafi's political thought are the Quran and Nasserism. Kaddafi was 10 years old during the fall of Farouk in Egypt and 14 years during the Suez expedition. He was fascinated by the example of Colonel Nasser he has deeply meditated during his studies at the Military Academy Exclusive cult to Egyptian President: his major ideological options chosen between 1961 and 1969 were taken directly from the reflections of Colonel Nasser who had sensed in Colonel Kaddafi's political successor in the Arab world. He declared once: "My brother Muammar Kaddafi is the custodian of Arab nationalism, the Arab revolution, Arab unity"

As an ardent admirer, Kaddafi has never wavered in the conviction that he was Nasser's legitimate heir. As such, he felt compelled to advance Nasser's struggle for Arab unity and socialism. Kaddafi was influenced by Nasser's theory of the concentric Islamic, Arab, and African circles of influence. And like Nasser, he was also influenced by the ideology of the Syrian Baath Party, which advocated Arab unity and socialism.

But the influences of Kaddafi did not stop with the Egyptian chief, like Hitler Kaddafi read a lot; Montesquieu and his thoughts on the distribution functions of the state, the French revolution and its revolutionary orators, the Gironde's, Danton, the First Consul. He would have been very influenced by Robespierre and his support to the fall of the monarchy.

According to Tunisian researcher Taoufik Monastiri, Kaddafi was influenced by the French thinker Jean-Jacques Rousseau: he would have made his

reference to Libya to establish a "bedouinocraty". Such a system is distinguished by the absence of State, President (replaced by a "guide"), parties (replaced by popular committees that direct administration) and, in return, by the establishment of revolutionary committees (as well as oversight committees called upon to settle disputes between people's committees and revolutionary committees). The operation of these structures remains completely opaque, no one knowing how their members are appointed.

His principles of socialism; the ground state and the power by people were very close to Marxism. Indeed, in his project, as the German thinker Kaddafi wanted to get rid of the wage system, capitalism, and social classes.

In an interview with Edmond Jouve, the dictator said he reads a lot and he was very influenced by a book of Abraham Lincoln on the liberation of black people and a book of Sun Yat-sen he considered as the spiritual father of the Chinese nation and the founder of modern China. As we will see it in details further, Kaddafi was also really influenced during his Bedouin childhood by the Second World War and the colonialism.

4.2 Vision

“Without action, the vision is a dream. Without a vision, the action serves only passes time. The vision combined with action can change the world. "(Joel Arthur Baker, 1993).

Meaning and purpose are the heart of leadership vision, which is the product of the visioning process. Kouzes and Posner highlight that One of the most important practices of leadership is giving life and work a sense of meaning and purpose by offering an exciting vision’ (Kouzes & Posner 2003). Consequently, leadership itself can be considered as the process of making meaning (Drath & Palus, 1994). Visioning is one of the key activities that distinguish leadership from management (Kotter, 1999). Furthermore, scholars of leadership and other related disciplines assert that visioning is a critical aspect of the leadership process (Baum & Al 1998). The reason for

strategic visioning is that it clearly establishes both a direction and a destination; the process produces an artefact, which can take a variety of forms (vision statement, symbol, blueprint...). However it should be future-oriented, compelling, bold, aspiring and inspiring, yet believable and achievable (Lewin 2000).

4.2.1 Pan Arabism ➔ Panafricanism >< anti-imperialism

Kaddafi had a vision, a dream for his country and Africa, a project he has taken to Nasser, pan-Arabism, ie, a desire to bring together and unify the Arab people. Upon taking power, Kaddafi is characterized by a deliberate plan of realization of pan-Arabism through the union of the "Arab nation", with the aim to erase the traces of Western domination, persistent even after decolonization. His pan-Arabism turned immediately in pan-africanism and December 27, 1969, the Libyan Arab Republic sign with Nasser's Egypt and Sudan Gaafar Nimeiry a " revolutionary charter", also called "Pact of Tripoli," which launched the project a federation, defined as a "revolutionary alliance whose purpose is to thwart the imperialist and Zionist plots". Muammar Kaddafi proceeded to nationalize certain companies, including those owned by Italian nationals and foreign banks. The State claimed the monopoly of foreign trade. He asked the British army to leave Libya, after thirteen years of military presence. He then ordered the U.S. to evacuate its military bases, including Wheelus Air Base. In September 1970, with the help of his friend and adviser Abdessalam Jallud, he managed to impose for the first time an increase in the price of oil, paving the way for other producing countries, causing an imbalance in terms of geopolitics of oil. Gaddafi is working quickly to recover the country's fertile land, part of which remains in the hands of former Italian colonists: in October 1970, his government making the expropriation and expulsion of about 13,000 Italian farm owners , whose property - approximately 3,000 farms - are nationalized. The death of Egyptian President Nasser in 1970, did not slow the proposed union with Egypt and the coming to power of Hafez al-Assad in Syria brought the

accession of the last countries in the project. On April 17, 1971 was proclaimed the Union of Arab federation of Egypt, Libya and Syria, later approved by referendum in the three countries on 1 September of that year in honour of the anniversary of the coup d 'Libyan state.

On August 2, 1972, total union between Egypt and Libya within the Union of Arab Republics was proclaimed: Syria was no longer mentioned in this aspect of the agreement. But soon, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, alarmed by the bidding wars and the personality of Kaddafi he began to consider as "unbalanced", chose to move away from the federation. The merger, expected to be finalized in 1973, ultimately did not occur. Kaddafi tried to force the movement by launching, 18 July 1973, a "unity march", in which joined approximately 50,000 Libyans, which left from the Tunisian-Libyan border and had to go to Cairo: walking was finally blocked.

Kaddafi also distinguished himself by measures inspired by his strict Muslim appartenance, and his commitment to a radical Arab nationalism: the consumption of alcohol was prohibited, churches and nightclubs closed and he declared Arabic as only permitted language for official communication.

Kaddafi then tried unsuccessfully to lay the groundwork unit with Algeria of Houari Boumediene, then began another merger attempt, this time with Tunisia: January 12, 1974 but, Habib Bourguiba, after signing off the cuff with Gaddafi a union treaty between Tunisia and Libya in an "Arab and Islamic Republic," abruptly withdrew the merger proposal. The indignities suffered at the hands of Bourguiba and Sadat help convince Kaddafi that nothing serious cannot be tempted with the older generation of leaders arabes38. The Union of Arab Republics continues to exist on paper until 1984, without being provided with any substance.

In early 1973, Muammar Kaddafi faced a situation of failure in terms of foreign policy; his Pan-Arabist ambitions have failed. He then tried to merger

with other African countries, financing them with oil money but no concrete alliances worked.

4.2.2 State socialism ➔ Jamahiriya

On political, economical and social point of view, Kaddafi had his own perspectives. But as his pan-arabist vision he had to change his plan due to some discontent around him. It will be emphasized later, but the failure of his ambitions was a turning point in the Libyan leader's life.

Kaddafi continued to follow the model Nasserist, by creating a single party, the Arab Socialist Union, modeled on the Egyptian party of the same name, to channel the "revolutionary mobilization" desired by the regime. The movement was intended less as a political party as an instrument of social control: Every Libyan was bound to be a member, through a local or provincial.

Domestically, Kaddafi managed to build consensus around his plan by funding, thanks to oil revenue, a wealth redistribution, large bodies of equipment and generous social policies, added popular measures such as doubling the minimum wage or ending any rent. A significant effort was also provided to develop the education system and health in Libya.

His official speech amalgam the ideological Islamic socialism and Arab socialism designed by Nasser. However, He differed from Nasser by a much more religious universe, similar to that of the Islamists even if he also opposed the latter. Kaddafi was one of the first Arab leaders to engage in the way of a partial re-Islamization of the law. In 1970, a commission was conducted to "eliminate the rules established in violation of Sharia law and to propose a rehabilitation project of its fundamental principles."

4.2.3 "The Green Book"

It is finally with "the Green book" published for the first time in 1975, that Colonel explains his vision of democracy and politics. It is divided into three

parts respectively published in 1975, 1977 and 19791. Muammar Kaddafi has set out the foundations of his political thinking and his conception of socialism. Kadhafist doctrine outlined in this book, called by his author the “Third Universal Theory”, which became the official ideology of the regime of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The book title refers to the Little Red Book of Mao. The mention of the green color is not devoid of symbolic significance: green is the color of Islam, and Muammar Kaddafi intended to use his book replacing the Sunnah as the basis of law in Libya. The Green Paper is one of the main symbols of the Gaddafi regime.

The first part of the Green Book entitled “The solution to the problem of democracy”. Kaddafi presents the problem of "the unit of government" as "the most important of those faced by human societies." The Green Book begins with a critique of representative democracy, in which the author develops the following ideas:

- Democracy in its dominant form is nothing but a dictatorship of the majority.

- Representation is a sham, because democracy presupposes the power of the people and not the power to substitute one of the people.

- The party represents only the interests of a fraction of the population, so it is in fact an "apparatus of dictatorial government." Multiparty causes a struggle for power with little concern for the general interest.

- The class, as the party is a group of people with similar interests. The class rule is contrary to the public interest, and is similar to a dictatorship.

In the second part, entitled “The solution of economic problem”, Muammar Kaddafi acknowledges that enormous social advances have been made since the Industrial Revolution. However, the generalization of wage labor ensuing assimilates according to the author of slavery. Nationalization of the economy would not affect the enslavement of the worker. The Third Universal Theory then suggests a third way after capitalism and

communism: this route can only be a return to "natural law" refers only to human relationships. The author develops successively the following points:

- The "natural law" opens the way for a "natural socialism" based on equality

-The outrageous accumulation of wealth by individuals is a breach of natural law. It is the beginning of a perversion of social life and the harbinger of a company operating.

- The production is redistributed equally among the workers. This is the indispensability of every agent of production which gives a natural equality

- The product of economic activity should be distributed equally among the three factors of production: raw materials, production facilities and workers

- The dependence to others to ensure their needs and creates subservience is a perennial source of conflict. What are basic needs like housing, income, where the means of transport, must be the property of the individual and all rentals must be prohibited

- Economic activity is meeting the needs for production and non-hoarding

Each worker with his instrument of work produced on behalf of preventing exploitation. This new form of private ownership coexists with the "socialist property" to which producers are associated

-Admitting the profit amounts to admitting the operation. The final stage of realization of socialism sees the disappearance of profit and currency.

The third and final part of the Green Paper is titled “The social foundations of the Third Universal Theory”. Muammar Kaddafi insists on the importance of social ties in history. Family ties, tribal or national, are constitutive of human nature and necessary for survival. Among them, the family structure is the strongest and most natural. The tribe is a kind of extended family that organizes the transmission of values and traditions, while ensuring social protection for its members. The Nation is an even larger family. It is a social structure vital to humans. A state that would deny this social factor,

bringing together several nations under a single political authority, would be doomed to collapse.

The author discusses at length the fact that women are the equals of men. Nevertheless, he argues that certain features come by nature to the woman. So he goes to the education of children for example. Equality between men and women should not be based on the Western model which established the gender of the woman by a man, that is to say, by denying its nature of female.

This part also discusses the issue of minorities and must be treated as the equal of the rest of the population. The teaching itself must be free from compulsory and standardized form: schools and programs form an official instrument of domination and debasement to "authoritarian orientation of taste, judgment and intelligence of the human being. "The company must, instead, provide schools and teachers in sufficient quantity so that everyone can have free access to knowledge, choosing his subjects.

Conclusion

Ciulla highlights that 'Visions are not simple goals, but rather ways of seeing the future that implicitly or explicitly entail some notion of the good' (Ciulla 2005). Similarly, good leadership is not only effective but also ethical. If effective leadership is about fulfilling the leader's visions, we could argue that Kaddafi has nothing to envy to other leader's effectiveness. He conducted some of his visions about education, wages, status of women, health assistance. We could also add that some of his ideas were quite good, concerning the type of culture we talk about. The problem is that, after setting up a new political system (Jamahiriya) which was based on some ethical value he at the same time placed himself at the head of a complex state structure without any opponents. Starting from this concept, his power increased exponentially and no one was able to reason him.

4.3 Sensemaking

The concept of sensemaking is well named because, literally, it means the making of sense. Active agents construct sensible, sensible events (Huber & Daft 1987). They structure the unknown (Waterman, 1990). In fact sense making is the process by which people give meaning to experience. Many investigators imply what Starbuck and Milliken (1988) made explicit, namely, that sensemaking involves placing stimuli into some kind of framework. The well-known phrase “frame of reference” has traditionally meant a generalized point of view that directs interpretations (Cantril, 1941). Sensemaking is not interpretation, because interpretation presupposes something to interpret. Interpretation is a part of sensemaking processes but not the same, it is a more active and performative activity.

The identity of a sensemaker influences the sensemaking process. Identities are however in constant construction and redefinition in interaction with others. Sensemaking and identity construction is highly intertwined;Kaddafi has built his own identity through a sensemaking process including his experiences in life.

Sensemaking is retrospective; we can only now what we are doing after we have experienced it (Herbert, 1956). Attention to past events is influenced by what is occurring at the moment. Anything that affects remembering will affect the sense that is made. Kaddafi has never known peace. His childhood was very tumultuous, "I kept the flocks, he remembers, we were under fire and the shrapnel of World War II. Countries fought on our land. We did not know why; planes flying over our country, we got bombs, mines exploded without knowing how or why. These are the first memories that I kept from my childhood. "In his mind, war, resistance are ubiquitous. His father told how his grandfather died while fighting against the Italians and how he himself was wounded while fighting against the colonials. When he took power, Kaddafi noticed that the country was still governed by foreign

companies. Reminding past events, he immediately took the decision to expel the foreigners out of the country.

Sensible environments are enacted; enactment means both attention and action. People create their environments as those environments create them. Colonel Kaddafi created his own political environment and was so appointed leader. This environment constrains him to take decisions in favour of people. He created an environment he had to deal with once he succeeded his coup. There is not some kind of fixed environment, instead in each case the people are very much a part of their own environments. They act and in doing so create the materials that become the constraints and opportunities they face. For example, when Kaddafi decided to attack Chad, he created a new environment and had to deal with French president to clear the situation. In an environment, you create the situation to react and by this way, you influence the reaction of the others.

Sensemaking is social; sensemaking is never solitary because what a person does internally is contingent on others. Even monologue and one-way communication presume an audience. Human beings in interacting with one another have to take account of what each other is doing or is about to do; they are forced to direct their own conduct or handle their situation in terms of what they take into account. This is not totally true for dictators, because as we suppose they don't take others into account and just direct them in a way they want. The social factor is only perceived that we talk about human beings but is not present in leader's mind.

What are extracted cues is not pre-given, but is contingent on context, frames of reference and actions. The possible meaning are many, what is created is a matter of politics, pragmatics, values and context. Leadership is realized in the process whereby one or more individuals succeed in attempting to frame and define the reality of others" (Smircich & Morgan, 1982).Leaders often arise as those who structure experience in a meaningful way and in a way that provides a base to mobilize action. Only Kaddafi perceived foreign activities in his country as a threat, because he has

experienced that before. But he made sense of it and involved his people in the process. For him chasing the foreigners meant defend and protect values of the country against invader and he turned it in a significant way to be understood by his followers. In this case it is about sensegiving; trying to influence others to adopt his own interpretations. In relation to a relevant context and frame of reference, meaning can be treated differently. Leaders and members can have different interpretations and thereby create different meaning. There was an obvious divergence between King Idriss and Colonel Kaddafi experiencing a similar situation. Leaders as sense givers; brackets some experiences (direct other's attention to it) and provide interpretations of these experiences. Followers as sense makers; try to make sense of the experience bracketed by the leader and the suggested interpretation of it. There are multiple meanings and counter realities; leadership is so a multi-communicative task as we will emphasize in the next part.

4.4 Speech analysis

On February 23, 2011, Kaddafi delivered a violent speech to state television. The dictator tried to cling to power by threatening the protesters of a bloodbath and calling on his supporters to rally on his behalf. For ten days the country was experiencing a historic uprising and the regime did not hesitate to send tanks or aircraft to bomb the insurgents.

While there are hundreds dead in the country, the "Supreme Leader" Jamahiriya, referring to himself in third person, has multiplied the denials, the approximations, the promises of "butchery", and foolish statements. Here is some of the sentences shock of his speech;

"Muammar Gaddafi will not withdraw as have other presidents."

"But I'm not afraid of anything. [...] But I'm someone who happens to face."

"The revolution is a sacrifice to life until the end."

He refers to other Arab leaders who gave up when touch by a revolt in their countries, as the Tunisian President Ben Ali and the Egyptian Mubarak.

"We challenged the United States, all nuclear powers in the world. We have defeated everybody."

"They want to take our oil, our freedom, because they are jealous"

For his first live action since the beginning of the Libyan crisis, Colonel Kaddafi chose the setting of the ruins of his home in Bab El Azizia, Tripoli, preserved in the state since it was bombed in 1986 on the orders of Ronald Reagan after an anti-American terrorist attack in Berlin. An adopted daughter of Kaddafi had been killed in the raid, also evoked the statue in the foreground: a golden hand crushing an American plane. While Colonel strived in recent years to approach the United States, he threatened his countrymen: "Would you be occupied by America, like Afghanistan and Iraq?" All of this is very symbolic and he talks about anti-imperialism that has always advocated. True to his vision, he compares the western powers to stealers who want to take advantage of Arab and African's wealth, pushing his people to defend themselves.

"This is a popular revolution. [...] I am the head of the popular revolution."

"It is time to work, to march, to triumph; not going back, to the front (3X), revolution (2X)!"

The rhetoric of revolution; even when he is facing a revolt, the colonel considers it as his own revolution. Since his coup in 1969, Kaddafi has always seen him as a revolutionary. He shook his fist in sign of victory at the end of his speech; we get the impression that he continues in his logic of contest and does not understand that it is him who is challenged.

"If I were president, I would have resigned. But I have no title, I have only myself and my gun."

"I have no money; all I want is tired prosperity of Libya."

"I'm on the side of the people's will."

Waving the "Green Book" in which, in 1976, he theorized his "third way", that of an "Islamic socialism" alternative to capitalism and communism, through the "direct democracy". This is because he considered to have applied it, retaining all functions as the "Supreme Leader", he claimed not to resign as president. He places himself as one of them, involving him and the people of his country in the same process. They have the same opinion, the same goal and they wish the same for future. By this way, he is part of the revolt that he turned against other opponent.

"I'm over the positions of heads of state, I am a revolutionary, I am a Bedouin"

The reference to the Bedouin; The colonel presented himself as a "Bedouin" people of nomadic herders in the desert from which it originates. It was, as often in his public appearances, the traditional tunic, called gandoura. It refers to its origins and are among his followers.

"a bearded man, who presents himself as a caliph."

Islamism accused. Libyan leader denounced behind the protests the Al Qaida leaders and islamist. Devout Muslim himself - he expressed a similar under a banner proclaiming "Allah Akbahr" (God is great) -, Kaddafi has always been a fierce opponent of the Islamists, who accused him of having a false vision of religion.

We have not used force yet. This will be done if necessary. "

(Note: when he spoke, there were already several hundred victims).

"When we will need to use force, I will give the word."

Tiananmen Square, Fallujah and threats to Waco; in its efforts to intimidate, Gaddafi cited several examples of revolts ended in blood. He cited the Chinese student movement Square Tiananmen Square, saying they had been crushed by tanks because "Deng [Xiaoping] told them that the unity of China was worth more than this group on the square". Amnesty

International will report at least 1,300 dead. He also described the bombing of Fallujah in Iraq in 2004, believing that if the U.S. military had conducted on behalf of the fight against terrorism itself could do the same at Darna, the hands of the rebellion. The takeover of this Sunni stronghold claimed the lives of 4 000 to 6,000 civilians, aid agencies said. He also mentioned the massacre at Waco, in 1993 the United States: 86 cult members died in the fire that sparked in the assault of their farm-stronghold by the FBI. He frightens his opponents by some examples of killings and says he will use force if he has to. It is a desperate attempt to get them to stop by threatening them.

"I drive Africa, South America, the world ..."

"Kaddafi is not a normal person against whom one can conduct demonstrations."

He considers himself as a leader of the world; he is afraid by nobody and is ready to die as a martyr to honour his cause. This proves that the guide was out of reality, with a narcissistic manner, he compare him as a god, untouchable and immortal.

Classical rhetoric

- Invention

-type of speech: political speech

-audience: supporters of the leader and everybody else indirectly (TV)

- Arrangement

To create sympathy for his cause and the good will of the audience, Kaddafi spoke directly from the city centre of Tripoli among his supporters.

"To the people behind them" : He speaks directly to the opponent, he does not believe it is his people but other international powers.

To capture the interest and establish trust of his followers, he claims to defend the children of the people against those who manipulate them: "They give them pills, It Is not their own will"

- Statement of fact

He refuses to admit the revolution but warns that he will start fighting against his opponents. He does not tell stories, does not establish facts that can prove or definitively persuade the audience to believe in. The appropriate could be seen as the decor of resistance from where he gives his speech.

- Opinion and proof

“They want to steal our oil, our freedom because they are jealous”

For him, the opponents have for unique goal to steal the wealth of the country as they already did for other Middle East states. He tries to prove it by taking the example of US and UN occupation in Afghanistan and Iraq.

- Refutation

He discusses and refutes counter arguments as what stated Medias that he fled the rebellion and took refuge in South America.

“I am staying; do not let them tell you lies!” “Me go to Venezuela? By god!”

“Did not they tell you yesterday that Kaddafi is in Venezuela ? Here I am!”

- Conclusion

In conclusion, Kaddafi provokes:

“Instead of standing with us, you go against us? For whose benefit?”

“Who are you to defy Libya, the mother of all nations?”

He threats: “You will regret it before the end”

It grows to confrontation and he declares war:

“To the front, to the front, to the front!”

- Style

Figures of word: “It is time…to work, to march, to fight, to triumph”

Metaphor: he uses the comparison with Abdel Salam, first martyr of war in 1911.

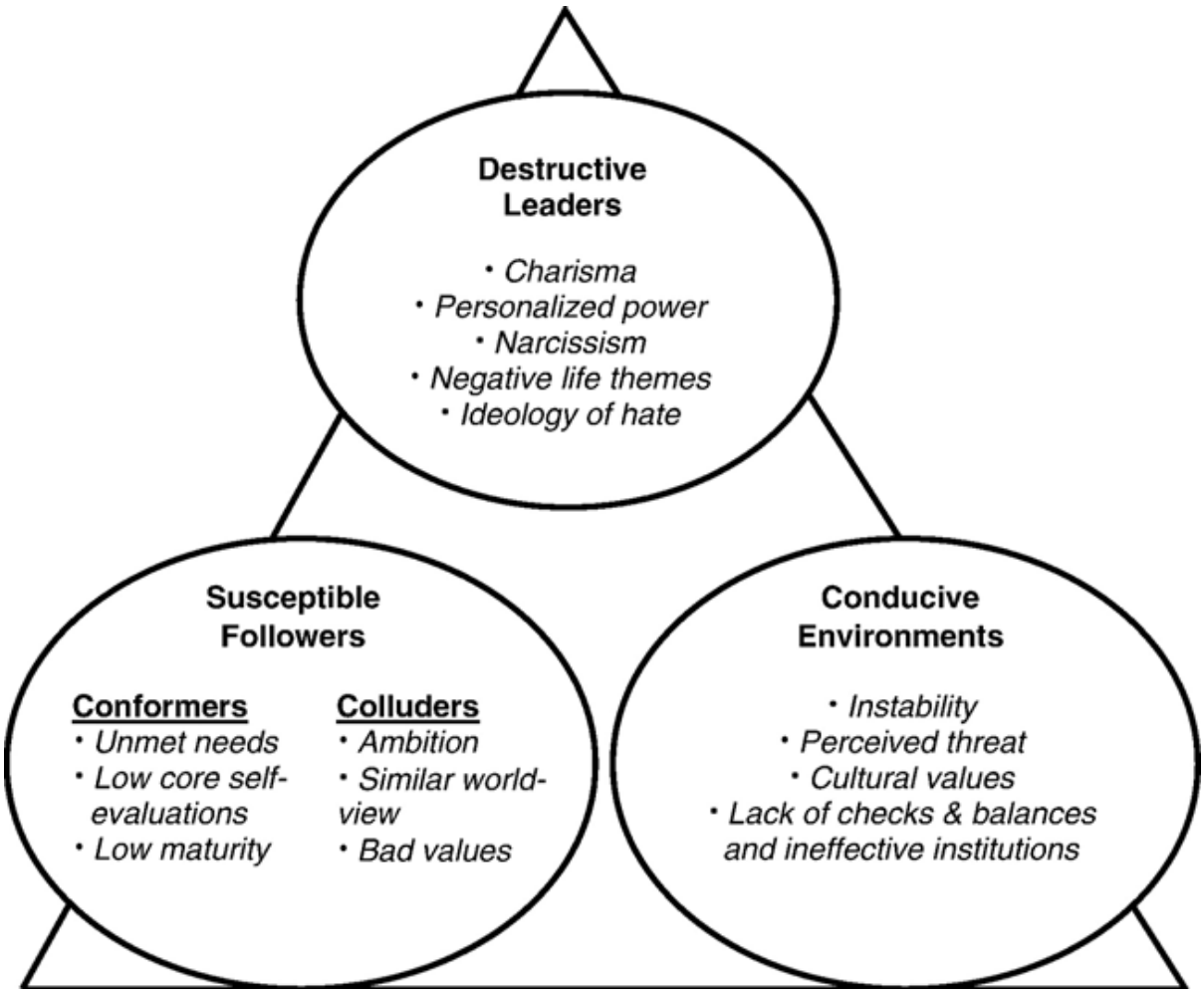
- Memorising

Many inaccuracies and improvisations. He is very confused and nervous. He gets lost in his thoughts.

- Delivery

He is very agitated, his lyrics are violent and his tone is serious. He is determined (he taps his fist). He wears a Bangoura, libyan traditional tunic and gave his speech in his old house bombed by the U.S. in 1986 in an attempted assassination.

Chapter 6 Toxic triangle



In this last part of my thesis I attempt to draw a portrait of bad leaders by describing three main aspects which made their leadership dark. The toxic triangle results from a confluence of destructive leaders, susceptible followers, and conducive environments.

5.1 Destructive leaders

The first component of the toxic triangle concerns the characteristics of destructive leaders. Our analysis of the literature suggests five critical leader

factors: charisma, personalized use of power, narcissism, negative life themes, and an ideology of hate.

5.1.1 Charisma

There are number of leadership theories that emphasize such matters as the emotional attachment followers feel for the leader, the arousal of followers by the leader, enhancement of follower commitment to the mission set forth by the leader, follower trust and confidence in the leader, follower value orientations, and follower intrinsic motives. Leadership of this kind gives meaningfulness to follower activities by providing a sense of moral purpose and commitment. Leader behaviour remains of concern, but it deals with symbolic acts, visionary messages, intellectual stimulation, displays of confidence in self and followers as well, expectations of personal sacrifice, and exhortations to performance beyond normal requirements (Shamir, House & Arthur 1993). Theories of this nature have their origins in the concept of charisma.

Research indicates that destructive leadership and charisma are empirically linked (Conger, 1990; Hogan et al., 1990; House, 1977; Howell & Avolio, 1992; Hunt, Boal, & Dodge, 1999; Maccoby, 2000;).

The literature suggests that even when charismatic leaders are not destructive, they can still be dangerous. Yukl (1999)notes that researchers have romanticized charismatic leadership; he observes that some charismatic leaders abuse their power for self-serving ends while "exaggerating positive achievements and taking unwarranted credit…covering up mistakes and failures…blaming others for mistakes… and limiting communication of criticism and dissent" (Yukl, 1999,p. 296). This might explain why there seems to be no direct link between CEO charisma and organizational performance (Agle, Nagarajan, Sonnenfeld, & Srinivasan, 2006; Tosi, Misangyi, Fanelli, Waldman, & Yammarino, 2004). Howell & Avolio (1992) observe that "the risks involved in charismatic

leadership are at least as large as the promises". Thus, not all charismatic leaders are destructive, but most destructive leaders are charismatic.

Three components of charisma apply to destructive leaders: vision, self-presentational skills, and personal energy (Conger, 1990; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Gardner & Avolio, 1998). Charismatic leaders are able to sell a vision of a desirable future (Conger, 1989; Yukl, 1999). According to O'Connor et al. (1995), destructive leaders articulate a vision of a world characterized by threat and insecurity, where personal safety depends on the domination and defeat of rivals. Kaddafi has installed a climate of threats to justify its anti-imperialists sanctions at the beginning of his reign. House & Howell (1992) argue constructive charismatic leaders offer a vision that emphasizes benefits to social institutions whereas destructive leaders articulate visions that enhance their personal power. We also noticed that the social reforms of Kaddafi made him more powerful. Themes of enhanced personal power in a hostile world characterize the visions of destructive leaders and are associated with negative life events (Strange & Mumford, 2002), as discussed below. Impression management is central to Gardner & Avolio's (1998) dramaturgical model of charismatic leadership. It is well documented that charismatic leaders (e.g., John Kennedy, Franklin Roosevelt, and Martin Luther King, Jr.) have exceptional rhetorical skill (Burns, 1978; Harvey, 2001). But the same is true of Hitler and Mussolini, whose dramatic talents are also established (Pardo Llada, 1988; Redlich, 1999). Consistent with their selfish orientation, destructive leaders are typically self-promoting and concerned with building support for themselves rather than pro-social causes (House & Howell, 1992). Kaddafi promoted himself Colonel after taking power. Energy is another characteristic business and political leaders seem to share. Most work long hours and gaining support for a large agenda requires superior stamina and persistence (Gardner, 1996; Padilla, 2005; Viney, 1999). Remarkable achievement at an early age (Kaddafi was 27 when he overthrew King Idriss) and a high level of vigor characterize charismatic leaders (Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978; Simonton, 1994; Viney, 1999). The histories of destructive

leaders show these patterns as well. Castro, for example, was described by teachers and schoolmates as “incansable” or untiring (Raffy, 2004). In order to understand his accession to power and how he led a country during more than four decades, it is necessary to understand why people and militaries (during the coup) followed him. He had this natural propensity to lead which push the others to adopt his ideas; we call it Charisma.

5.1.2 Personalized need for power

Power is a major explanatory concept in the study of social choice. It is used in studies of relations, of community decision making, of business behaviour, and of small-group discussion. Partly because it conveys simultaneously overtones of the cynicism of Realpolitik, the glories of classical mechanics, the realism of elite sociology, and the comforts of anthropocentric theology, power provides a prime focus for disputation and exhortation in social sciences (James G. March, 1966).

Ethics distinguish constructive from destructive charismatic leaders (Howell & Avolio, 1992; O'Connor et al., 1995). Ethical leaders use position power to serve others whereas unethical ones use power for personal gain and self-promotion (Conger, 1990; Howell & Avolio, 1992). Unethical leaders use control and coercion to impose their goals while censuring opposing views (Howell & Avolio, 1992; Sankowsky, 1995). It is obvious to note that Kaddafi’s leadership was unethical because he confounded Libyan goods with his own one. Control can be overt, as when neighbourhood watch groups spy on citizens (e.g., East Germany, North Korea, Cuba) or it can be a subtle appeal to follower needs for authority, security, belongingness in a safe community, or fear of isolation, imprisonment, or death (Lipman-Blumen, 2005). Destructive leaders describe dissidents and rivals in terms designed to devalue and isolate them while promoting in-group solidarity—McClelland's research (1970, 1975) shows that leaders are characterized by a need for power while drawing careful distinction between socialized and personalized power needs. Leaders with personalized needs for power use authority“…in an impetuously aggressive manner for self-aggrandizing

purpose, to the detriment of their subordinates and organizations" (House & Aditya, 1997, p. 414). They are impulsive, irresponsible, and extraordinarily punitive (House & Howell, 1992; McClelland, 1975). Destructive leadership outcomes, whether in Kaddafi's Libya or Ken Lay's Enron, are often associated with leaders with acute personalized needs for power.

5.1.3 Narcissism

Narcissism is closely linked to charisma and the personalized use of power, and involves dominance, grandiosity, arrogance, entitlement, and the selfish pursuit of pleasure (Rosenthal & Pittinskya, 2006). Many authors argue narcissism is correlated with destructive leadership (Conger, 1990; Hogan et al., 1990; House & Howell, 1992; Maccoby, 2000; Rosenthal & Pittinskya, 2006; Sankowsky, 1995). In extreme cases—Hitler, Stalin, or Kaddafi — "malignant narcissism" is associated with hyper aggressiveness and sadistic, exploitative personal relationships (Glad, 2002). Pascal De Sutter, a psychology professor at the University of Leuven in Belgium declared about Kaddafi "we found a fairly standard trio with him: the paranoia, deliria of grandeur and megalomania with a important component of narcissism. Psychopath devoid of moral values, he had a kind of messianic spirit. He was convinced he had been chosen and he should not understand the challenge, moreover he sometimes had access to schizophrenia. Narcissistic leaders are self-absorbed, attention-seeking, and ignore other's viewpoints or welfare (Conger & Kanungo, 1998). They often claim special knowledge or privilege and demand unquestioning obedience (O'Connor et al., 1995) and their sense of entitlement often leads to self-serving abuses of power (Conger, 1990; Maccoby, 2000; Sankowsky, 1995), and their leadership style is typically autocratic (Rosenthal & Pittinskya, 2006). Their grandiose dreams of power and success cause narcissists to ignore the external environment or test their judgment (Conger, 1990; Kets de Vries & Miller, 1985), and their grand visions often defy successful implementation. Narcissism seems related to historian Paul Kennedy's (1987) notion of imperial overstretch—stretching a country or empire's resources to

dangerous vulnerability (e.g., Napoleonic France or Hitler's Germany at the end of World War II).

5.1.3 Negative life themes

O'Connor et al. (1995) observed that leaders who harm their organizations or social systems also speak about themselves in terms of negative life stories. A negative life story reflects “the extent to which the leader had a destructive image of the world and his or her role in the world” (O'Connor et al., 1995, p. 539) and can be traced to early life experiences. Childhood adversity is sometimes associated with positive lessons for those who overcome them (Garmezy & Masten, 1994; Vaillant, 1977). However, parental discord, low socioeconomic status, paternal criminality, maternal psychiatric disorder, and child abuse are common themes for exploitive adults (Hare, 1993; Katz, 1997; Vaillant, 1977). Josef Stalin's childhood was characterized by an abusive and alcoholic father who beat his wife and young son (Montefiore, 2004). A childhood friend described how the beatings made Stalin as cruel as his father. Kaddafi was so poor that he did not have something to eat sometimes and he was obliged to sleep in the Mosque to be able to follow courses. Hitler, Mussolini, and Castro also experienced considerable childhood distress (Raffy, 2004; Redlich, 1999). O'Connor et al. (1995) describe how a traumatic childhood can dispose individuals to destructive leadership. A leader's vision typically reflects enduring life themes (Zaleznick & Kets de Vries, 1985). Kaddafi’s first reforms were to redistribute wealth of the country to lowest social classes. In another way, childhood experiences can also have a good impact on the future leader; in absence of his father, Kaddafi was educated by females (mother and sisters) We could discern this influence later in his reforms about women’s status. Moreover, childhood experiences of powerlessness are associated with using coercive influence techniques (Goodstadt & Hjelle, 1973). Abused children often distance themselves from others and compartmentalize (or disassociate) painful issues (Cramer, 2000; Vaillant, 1977). For example, former U.S. President William Clinton describes the “parallel lives” he lived

while dealing with his alcoholic and violent father (Clinton, 2004). This allowed young Clinton to ignore intractable problems while addressing other challenges, and might explain his apparent indifference to the genocide in Rwanda during his second term (Kellerman, 2004). The ability to ignore the feelings of others and exploit them for personal gain is a defining feature of psychopathy (Gustaffson & Ritzer, 1995; Hare, 1993), but is also associated with narcissism and the unsocialized use of power (McClelland, 1970; 1975; Rosenthal & Pittinskya, 2006).

4.1.5 Ideology of hate

A comparison of destructive and constructive leaders suggests that the rhetoric, vision, and worldview of destructive leaders contain images of hate—vanquishing rivals and destroying despised enemies. The anti-semitic fomentations of Hitler and Foday Sankoh's hatred of the urban elite of Sierra Leone contrast sharply with Martin Luther King Jr.'s dream of racial equality and Gandhi's model of passive resistance. Childhood hardships seem to lead to an ideology of hate—and perhaps a reaction formation in which self-hatred is turned outward (Cramer, 2000; Freud, 1966; Garmezy & Masten, 1994; Vaillant, 1977). For example, Stalin hated authority, in part because persons with power reminded Stalin of his father (Montefiore, 2004). Stalin engaged in many violent acts as he climbed the Bolshevik hierarchy, and his rule was merciless and cruel; he routinely authorized the murder of fellow Russians—including members of his own cabinet (Montefiore, 2004). Whatever the source of the anger and resentment, hate is a key component of the worldview of destructive leaders and it legitimizes the use of violence and retribution (Strange & Mumford, 2002). Since his childhood and because of the Second World War which also touched Libya, Kaddafi has associated western countries with conflicts and opposition. His father through his war stories raised him in a way to hate Italian and Colonialism. Nationalist fanatic he also felt a deep detestation about Jewish he considered as invaders.

5.2 Susceptible followers

Followers have been studied less often than leaders, yet their role in the leadership process is obviously pivotal (Boccialetti, 1995; Hollander, 1992; Hollander & Offermann, 1990; Lord & Brown, 2004; Yukl, 2005). Barnard (1938) emphasized the need for followers to accept a leader's authority. Modern relational theories (e.g., Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995) also recognize the role of followers in the leadership process. But why are certain followers unable or unwilling to resist domineering and abusive leaders? Kellerman (2004) and Lipman-Blumen (2005) suggest that they need safety, security, group membership, and predictability in an uncertain world. Some followers actually benefit from destructive activities and thus contribute to the toxic vision of the leader. At the group level are needs for social order, cohesion, identity, and the coordination of collective activity. There is also a natural tendency for people to obey authority figures (Milgram, 1974), imitate higher-status individuals (Baharody & Stoneman, 1985), and conform to group norms (Asch, 1951). It is useful to distinguish among different types of susceptible individuals. Weierter (1997) differentiated between followers who lack a clearly defined self-concept from those who share the leader's values. Kellerman (2004, p. 26– 27) distinguished between bystanders, who allow bad leadership to happen, and acolytes, “true believers” who join in the destruction. Combining these concepts, we find two groups of followers: conformers and colluders. Conformers comply with destructive leaders out of fear whereas colluders actively participate in a destructive leader's agenda. Both types are motivated by self-interest, but their concerns are different (Higgins, 1997): conformers try to minimize the consequences of not going along while colluders seek personal gain through association with a destructive leader (cf.prevention and promotion motivation, Higgins, 1997). The vulnerability of conformers is based on unmet basic needs, negative self-evaluations, and psychological immaturity. In contrast, colluders are ambitious, selfish and share the destructive leader's world views.

5.2.1 Unmet basic needs

Drawing on Maslow (1954), Burns (1978) argued that the basic needs of followers must be met before their higher aspirations can be engaged. The same holds for destructive leadership. The global economic depression of the 1930s and the aftermaths of World War I left many citizens of Germany, Russia, and Italy on the brink of poverty and starvation prior to the rise of Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini (Arendt, 1951; Tuchman, 1984). Today, the most impoverished countries in the world (e.g., much of Central and West Africa, portions of South America) are also ruled by the most corrupt governments (Transparency International, 2005). Evidently, poor people living in daily fear are easier to control. When Kaddafi reached the head of the state, Libya was one of the poorest countries of Africa; he took power, the literacy rate was 20% and life expectancy of 44 years old. Through the years, if the population was able to record real social progress, the political system established by Gaddafi has remained closed and the company controlled or repressed.

In addition to food and safety, isolation and loneliness pave the way for totalitarian regimes (Arendt, 1951). Eric Hoffer's (1951) analysis of mass movements led to a similar conclusion. Charles Manson's followers, although from privileged backgrounds, were characterized by feelings of emptiness and alienation from mainstream society (Popper, 2001). Destructive leaders can attract followers by offering them a sense of community and a group in which to belong.

5.2.2 Negative core self-evaluations

According to Judge, Locke, & Durham (1997), self-esteem, locus of control, and self-efficacy form a higher-order personality factor they call core self-evaluations. It is defined as “basic conclusions or bottom-line evaluations that individuals hold about themselves” (Judge & Bono, 2001, p. 81). These

beliefs influence the processing of self-relevant information and affect individual responses to environmental demands. Core self-evaluations are related to life satisfaction, job satisfaction, motivation, and occupational performance (Judge & Bono, 2001). Moreover, research indicates that self-esteem, locus of control, and self-efficacy are linked to a vulnerability to destructive leadership (e.g., Luthans et al., 1998). Self-esteem concerns the basic appraisal people make of their overall value as human beings (Harter, 1990). Low self-esteem distinguishes followers from leaders (Judge, Bono, Ilies, & Gerhardt, 2002). Individuals with low selfesteem often wish to be someone more desirable, which prompts them to identify with charismatic leaders (Hoffer, 1951; Shamir, Arthur, & House, 1994). Weierter (1997) argued that persons with low self-esteem are more likely to identify with a charismatic person because such leaders want to control and manipulate others, and these followers feel they deserve such treatment.

Self-efficacy refers to beliefs about one's capability to perform well (Bandura, 1986); it determines decisions about what activities to undertake and how much effort to spend on them. Finally, locus of control concerns the belief that one determines one's fate versus the belief that outcomes are determined by external factors; individuals with an external locus of control do not see themselves as leaders (Rotter, 1966). Followers with an external locus of control are easier to manipulate and are attracted to others who seem powerful and willing to care for them (Luthans et al., 1998). Thus, persons with low self-esteem, low self-efficacy, and an external locus of control are susceptible to destructive leaders. Totalitarian regimes, through propaganda, control of the media, societal controls, and persecution of dissidents reinforce this sense of powerlessness and passivity (Arendt, 1951). Libya has long been dominated by Italian due to colonialism. Then under the reign of King Idriss, the Western powers were still present and controlled the country. It is thanks to Kaddafi's revolution that has raised the awareness of the Libyan about nation's resources because the resources that were formerly exploited by foreign countries. Libyans have realized very

late that their country was powerful with such wealthy subsoil, whose revenues were monopolised by Kaddafi's clan.

5.2.3 Low maturity

Research on ego development, moral reasoning, and the self-concept suggest that psychologically immature individuals are more likely to conform to authority and to participate in destructive acts. Freud (1921) argued that, in a crowd, peoples' superegos collapse and are replaced symbolically by the leader, who then becomes the individual's guide to action. Conformity can lead to immoral behaviour and, consequently, according to Freud, mature adults must be prepared to oppose their leaders. This is the point of Milgram's (1963, 1974) still relevant work suggesting that conforming people are at risk for harming others (e.g., shocking a stranger to death). In a direct extension of Milgram's argument, Kohlberg's theory of moral development states that people who respect rules are capable of immoral behavior in the name of authority (Kohlberg, 1969). According to Kohlberg, such behavior is most likely among adults in the "conventional" ranges of ego development, which includes between 60 and 75% of Western adults (Cook-Greuter, 1999; Loevinger, 1976). Thus, psychological maturity is needed to oppose destructive authority.

Erikson's (1959) developmental theory indicates that maturity involves forming an integrated and socially valued identity. Persons lacking a firm sense of self tend to identify with cultural heroes and to internalize their values. Weierter's (1997) model of charismatic relationships also proposes that followers who lack a clear sense of self will adopt the values of charismatic leaders, which then enhances their self-esteem. Kaddafi took power with a group of 20 inexperienced militaries who followed him till they perceived they were also able to lead but when they tried (some of them attempted a coup against the guide) Kaddafi eliminated them and only the faithful one stayed in power. Although these vulnerabilities might apply to

any immature adult, they apply well to the young (Popper, 2001)—for instance, the Hitler Youth, the Manson family, or Mao's Red Guard. When impressionable followers internalize a destructive leader's vision, they can become committed to a destructive enterprise-conformers can become colluders (Hoffer, 1951; Kets de Vries, 1989; Weierter, 1997). Nowadays, low maturity could be reflected as not involved in the process generation 2.0. The 2011 Arab spring made us understood the importance of new technology in the implementation of power as well as revolution. In Libya Medias and cable connections are nationalized and the company is led by one of Kaddafi's son, which means that it reduces the risk of dissatisfaction and so force people to accept the regime.

5.2.4 Ambition

Although destructive leadership creates negative outcomes for organizations, some members might prosper (Offerman, 2004). They will be individuals close to the leader and others willing to implement the destructive vision (Kellerman, 2004; Offerman, 2004). Ambitious people for status and sometimes engage in exploitative relations, and may be willing to follow coercive policies if it will advance their personal agendas (McClelland, 1975). The notion that ambitious people will follow destructive leaders in pursuit of status contradicts the view that normal German citizens were duped into supporting Hitler's genocidal policies (cf. Kellman & Hamilton, 1989). Others have noted that Hitler's staff, and other parts of the German government contained ambitious people who understood that status in the Nazi hierarchy depended on pleasing Hitler. As Adams & Balfour (1998) note: "…routine administrative processes [were central] to the implementation of the Holocaust… the nature and dynamics of these bureaucratic processes are not unique to Nazi Germany… but instead are entirely consistent with modern organizations and the technical–rational approach to administration (p. 54)." References to the "final solution" came from the top of the Nazi hierarchy, and certain officials began to compete by implementing policies

designed to please der Führer. “Participation in the Final Solution did not result so much from explicit orders systematically disseminated, as through self recruitment by the zealous and ambitious servants of the Third Reich in response to the impulses and hints they perceived emanating from the centre of power ” (Browning, 1989, pp. 98–99).

When there are opportunities to profit, ambitious colluders are easy to recruit (Kellerman, 2004; McLean & Elkind, 2005). Kaddafi has intentionally used the ambition of some officers with whom he had overthrown the monarchy to sit his power, some of them were capable of the worst atrocities to please the leader and access to key positions of the state. Viewed this way the persecutions of Kaddafi’s regime were less a matter of mindless conformity and than a function of individual efforts to get ahead, regardless of the human cost. Kaddafi has bribed thanks to oil revenues a lot of politicians or senior officials in the administration to keep them far from harm and when his "henchmen" have become too ambitious or were desired to oppose him, Kaddafi gave order to other ambitious members tempted to take their places to execute them as for example Mansour Kikhia minister of foreign affairs or Mohamed Harati minister of information

5.3 Conducive environments

The third domain in the toxic triangle is the environmental context that envelops leaders, followers, and their interactions. Most leadership scholars recognize that the “situation” matters. Our review suggests that four environmental factors are important for destructive leadership: instability, perceived threat, cultural values, and absence of checks and balances and institutionalization.

5.3.1 Instability

During times of instability, leaders can enhance their power by advocating radical change to restore order (Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978; Conger & Kanungo, 1987). Leaders taking power in unstable environments are also granted more authority because instability demands quick action and unilateral decision making (Janis & Mann, 1977; Vroom & Jago, 1974). But once decision-making becomes centralized, it is often difficult to take back (Kipnis, 1972). The structural stability of the social system (Cell, 1974; Conger & Kanungo, 1998; Simonton, 1988)—the extent to which rules of governance are clearly defined and consistently applied over time—is also important. For example, in modern post-communist countries, major policy decisions are frequently based on ad hoc negotiations among elites (Kornai, 1995). Shrewd leaders can exploit fluid and transient structures closed to external scrutiny.

Destructive, bad or tyrannical leadership flourish in certain kinds of situations. The creator of a new state, as the Italian political philosopher Niccolo Machiavelli argues in The Prince, or even the ruler in an established state who comes to power outside the usual selection methods, must at least act like a tyrant. Contemporary experience with German Nazi leader Adolf Hitler and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin suggests that the new prince, with the capacity to act like a tyrant, is most apt to come to power in unstable or changing political and social conditions, where the populace harbours deep-seated resentments or grievances based on historical or social events. The likelihood is increased in situations where people are accustomed to authoritarian rule and rigid social hierarchies. The rise and dominance of Ida Amin of Uganda, Jean-Betel Bokassa of the Central African Republic, like Muammar Kaddafi suggest a related but somewhat different possibility. Transitions from colonial to local rule, in which the local populace is poorly educated with little experience in democracy, offer a fertile breeding ground for the tyrant. The dynamics of survival and

ascendancy in periods of struggle between competing groups give an advantage to the daring, the ruthless, and the corrupt.

3.3.2 Perceived threat

Related to structural and organizational instability is the perception of imminent threat. This can range from feelings of mistreatment to the desperate economic and social situations in Somalia and Zimbabwe to a beleaguered corporation facing bankruptcy. When people feel threatened, they are more willing to accept assertive leadership. Research on terror management theory illustrates how threat increases followers' support and identification with charismatic leaders, particularly non-participative leaders (Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991). One study found that when people were made more aware of their own death, their preference for charismatic leaders increased and preferences for participative leaders declined (Cohen, Solomon, Maxfield, Pyszczynski, & Greenberg, 2004). Another study suggested that reminding people about the mortal dangers of terrorism increased support for U.S. President George W. Bush and his counter-terrorism policies (Landau et al., 2004).

Two points about the role of environmental threats are important. First, objective threats are not necessary; all that is needed is the perception of threat. Second, leaders often perpetuate the perception of threat or an external “enemy” (e.g., Kaddafi’s references to the opposition with US and the bombing of Tripoli in 1986) in order to strengthen their power and motivate followers.

5.3.3 Cultural values

Culture concerns preferences for certain social conditions and therefore shapes emergent leadership (Hofstede, 1991). Luthans et al. (1998) propose that “dark leaders” are likely to emerge in cultures that endorse the avoidance of uncertainty, collectivism (as opposed to individualism), and high power distance. Uncertainty avoidance involves the extent to which a

society feels threatened by ambiguous situations; in such societies, people look to strong leaders to provide hope. Dictators exploit followers' needs for security by providing structure, rituals, and rules that offer easy solutions to complex problems (Heifetz, 1994; Luthans et al., 1998).

Cultures that emphasize cooperation and group loyalty, as well as in-group/out-group distinctions, are defined as collective (Hofstede, 1991). Such cultures prefer strong leaders to bring people together, in part to absolve the citizens of working out conflicts directly and to provide solidarity and group identity. Finally, Hofstede (1991) defines “power distance” as the difference in privilege and authority between high- and low-status individuals. In high power-distance cultures, especially those with low educational levels and large disparities in wealth distribution, followers are more tolerant of the power asymmetries that characterize tyranny and despotism.

5.3.4 Absence of checks, balances and institutionalization

Strong organizations (and nations) tend to have strong institutions and strong countervailing centers of power. The Federalist Papers, where Madison suggested the need for checks and balances to avoid the abuses of absolute power, highlight the dangers of unilateral control. (Hamilton, Jay, & Madison, 2000). In this model, multiple branches of government have independent authority and responsibility; each branch can also place limits on the power of others. Systems without such sharing of control—for example, corporations lacking independent board oversight—allow individuals or parties to usurp power (Gandossy & Sonnenfeldt, 2004).

In the management literature, “discretion” concerns the degree to which managers are free from institutional constraints (Finkelstein & Hambrick, 1990). Although leaders need discretion to do their jobs, discretion also allows destructive leaders to abuse their power (Kaiser & Hogan, 2007). The concept of managerial discretion suggests that destructive leadership is

most likely in senior jobs (where there is less supervision), in younger and smaller organizations with limited governance mechanisms, and in high-growth and rapidly transforming industries (Hambrick & Abrahamson, 1995). These conditions characterized Enron at the height of its popularity on Wall Street (McLean & Elkind, 2005).

A culture of dependency and apathy among followers can also contribute to the centralization of power. Such an ethos, particularly when combined with instability and ineffective institutions, concentrates power in a leader, leading to greater follower dependence and weakening of opposition and dissidence. The political science literature discusses centralization under the concept of "presidentialism" (Linz, 1994; Mainwaring & Scully, 1995; Shugart & Mainwaring, 1997; Zakaria, 1997). While there is no directly analogous notion in the management literature, the work on empowerment and decentralization of authority (e.g., Argyris, 1998; Conger & Kanungo, 1988) is similar. Centralized governance systems that rely on the top of the organization for decisions stand in sharp contrast to structures based on autonomous political units with effective and professional institutions that share responsibility and authority for governance. It is hard for destructive leaders to succeed in stable systems with strong institutions because along with strong followers, it will tend to trump attempts to take over the system. Soon in power, Kaddafi has completely changed the structure of the state; he imagined a political system described as 'an organized chaos' by some expert forcing the administration to follow him because unable to concurrent him with such a complex system

Chapter 7 Conclusion

“Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely” Lord Acton

Kaddafi who started his political career with a dream of democracy, unionist and socialist projects for his country has built through the years a total domination marked by violent repression, imprisonment, tortures and murders on his own people; How can we understand that ? Why leaders turn bad?

Eminent social psychologist Phil Zimbardo has made a career on the study of coercion, obedience, and evil. After years of research he has developed a theory called “the Lucifer effect” on how good people can turn evil. Essentially, he believes that given the right social conditions, most people lose their moral compass and can commit acts that they would not think they were capable of.

Leadership and power can be seen as conditions to explain such unethical behaviours. Although philosophers from Plato to Hobbes to Bertrand Russell have analyzed leadership, modern social science has tended to take a one-sided view of the topic, emphasizing its positive and constructive aspects while avoiding its darker side (Hogan & Kaiser, 2005; Kellerman, 2004; Yukl, 1999).

This thesis aimed to analyze Colonel Kaddafi’s life from a leadership perspective, stressing the bad way it took and trying to understand the effects top position can have on a normal man. But it is not only about worldwide known leaders; recent abuses of authority in business, politics and religion have revived an interest in that issue.

From Machiavelli to Hitler, from Louis XIV to Saddam Hussein until Bashar Assad still in operation, the world has ever known tyrants, leaders lawless. so the derivative form of power has become a key point of leadership studies. Sex and rape, embezzlement, violence and torture, corruption by analyzing

Kaddafi we realize that a place of high rank, all evil can sometimes be expressed with impunity. This is not an isolated case, we find the example in our daily lives, a teacher who abuses his authority over his children, a husband who abuses his power over his wife, a politician who shows offense of initiated. Without control, justice, abuse prevention could be even more frequent. As stated by Alain Juppe, Foreign minister under Sarkozy, the day after the election of Francois Hollande, "when there is no cons-power, power is always going farer". At a time when the gap between boss and employees, representatives and people have so increased that they pose an ethical problem, the abuse of power raises a real question of society and demonstrates the need for a return to normal (Paul Magnette, Minister of public enterprises about the salaries of top managers, 65 times bigger than simple workers). This work also describes the formation of an absolute power not only depends on a person but is linked to certain conditions which weak followers and conducive environment are part of.

The choice of an Arab country is not insignificant and shows that in a culture quite different from ours, where the problem persists and is even stronger the example of revolutions of the Arab spring, a notable future is to hope. Another leadership issue is considered; the leadership of revolution and peace. Kaddafi gave us a good example that a good willing revolution can resume in four decades of tyranny; we can so ask feared that if the guide was removed this is maybe to implement radical Islamists or to allow foreign powers (mainly Western) to continue the exploitation of the country leaving populations whole. Even the UN cannot give the feeling of a selective intrusion; being involved in Libya and ignoring crimes committed in Syria, Bahrain or Yemen. When justice is a two-speed, justice becomes unjust!

Chapter 8 References

Daudi P, “Methodology and thesis project management; master dissertation”, compendia 2011-2012.

Kadhafi literature:

-Bravin, H. “Kadhafi: vie et mort d’un dictateur” Bourin Edition, 2012.

-Bruce St John R. “Qaddafi’s world design” Encre d’Orient, 2011.

-Qaddafi, M. “My vision” Edmond Jouve, 2005.

-Qaddafi, M. “The green book” Ithaca pus, 2005.

-Naba, R. “Kadhafi portrait total; entre intervention militaire et insurection populaire” Edition Golias, 2011.

-Najjar, A. “Anatomie d’un tyran Mouammar Kadhafi” Actes sud, 2011.

-Kikhia (al) M. “Lybia’s qaddafi: the politics of contradiction”

-Reich, B. “political leaders of the contemporary middle east and north africa” , greenwood publishing group, 1990.

Leadership literature:

-Andersen, J A. Leadership, personality and effectiveness, the journal of socio-economics, edn 35, 2006, 1078-1091.

Bass, B.M. & Riggio, R.E. 2006, Transformational Leadership, 2nd edn, Lawrance Erlbaum Associates,New Jersey.

Barrett D.J. “A communication Approach for Senior-Level Managers”, Handbook of Business Strategy Emerald Group Publishing, 2006. Pages 385-390

Bathurst, R. 2008, „Aesthetic leadership: managing fields of flow in art and business: book review“,Scandinavian Journal of Management, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 74–75.

Bennis, W. & Nanus, B. 2004, Leaders: Strategies for Taking Charge, Harper Business, New York.

Boin, A. & Hart, P. 2003,Public leadership in times of crisis: mission impossible?", Public Administration Review, vol. 63, no. 5, pp. 544–553.

Burke, C.S., Sims, D.E., Lazzara, E.H. & Salas, E. 2007, „Trust in leadership: A multi-level review and integration", The Leadership Quarterly, vol. 18, no.6, pp. 606–632.

Chemers M. (1997) *An integrative theory of leadership*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers

Choi, J. 2006, „A motivational theory of charismatic leadership: envisioning, empathy, and empowerment", Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 24–43.

Conger, J. 1991, „Inspiring others: the language of leadership", Academy of Management Executive, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 31–45.

Corkindale, G. 2010, „Handling the fall-out from a failing leader", Harvard Business Review, July 30, viewed 23 March 2011.

Daudi, P. 1986, Power in the organisation: the discourse of power in managerial praxis; monograph, Basil Blackwell, Oxford & New York

Daudi, P. 2010, Leadership and Management in International Context Master Program, Linnaeus University, Kalmar, Sweden.

Dervin, B. 1989, „Audience as listener and learner, teacher and confident : the sense-making approach", in R. Rice & C. Atkin (eds), Public communication campaigns, Sage, Newbury Park, CA.

Donno, D. "Machiavelli, N. The prince" Trans. & Ed. New York: Bantam Books, 1966.

Eilam, G. & Shamir, B. 2005, „What's your story, a life-stories approach to authentic leadership development", The Leadership Quarterly, vol. 16, no.3, pp. 395–417.

Edward Elgar" Business Leadership and Culture". National Management Styles in the Global economy UK/US.2000.

Gardner, J.W. 1990, John W. Gardner on leadership, Free Press, New York.

Gardner, H. 1996, Leading minds, anatomy of leadership, Basic Books, New York

Graen, G.B. & Uhl-Bien, M. 1995, „Relationship-based approach to leadership: development of leader–member exchange (LMX) theory of

leadership over 25 years: applying a multi-level multidomain perspective", The Leadership Quarterly, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 219–247.

Glad, B. "Tyrannical Leadership". Encyclopedia of Leadership. Ed. Thousand Oaks, CA. 2004.

Habermas, J. 1984, „The theory of communicative action, reason and the rationalization of society volume one, Beacon Press, Boston.

Hansen, H., Ropo, A. & Sauer, E. 2007, „Aesthetic leadership", The Leadership Quarterly, vol. 18, no. 6, pp. 544–560.

Jowett, B "Plato. The republic " Trans. & Ed. New York: Random House, 1941.

Kennedy, G.A. 1991, Introduction to Aristotle"s on rhetoric, a theory of civic discourse, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Ladkin, D. & Taylor, S.S. 2009, „Enacting the true self: towards a theory of embodied authentic leadership", The Leadership Quarterly, vol. 21, no.1, pp. 64–74.

Lundgren, M. 2012, Leadership and rhetoric: an introduction to classical rhetoric, lecture notes, 4FE420 Leadership as construction of meaning, Linnaeus University.

Marturano, A. & Gosling, J. "Leadership: the key concepts" Routledge key guides, London, 2008.

Northouse, P.G. "Introduction to leadership; concepts and practice" ,Sage publications, London, 2009.

Palanski, M.E. & Yammarino, F.J. 2009, „Integrity and leadership: A multi-level conceptual framework", The Leadership Quarterly, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 405–420

Padilla, A. Hogan, R & Kaiser R B. The toxic triangle: Destructive leaders, susceptible followers, and conducive environments, The leadership quarterly, no 18, 2007, pp. 176-194.

Plum, E. "Cultural intelligence", middlesex university press, 2008.

Prokesch, S. 1986, „Man in the News; a leader in a crisis: James Edward Burke", The New York Times, 19 February, viewed 19 March 2011.

Rogers, E M. & Steinfatt, T M. “intercultural communication”. Waveland press, 1998.

Shamir, B. 1995, „Social distance and charisma: theoretical notes and an exploratory study“, The Leadership Quarterly, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 19–47.

Simonton D K. Political leadership part1-world head of state, University of california at Davis, leadership quarterly, 1998, pp 239-242

Smircich, L. & Morgan, G. 1982, „Leadership: the management of meaning“, The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 257–273.

Springborg, C. 2010, „Leadership as art – leaders coming to their senses“, Leadership, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 243–258.

Weick K. 1979, the social psychology of organizations, Random House, New York.

Weick, K.E. 1995, Sensemaking in organizations, SAGE Publications, California.