Muammar Gaddafi's Legacy:
A Domestic & Intellectual Approach

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Abstract

This work aims to offer an approach to the legacy of Muammar Gaddafi as one of the most significant political figures for the modern history of Libya, and as one of the most influential regional leaders. The analysis is presented and studied under three main scopes: the legacy of Gaddafi under a State level scope, exposing him as a sponsor of State terror and violent acts towards Libyan and international population, his legacy, reflected from the political angle, opens the guidelines to identify a wide range of consequences directed from the political spheres, which significative impacted Libyan population; the his legacy at the domestic level, where a reflection and approach is carried out about its relevance through the analysis of Libyan social development indicators data during his administration, exposing a fragmented society; and on his legacy though his written works an analysis is made around the presence of crossed identities and internal conflicts expressed through their stories.

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Through this transversal study of the legacy of Gaddafi, it is argued it will be possible to get an approach to the impact of Muammar Gaddafi, although Libya is presently in an unstable state and fragmented situation.

Key words: Gaddafi, modern Libya, Libyan human development, intellectual legacy

Introduction

Throughout the second half of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century, different investigations have been carried out regarding the character of Muammar Gaddafi from the optics of the social sciences in order to objectively get an approach to understand the actions carried out as a State leader as well as its impact at domestic and regional level. Beyond that, Gaddafi stood out as a polemic and popular political figure for several reasons that maintain an asymmetrical relationship with each other, on the one hand, seen as a solid and authoritarian presence at the State level in the region, with political ideals characteristic of a bipolarized global context, playing an important role as balance of power in the region; on the other hand, because of its frequent scandals regarding the systematic violations of human rights in Libya, and its participation as a sponsor of violence acts at State level and abroad. In a paralel way, there is an asymmetric relationship between the figure of Gaddafi as a philanthropist, billionaire, and as a leader of a state that officially enjoyed privileged positions in terms of economic and social development with respect to the Middle East and Africa; moreover, although in a lesser known facet, Gaddafi aroused interest thanks to the impact of his written intellectual work (political and literary material).

The Colonel Muammar Gaddafi ruled Libya between September the 1st of 1969 and October the 20th of 2011, same date of his death during an ambush in Sirte. He was born in a bedouin tent in *Qasr Abu Hadi* (Sirte District), in a high marked traditional environment and belonging to the *Qaddafa* ethnic group[1], so his education was in constant touch with religious rhetoric and therefore, under the traditional Libyan ethnic environment and Islamic rules. The figure that Gaddafi represented remained relevant at domestic and regional history so as Libyan international dynamics, moreover, at economic and social impact. Muammar Gaddafi is one of the most representative characters in Libya and northern Africa, and at the same time, one of the most polemic leaders of the 2nd half of the 20th Century and the first decade of the 21st, because of his influential participation in political and economic spheres in Africa as well as in the Middle East.

This paper aims to answer the questions of ¿how to get an objective approach the analysis of Gaddafi's legacy, how is Gaddafi's legacy recognized, what are some impact indicators on his legacy, and finally, is there new information quantifiable that could be extracted from the study of the intellectual legacy of Gaddafi?

These questions will try to be answered through the construction of a bibliographic and qualitative method in which first two difficult angles to ignore when studying part of Gaddafi's legacy are considered, as are the first and second approaches of the present text, to finally identify a third angle of study when performing a qualitative analysis extracted from the intellectual legacy of Gaddafi in order to obtain additional information thanks to the triangulation of data and key concepts. The present work intends to carry out a transversal study around what we considered three interesting angles with respect to his legacy, for this purpose three approaches or study plans directly linked as part of Gaddafi's legacy have been identified that will be developed in a pyramidal set based on the following assumptions or hypotheses: a) Gaddafi's legacy maintains a controversial recognition with an important impact mainly related as despotic, unilateral and hostile State leader in foreign affairs matters, as well as sponsor of activities such as state terrorism and violent activities abroad, being provocative and controversial issues that have been exploited throughout the first decade of the 21st century; b) from a position less publicized than the first premise, but not less studied, Gaddafi's legacy as a State leader maintained a significant impact at domestic level, where it is possible to consider interesting asymmetric relations between the State and the population, making reference to the statistical data of the index of human development (health, education and income) registered as impact of the social policies implemented by Gaddafi, highlighting for positioning Libya in privileged positions with respect to the rest of the countries of Africa and the Middle East; c) it is possible to obtain new and precise information deposited in his written works, as is the case of his tales and stories, where it is possible to identify and recognize the presence of interesting series of internal conflicts in Gaddafi and cross-identity relations, in order to approaching a new way of re-knowing and studying the legacy of this character.

The first approach to Gaddafi's legacy is based on what we consider the angle of study with the highest impact on mass media and scientific dissemination, Gaddafi's legacy at State level, sponsor of violent acts and State terrorism, and the impact it has had on the internal and external dynamics of the country. This first approach identifies the legacy of Gaddafi as the consequence of a historical period that deeply marked the Libyan population through systematic violations of human rights, which recognizes a negative impact on Libyan society that has been evidenced over decades of abuses and authoritarianism in Libya; and therefore, it is an angle difficult to ignore when studying the legacy of Gaddafi, where critical studies on terrorism[2] will be highlighted.

On behalf a second approach a reflection will be offered on Gaddafi's legacy from a social scope as well as its impact on the Libyan population, where some indicators of social development are analyzed according to the World Bank and the United Nations,. Gaddafi's administration characterized by pursued an asymmetrical relationship within the population and ethnic groups and ethnic groups, which its situation was characterized by the consequences of his megalomania; his constant acts of repression, and the fragmentation of the Libyan population.

Gaddafi appear as a significative leader by its political, economic and social proposals highlighting Pan-Africanism through a domestic and regional development; furthermore, beyond the social division and the present inequality uppon population, paradoxically, the levels of human development in education, health and economic income, are presented in high levels in comparison with other countries in Africa and the Middle East, showing at the same time a significant development in social and economic sectors; remaining as part of the legacy of a key player in Libyan history.

Finally, from a less recognized angle of study than the previous two, the intellectual legacy of Gaddafi, at this point the main analysis contribution of the present work, The third and final approach, will be focused on the intellectual legacy of Gaddafi, an actor who left some written works that marked the political, economical and social pulse of a whole country, such as *The Green Book* (political, economic and social estrategies and proposals, especially in Africa and the approach to an Islamic socialism, in which Gaddafi proposed a third way of development in the political, economical and social spheres[3]; *My Vision*[4] (memories and political, economic and social thoughts in Libya and Africa); and, in a no less interesting branch, the collection of traditional stories of Libyan desert and popular culture as Escape to Hell and other Stories[5], where a deep analysis is made about the presence of crossed identities and internal conflicts reflected in his stories, pointing to a functional method to obtain new data about Gaddafi at a personal level. His intellectual legacy that expose another side of Gaddafi, his personal life, culture, priorities, identity and inner conflicts. The impact of his intellectual work not only presented as political, economic and social guidelines in Libya, but also beyond borders emerging as regional model; showing special interest in a African continental Union.

The three study angles previously mentioned with respect to Gaddafi's legacy were recognized from a macro-micro perspective structured in a pyramidal manner through a transversal analysis, where the first two approaches were difficult to ignore when studying Gaddafi's legacy. In other words, an example of approach is offered, from the point of view of the State and social levels, so as an original study regarding the intellectual legacy of Gaddafi and the manifestation of internal conflicts and cross-identities which are exposed in his tales and stories.

Through this work, it is expected to maintain a greater understanding of Gaddafi's legacy and its impact at state and social levels, likewise, it is expected to have contributed with new and measurable information regarding the study of the intellectual and literary legacy of Gaddafi.

Gaddafi's Legacy: Sponsor of State and International Terrorism

The approach at the State level stands out when analyzing the legacy of Gaddafi. Its relevant, on one hand, because it is at State level where the decisions were made through policies that impacted at domestic level, marking social and economic guidelines, at the same time, directly impacting the decision-making at the regional level, consummating its position in a meaningful way assuming the presidency of the African Union (2009-2010); on the other hand, it is precisely at state level that stands out in mass media and that is largely recognized, in part because of its impact at the international level, linked to violent and hostile attacks before the international community. The legacy of Gaddafi analyzed at state level can be observed as a historical moment of national and regional transition, where state terrorism and the violation of human rights turned out to be a constant in Libya, remaining the state in an authoritarian and unilateral relation towards Libyan population, and hostile towards international community. Reflecting the legacy of Gaddafi from the state approach is a good starting point to identify different gaps that rised as a result of Gaddafi's state dynamics and policies, with relevant impact on national logistics; in a parallel way, the legacy of Gaddafi seen at the state level is irremediably linked to the use of violence as a constant tool both within and outside Libyan borders.

The concept of *terrorism* has been tried to define throughout the second half of the 20th Century, on one hand, it has been a complicated concept to analyze, making an effort to clarify certain conflicts around the term, and on the other hand, making front to new and emerging problems after the Cold War (1991). The concept has been sophisticated and complex, remaining as a limitless term of defining, moreover, the studies that approach to the concept of terrorism, as well as the analyzes of conjuncture in this respect, have caused extensive debates to define the nature and pertinent approaches, which somehow, turns the term into a concept immersed in subjectivity[6]. Although, it is possible to recognize that, at a considerable level, the concept is defined as the set of criminal acts carried out on the civilian population, in other words, that the concept of terrorism is generally linked, as a criminal and violent form, which frequently carries immersed objectives that go beyond the violent act itself. From a general point of view, we can recognize that not all armed conflicts manifest the use of activities involved with terrorism or their meanings, however the concept of terrorism remains, in an integral way, in several cases with respect to contemporary armed conflicts, both, at domestic and regional levels, so it is possible to be studied from the perspective of the use of violence[7]. In this sense, we can identify two common and essential (although not unique) elements towards the concept are, on one side, the use of violence (physical or psychological) and, on the other side, the rising fear levels; however, it is not always preceded by the threat of using violence alone, and is not enough to be considered within the scope of the term[8]. The concept have been changing and modifying according to the political, economic or social context of the area; furthermore, over the last three decades of the 20th Century, there was a gradual shift from secular socio-political terrorism to ethno-political and religious or quasi-religious terrorism, or to some combination of both. Nevertheless, important ideological parallels can be drawn between new transnational violent networks and old localized conflict-related terrorism, especially in the case of Islamist terrorism branch.[9]

Probably the best-known legacy of Gaddafi is involved as a totalitarian, megalomaniac leader, narcissistic, multi-billionaire, sponsor of violent acts; on one hand, pursued at the domestic level, in the sense of promoting fear into Libyan population though detentions, ejecutions, and the use of torture[10], promoter of the economic inequality towards social diversity in Libya and leading massacres so as internal repression; on the other hand, Gaddafi also was sponsor of violent acts at regional and international levels. This well-known facet of Gaddafi is the most widely adjusted in the field of mass media, and usually responds (in a partial scope) the question of who Gaddafi was, so as the impact of his violent acts at domestic and foreign levels[11]. In a general overview of the events related to Gaddafi and fear logistics, he on one hand, spending a multi-million dollar sum in the purchase of weapons for purposes of domestic security from the USSR, such as heavy artillery, air force, logistic, and intelligence advises; on the other hand, it was posible to hesitate about the possibility to acquire weapons of mass destruction, from the People's Republic of China in the 1970s; but it was not until the 1980s that the international community discovered in Pakistan a transaction for 100 million dollars for the construction of weapons of mass destruction.[12]

One of the best known terrorist acts in which Gaddafi was involved, was the 1972 Olympic Games attacks pursued by the *Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)*, providing instruction, armament, economic and social capital; or the incident of the *Lockerbie* bombing[13]. However, could be pertinent to recognize that Libyan active participation were deeply influenced in the field of the "revolutionary" acts, financing insurgency, and radical social movements where Libya took place in social and nationalist movements, such as Latin America, Egypt (as a great admirer of Nasser's Pan-Arabism model), and the USSR. Appealing to his "left movement" and the struggle for its expansion, we can realize that some warlike activities financed by Gaddafi influenced in a deep way both, international geopolitics and regional insurrection of separatist or fundamentalist movements in the 2nd half of the 20th Century and first decade of the 21st Century[14], marking in a significative way the politic and economic pulse of the region, as promoter of an Pan-Arab Union, however, after what he considered as the end of Pan Arabism, he turned his attention to Africa, manifesting his intentions to build an African Union, were bolstered by his willingness to throw capital all over the continent[15], specially when he became the President of the African Union (Febrary 2nd of 2009-January 31st of 2010), remarking his role, presence and importance in the regional framework.

Not only the violent actions itself pursued by Gaddafi and his excutive and security service what makes him a relevant figure, but the impact in international geopolitics and his participation in the global political game, at both, domestic and regional levels, so as its consequences with respect to the Libyan foreign affairs, and his personal life that inevitably impacted directly on the Libyan population. Muammar Gaddafi deeply influenced the behavior of social, military and political movements that were present in European, African and Middle Eastern countries; furthermore, his actions gave way to a new vision of Islamic socialism and political organization in Africa[16].

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In this sense, Gaddafi remain as an important character because of its political influence at a global level as well as the national social and economical development; the mandate of Gaddafi turned out to be a highly lucrative business opportunity for some political powers, thanks to the constant consumption of weaponry by the Libyan government, especially to Russia and China, and considering the fact that Gaddafi and his political comitee pursued an indiscriminate consumption of western goods, thanks to the high production of oil exported to southern Europe, as Italy.

Gaddafi turns out to be a state figure with high international impact and relevance as the Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran and Mao Tse Tung in China; frequently related to authoritarianism and state violence, partly because his clear position about political of fear[17], "anti-west" and one of the main engines of financing of radical groups in a global sense, as for its extravagance in the purchase of luxuries, as well as the constant female companies, multi-billionaire leader, and his way of exercising power within Libya and abroad. This particular and striking way of life and rule exposed his unilateral system in the field of foreign policy as constantly linked to their personal interests; Gaddafi turned out to be a force for containment and power balance during the Cold War period and post Cold War.

In this sense, there are close ties linking Gaddafi's legacy at state level, where violence and the use of force, was underscored as a threat to the transition, *the idea of making change, even political change, through the use of force has been embedded in people's minds throughout the 42 years of his rule. This would need to change to make a successful transition...* Nevertheless (towards the use of force) remained as a culture of exclusión, *where ethnic groups favored their own people and appointments were made based on one's ethnic group and not on merit. This culture of exclusion is starting to re-emerge in the post- revolution period.*[18]

From this point of view, it is possible to consider the hypothesis with respect to the political plane which is placed as the main exponent intervenor and trigger of a wide range of conditions that addressed with force and sense the political legacy of Gaddafi both domestic and international. The political legacy of Gaddafi exposes, on the one hand, the transition, restructuring and internal institutional development, that in parallel, increased the participation and national influence in the regional political and economic dynamics; on the other hand, it exposes a State immersed in codependent relationships towards the international framework, partly due to internal corruption, mismanagement and waste by the unilateral administration that Gaddafi implemented, opening the way for a vulnerable and divided civil society that went through a long period of violence and systematic violations of their human rights. The use of violence as a tool marked the political legacy of Gaddafi, as well as the Libyan population and international affected.

Libyan Social Order and Human Development

Gaddafi's legacy analyzed from a social development scope, is directly linked to the domestic economy development, however, they do not show a directly proportional growth behavior, as exposed by the World Bank indicators, although there was a close relationship with respect to growth economic and urbanization, in which Libyan society was immersed into a divisional pattern between the center and the periphery in a very marked way; moreover, the relationship between indicators of social and economic development are asymmetric, in this way, the rising economic development of Libya under Gaddafi's administration was centralized and exclusive with respect to the periphery, so that Libyan population was divided and fragmented in the face of new political order and economic conditions. Although, the legacy of Gaddafi analyzed from a social development perspective is extremely complicated to observe, however, through indicators of social development obtained from the World Bank, and more specifically, the Human Development Index, it is possible to obtain an approximation to the Gaddafi's legacy from a social spectrum, as well as its impact at the domestic level.

Libyan population stands out as a heterogeneous and multicultural African country, with a high level of social and cultural deveristy, with ethnic branches and traditional cultural dynamics inmersed. Hence, Libyan ethnic groups are not monolithic in influence but instead played diverse political roles.[19] Libyan population is ramified into a large and diverse ethnic branch[20], we can identify the main ethnicities of Libya remaining in a prime position because of its presence as it is the case of the Arabs, Amazigh, Tuareg and Toubou; however, we can identify a large number of different ethnic groups throughout the Libyan territory as it is the case of the ethnic groups *Qadhadhfa, Warfalla, Bani Walid, Saqr,* Magarha, *Misratah, Tarhuna, Zintan, Barasa, Awagir, Obeidat,* and the ethnic group *Zuwayya.* During the rule of Gaddafi, was reduced the influence of the ethnic system not only through social fragmentation, he relied increasingly on the ethnic system to consolidate his power in Libya, while at the same time, keeping in low levels of presence the power of several ethnic groups by granting economic privileges, establishing alliances based on marital ties, or by threatening punishment.[21] Gaddafi also endeavoured to preserve the balance of power between the different ethnic groups within his own government and the various state institutions. Gaddafi's regime established a complex system of power and control, pursuing panoptic systems[22] based on close relatives of his ethnic group (Qadhadfa) as well as three allied ethnic groups, the Warfalla (the biggest ethnic group in Libya), the Magarha[23], and the Maqariha ethnic group[24] is (regarded as being most closely associated with Gaddafi's native region), taking on intermediate positions between ethnic group and state which were important for the implementation of policies at regional and local levels. As consecuence, there was a significative change in re-building national identity of Libyan population so as cultural identity belongers to ethnic populations and ethnic groups throughout the country.

Political and economic structures of Libya have undergone several changes in a relatively short period of time. We can realize that the economic dynamics are linked with politics; so we can highlight some key historical periods to maintain a comprehensive and panoramic view of the history of Libya in the 2nd half of the 20th Century: the post-independence period and "ending" the foreign rule under the rule of King Idris I (1951-1969), who continued to maintain close relations with the UK and the USA thanks to the discovery of reserves of oil in Libyan territory and, therefore it would be an important ally for the Western powers and regional "stability" and balance of power; the 2nd period of radical change in political and economic structures of Libya is under the power of Muammar Gaddafi where economic relations were restructured with a new national and political identity, in a country of top importance for the Western countries by its reserves of oil and natural gas as well as its geographic position. Ultimately, there was a radical rupture in the social, political and economic context when the Arab Spring manifested itself in Libya and aftermath.[25]

During the tenure of King Idris I, has maintained close relations with the UK and the USA due to the constant threats from nationalist movements in neighboring countries like the case of Egypt; thanks to these close relations, Libya's economy maintained a considerable economic growth, mainly thanks to oil and the foreign military presence in Tripoli. When the health of the King Idris's declined in 1969, he tried to name Prince Hasan as-Senussi his sucessor; this was the moment of political transition that Gaddafi knew how to take advantage of. During 42 years under his leadership, Libya was immerse into a new rising stage of changes and restructuration in the areas of foreign policy, domestic policy, and regional ties with African and Middle Eastern countries. Under his rule, Libya faced new challenges thanks to the radical change in position against the western presence in Libya, where Libya began for the first time in its history to exercise its "partial sovereignty", constantly immersed the Libyan central power and cyclic dependency circle towards the western powers and products; the relations to maintain the flow of oil and gas active not only kept but it increased exponentially, financing the huge luxuries of the Gaddafi family and the political Libyan regime.

At regional level, there was an approach to Arab and African countries surrounding Libya, Gaddafi had intentions of an alliance among Middle Eastern and African countries, where Libya played an important role thanks to its political presence, its geographical position and its superior economy. However, international trade relations under Gaddafi's government bowed to participate mainly with China, Italy, Germany, Russia and to a lesser extent with England and the U.S.A. but still important to the local economy of Libya, primarily through oil industries, steel companies, iron, textiles and cement[26]; once again, exposing a dependent Libya immersed between two different political ideologies and feeding a cyclical dynamics of dependence on oil and the western countries.
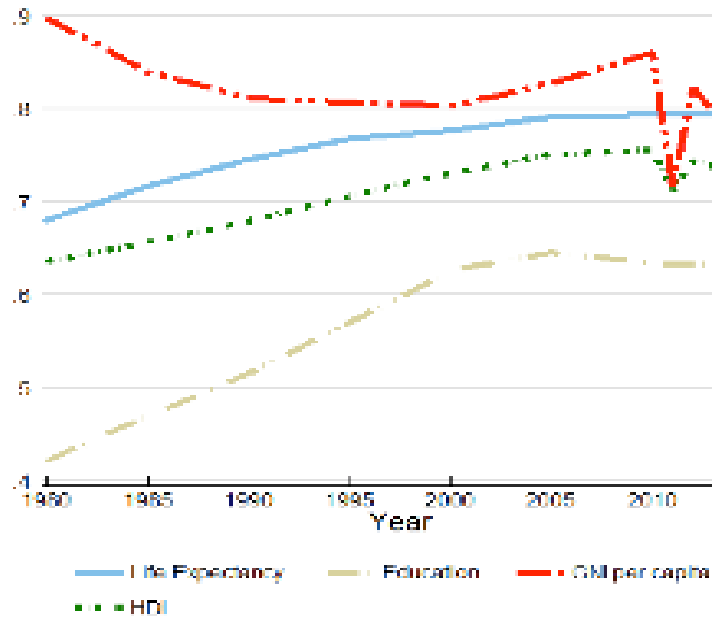
One of the indicators on which we focus our attention to observe the behavior and growth of human development in Libya is precisely the Human Development Index (HDI), which had an increasing behavior since 1980, staying above the countries of the region. In some way, during the period of Gaddafi, Libya enjoyed broad economic development thanks to the flow of oil; according to the *World Bank* in 2006; with respect to Libyan social development, establish that the sizeable oil wealth has supported living standards for Libyan population[27], in 2006, under Gaddafi's rule, Libya ranks ahead of several other oil-producing countries in terms of per capita GDP. In a similar way, the educational attainment indicators are higher than the regional average according to the World Bank, Libya has achieved universal enrollment in primary education and, the 14% illiteracy rate is below the regional average of 34%, however, the quality of education was in some way, questionable.[28] Moreover, the health care services improved in a positive way under Gaddafi's rule in compare to the rest of African and the Middle Eastern countries, except for the cases of Turkey, Israel, Saudi Arabia, and the monarchies of the Gulf and yet, maintaining high levels of gender equitable in comparison with other countries in Africa and the Middle East.[29]

Table 1: Libyan Human Development Index: Health, Education and Income (1980-2011)

Year	HDI Value
2011	.76
2010	.77
2009	.763
2008	.759
2007	.755
2006	.748
2005	.741
2000	.732
1995	.709
1990	.68
1985	.65
1980	.63

Source: Human Development Index. United Nations Country Profile & United Nations Development Program, "Human Development Report: Libya", 2016.

Figure 1: Trends in Libya's HDI component indices 1980-2011

Source: Human Development Report 2015. Work for human development, Briefing note for countries on the 2015 Human Development Report: Libya.

Although the well-documented brutality and human rights violations[30] during Gaddafi's administration, growing and supporting social and economic inequality in Libya, Libyan population was characterized by maintaining a superior conditions in terms of economic, education, and health services, and superior to most of the totalitarian dictatorships in the region. In fact, according to the World Bank African Development Indicators[31], Libya enjoyed during Gaddafi's rule of free education and free health services and even a higher literacy level and standard of living in compare to the rest of Africa and most of the Middle East[32]. According to the U.S. Library of Congress, *the changes the society was undergoing were made possible in large measure by petroleum wealth, which had converted the country from one of the worlds poorest at the time of independence in 1951 to one of the most prosperous. By the 1980s, most Libyans enjoyed educational opportunities, health care, and housing that were among the best in Africa and the Middle East... Education and medical care were free, necessary subsidized by the state, housing and other necessities. Life expectancy, perhaps the ultimate measure of living standards, had lengthened by ten years since 1960, and social mobility was much improved.*[33]

However, Libyan human development was in a close relation with social fragmentation during Gaddafi's administration. By being a multicultural and multi-ethnic territory, the population of Libya represents a challenge for the observation of popular culture; Libyan population remains as heterogeneous and multicultural, and one of the most complex study for its ethnic group relations. In this sense, along with the turbulent 20th Century, the several pressures of the colonial period, independence, and the development of the oil industry did much to alter the bases of urban society and to dissolve the ethnic and village social structure. In particular, as the cash economy spread into the countryside, rural people were lured out of their traditional groups and into the modern sector. Values, too, began to change under the impact of new prosperity and the arrival of large numbers of foreigners. Since 1969, the pace of change has greatly quickened. Yet, for all the new wealth from petroleum and despite relentless government-inspired efforts to remake Libyan society, the pace of social change was slow, and the country remained one of the most conservative in the Arab world.[34]

Libyan population is ramified and fragmented into a large and diverse ethnic branch; the globalizing conditions under Gaddafi's rule had fractured and changed the social structure of the Libyan population, in accordance to the *U.S.* Library of Congress:

... originally, ethnic group members had been nomads, some of the Bedouin tracing their origins to the Arabian Peninsula. Pride in tribal membership remained strong, despite the fact that many nomads had become sedentary. At the same time, tribally based social organization, values, and world view raised formidable obstacles to the creation of a modern nation-state, because there were virtually no integrative or unifying institutions or social customs on the national level. In the mid-1970s, the nomads and semi nomads who made up most of the effective tribal population were rapidly dwindling in numbers. Tent dwellers numbered an estimated 200,000 in 1973, less than 10 percent of the population, as compared with about 320,000 nomads in 1964. Most of them lived in the extreme north of the country.[35]

Social configuration of Libyan popultion has been built and changing under the political and economical parameters and impact of the administration of Gaddafi[36], furthermore, contemporary Libyan social structure remains as part of his legacy, so as its social division and rupture of ethnic ties.

Gaddafi's legacy at the social level reveals a large number of edges and vertices that are extremely broad and complex at the time of being addressed. However, the study of indicators are very useful tools to observe the behavior and growth of development, in this case, the HDI shows a proportional growth with respect to educational levels and life expectancy, not so with respect to GNI per capita.

In parallel, the legacy of Gaddafi under social optics, gives off a large number of asymmetric relations, although, on the one hand we have the macroeconomic and institutional strengthening of Libya, and a population that enjoyed some stability with respect to the majority of the countries in the region, it is also interesting that this institutional strengthening and Libyan economic growth is directly related to the asymmetry with respect to the center and the periphery, and also with social fragmentation.

The population of Libya under Gaddafi's period remains as an interesting object of study and highly complex of historical, political and economic factors, vertices, and spheres of action and focuses; moreover, this approach to his legacy remain pertinent to get an integral scope in order to approach to the interaction and impact on Libyan population, which remains as one of the most singular and heterogeneous of northren Africa and the Middle East.

Gaddafi's Intellectual Legacy: Identity and Inner Conflict Analysis

Beyond state or social approaches, which tend to be closely linked to Gaddafi's legacy as a political figure, as we have seen at this point, it is possible to elaborate an alternative analysis in which special attention is paid to his intellectual legacy, such as his written works. Gaddafi, throughout his extensive political career, developed a series of texts of different contrast that are interesting in the sense in which they are presented as original pieces of political, social and economic thought, but even more interesting is the fact that he has written a series of stories that expose a large amount of qualitative information regarding the concept of identity handled by Gaddafi as well as different internal conflicts that can offer us a different perspective and relevant information regarding Gaddafi himself. In this way, Gaddafi elaborated texts such as "*The Green Book*", "*My Vision*" or "*Escape to Hell and Other Stories*" as part of his intellectual legacy, which, although not necessarily dissociated from the political or social spheres, they remain as alternative and original sources of information, as we will see below, both at the domestic and cognitive levels. Gaddafi's intellectual legacy represents not only a window to modern political and economic thought in Libya, but also a unique exhibition of fantastic literature that, in a very particular way, offers a very broad spectrum of analysis in subjects such as religion, identity, social conflicts, and abstract thoughts. Religion, identity and internal conflicts remain constants intervening in the stories of Gaddafi, so they can be considered as a distorted manifestation of reality where Gaddafi exposes some insecurities, fears, and conflicting reasonings that leave open a breach of study with respect to this character.

First, one of the most important writings of Gaddafi, *The Green Book*[37]; points to an economic, political and social domestic change in Libya, so as foreign policy and regional economy, proposing a strategy for local and regional economic development, by addressing issues such as property, the need for "freedom", social imperatives and governmental structures under Islamic precepts.

Gaddafi deals, in three parts, with the solution of the problem of democracy: "The authority of the people"; the solution of the economic problem: socialism; and with the social basis of the *Third Universal Theory*[38]. Gaddafi proposes complex solutions to the issue of democracy ("the authority of the people") claiming that democracy means the "people's government" and not the popular expression itself[39], he proposed as a "solution" to the economic problem of Libya through the Islamic Arab socialism and Islamic social needs, analyzing labor, territorial, social and institutional relations. This work manifest not only some proposals that remain significative at political and economical spheres, but a good example of Libyan modern traditions, family institution, ethnic dynamics, ethnic minorities, African people, education and even art and literature. This piece represents a contribution to the culture and history of Libya; in this sense, through the Green Book, Gaddafy understand that he had a new "power", within reach of everyone, a book whose content changed the country. This work was probably one of the most read texts in Libya, which meant a new social contract, subject to the political and economic changes that took place under his administration, and therefore, this work had a great impact on the country, but also outside its borders to position itself as one of the most influential political texts in the region.

Second, in *My Vision*, Gaddafi reveals much of his private life, childhood and philosophical reflections regarding social transformations and political ideology in a close and well-structured rhetoric to the concept of freedom. *My Vision* is a political and academic contribution, but also the other side of Gaddafi as a politician and human being. Gaddafi revealed his passion for the African identity and its efforts to keep a paper holder on behalf of an African Union, where the national identity with tendencies to an Arab socialism and in favor of unifying political and economic way to territories with Pan-African identity. However, being the domestic transformations in Libya his main concern[40]. Gaddafi maintained reflections with respect to how he wants history remember him in where we can identify his interest in maintaining a historical figure. Gaddafi was convinced that has built in part thanks to the Arab Socialism in Libya, a "democratic system" with a much more solid and active economy than previous Libyan governments prior to the revolution where Gaddafi took power. This work is presented as a personal revelation, to a certain point of redemption, where it is possible to identify on a more personal level, the actions and attitudes of this character, where a part of his past context is revealed, that could have influenced his political career and his cognitive-behavioral profile. My vision reveals a middle point between the state and the personal perspective, where it is possible to appreciate a reflective symbiosis between the past and the current context, between his private life and his public life, which is an interesting starting point to know a little more about this character and his intellectual legacy.

Third, although Gaddafi was never exposed or directly connected with the academic or artistic field in an institutional way, that is, Gaddafi did not enjoy, due to his precarious socioeconomic position of childhood, and a life with defined academic bases, it is interesting that Gaddafi never completely separated himself from the artistic world

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But on the contrary, Gaddafi was attracted by his artistic impulses, there is an artistic perspective of Gaddafi's legacy in which reflection of identity expressions and inner conflicts may take place. He wrote a book of stories[41], being all the time close to topics like ethnic group culture or Islamic thoughts, that reveal the presence of a diversification of cross identities, being expressed during key topics (see table 2). "*Escape to Hell and Other Stories*"[42] can be considered within his legacy, in an intellectual, artistic and sarcasticall sense, in which it is possible to detect a different source to analyze this significant figure for national and regional history. By analyzing Gaddafi's stories, and using a qualitative analysis software, it was possible to identify certain expresions of identity that are fragmented into different categories (national, cultural, political, religious), and occurring in greater or smaller measure in each story, exposing at the same time, attributes like internal conflicts, childhood, magical thoughts, social and political thoughts; where it was possible to obtain systematized results (see table 2). The stories reflects a concern to preserve traditions so as artistic and cultural expressions, both in the field of letters and in their traditions as a modus vivendi, popular religiosity, cultural identity, national identity and Libyan desert ethnic groups.

A classification of conceptual codes was developed, involving an abstraction process of obtained data and creating some categories of cualitative information, where the relations between concepts and their interaction were the main scope. This type of comparison involves categorizing phenomena according to their similarities or differences, allowing to compare observations in terms of relations of similarity and difference[43]. In this sense, connections involves analysing data into categories which capture the main elements and documenting how these categories interconnect between each other. By developing a qualitative analysis, where the presence of different manifestations of identity around the tales of Gaddafi were identified so as the presence of constant internal conflicts, magical thoughts, as well as expositions of identities as shown in Table 2:

Table 2: Presence of Cross-Identities and Inner Conflicts in Gaddafi's Stories

Story Title	Childhood	Inner Conflicts	Islamic Thought	Magic Thought	National Identity	Pan-African Identity	Politics Matters	Social Matters	Ethnic Identity
Blessed Herb Cursed Tree	0	4	2	6	1	0	3	1	0
Cursed Jacob Family	0	7	19	6	0	0	1	0	5
Death	1	23	3	27	0	0	3	1	2
Escape to Hell	3	35	6	2	0	0	11	4	9
No Prayer for Last Friday	0	13	18	1	2	1	18	4	2
Prayer for Last Friday	0	8	17	7	0	1	14	1	1
Stop Fasting when you see the new moon	0	16	24	1	2	0	10	1	0
Suicide Astronaut	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
The City	6	55	7	0	0	0	0	28	5
The Earth	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
The Village	0	10	4	0	0	0	1	7	6
Mossahar at Midday	0	2	9	1	0	0	0	1	2
Total	**10**	**177**	**110**	**51**	**5**	**2**	**63**	**49**	**33**

Source: By Santiago Espinosa García through TAMS Analyzer, 2017.

The results obtained were interesting. In the twelve stories written by Gaddafi, it was possible to identify the presence of a significant number of internal conflicts and cross-identities, exposing an alternative analysis. Nine categories present and immersed in the twelve stories were identified: a) childhood, b) Inner conflicts, c) Islamic thought, d) magic thought, e) nacional identity, f) Pan-African identity, g) politics matters, h) social matters, and i) ethnic identity; all of them interacting with each other, exposing another side of Gaddafi, their concerns, conflicts and manifestations of identity in different areas. Table 2 gives a detailed outline of the times when a commentary was presented or evidenced in the nine categories, where the presence of internal conflicts about religious nature, or identity, was exposed, as well as political nature. The internal conflicts expressed by Gaddafi form a constant pattern of discomfort, where Islamic thought and inter-religious rhetoric were the second place of presence, followed by political matters and magical or fantastic thoughts. In parallel, it is possible to see the presence of different identities expressed by Gaddafi (as cross-cultural presence), where religious identity remained above other examples of identity as national, cultural or Pan-African identity, all present in the stories, but presenting a certain hierarchy, table 2 allows us to observe the identitarian priorities of Gaddafi, and at the same time, to glimpse a systematized scheme in which this hierarchy be exponed.

Through this hierarchy around identity and the presence of internal conflicts expressed in his stories, it is possible to maintain an approach outlining his priorities and behaviors on a personal and psychological levels, immersed in the intellectual legacy of Gaddafi; furthermore, we can notice the relevance of identity and religion features as main personal worries. Probably, it would be enough to analyze the stories such as "*The city*" or "*The village*", to note constant contradictions and internal conflicts such as the rural, ethnic, semi-nomadic nature and the enhancement of cultural aspects of the Libyan ethnic groups; moreover, there is a significative importance of the presence of popular religiosity in the tales of Gaddafi, tales like "*Death*", "*A prayer for the last Friday*" and "*No prayer for the last Friday*" where a particular religious expression is reflected, with marked cultural attributes as the cultural identity of multicultural and multiethnic groups and Libyan own folklore. The notorious and constant internal discomforts and conflicts that Gaddafi manifests in his stories are significative because not only reflect an emotional escape valve on a personal level, but also reflect a complex past context, where Gaddafi is immersed between constant and problematic identity clashes in many cases uppon cultural, religious and fantastic topics, and that turn out to be useful tools to get a personal, artistic and even cognitive behavioral approach of Gaddafi.

The study of the intellectual legacy of Gaddafi is a useful tool that helps us to comprehend in an integral and alternative way the political, economic, social and artistic thought of one of the most relevant characters for the modern history of Libya, as well as being useful for contrast the different facets of this character from a different point of view. The intellectual legacy of Gaddafi remain relevant to the study of this political figure, but also to understand their actions, conflicts, conflicting identities and personal priorities, and the impact they had not only in Libya but also in the region.

Through his writen works, like his stories, Gaddafi expose a human side that expose a leader worried about the culture and identity, reflected in his texts that marked the economic, political and social pulse of an entire nation for more than four decades.

Conclusions

We've analyzed an approach to Gaddafi's legacy in three different scope branches (state, social and intellectual), so as the impact at domestic and personal levels that has been inevitably entwined in spheres as political, socio-economic, and identity, that conform a multidisciplinary approaching through a qualitative analysis. Furthermore, we focused on the legacy of Gaddafi as head of State, sponsor of violent acts; as well as his legacy towards Libyan human development; and finally his intellectual legacy and impact of his writes, carrying out a qualitative analysis towards the manifestations of crossed identities and internal conflicts in his stories. In this sense, some final considerations are offered.

First, despite the negative effects and impact in several sectors of action, the excesses and abuses carried out by Colonel Gaddafi and his family, so as the systematic violations of human rights, including aggressions carried out against civilians both in Libya and abroad; it seems interesting to consider the economic and social development of Libya during the Gaddafi's administration; Libya in fact, was in a privileged position between African countries and most of the countries of the Middle East; thanks to its large reserves of petroleum and natural gas, developing in matters such as education, public health and economic growth, although considering the fact of the presence of the constant cycle of dependency due to the corruption of the Libyan State ravenous and the role of the Super Powers economic dynamics in the Libyan territory; where the civilian population of Libya was constantly threatened, through state terror practices during Gaddafi's rule; the price to pay was very high for the Libyan population and ethnic groups, remaining a constant presence of inequality as well as the systematic abuse of power pursued by the government, Gaddafi himself, and his family. The numerous abuses in some sectors of the Libyan population fragmented even more the Libyan society, it can be reflected in the mass migration towards the north of the territory, so that the presence of sedentary lifestyle has increased in Libya, but not in an absolute way. In this sense, the Libyan population currently faces many challenges generated by the Arab spring, as well as the reconstruction of social integration to strengthen damaged structures and reverse the state of social fragmentation in which the population is inmersed.

Second, the legacy of Gaddafi is not limited exclusively to the political sphere, but also economical, social, and intelectual, while his works and written texts have had a significant impact and presence both in Libya and abroad; studying the works of Gaddafi implies necessarily entering into a different logic that is interesting to study in order to approach the study of this character, in particular, the literary work of Gaddafi, the stories, offers a micro universe in the material of manifestations of crossed identities and internal conflicts in Gaddafi himself.

Thus, they are substantive in the aggregation of qualitative and measurable information on him; the tales of Gaddafi remain a good source of information in several senses and can be approached from the scope of psychology, psychiatry, sociology and anthropology. In this sense, the works written by Gaddafi are presented as niches of knowledge about the author, from a different position and personal side, that if analyzed, give information not accessible to the naked eye that contribute significant pieces in the study of this character.

And third, the importance of this historical character, his role and presence in the domestic and regional dynamics in the second half of the 20th Century is clear, his actions and decisions marked the pulse of an entire nation, 1969-2011, as he played an important role at regional level and by printing a significative impact in the international scene. The period between 1969-2011, was one period of many changes in Libya, in the political, economic and social sectors; this period was a historic moment where the Libyans suffered a restructuring of national and cultural identity, leaving behind a long monarchial period, and becoming a totalitarian republic with a political identity of revolutionary contrast (similar to Nasserism) and anti imperialist attitude. The contrast of human development in Libya before the Gaddafi period, under the administration of King Idris I, is considerable, as well as in contrast to Libya post Gaddafi, being the most stable moment under Gaddafi's administration.

Hence, alternative research remains open around the facets and perspectives of study of this singular actor, his legacy uppon Libyan social and state structure, its importance at international and regional levels and impact at domestic level.

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