

## THE CONCEPT OF PEOPLE, NATION AND STATE WHEN SPENGLER

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## Abstract

Oswald Spengler is one of the important German historical figures who had a great impact on many historians and philosophers. In his book, The Decline of Western Civilization, he deals with the most important ideas that lead to the dissolution and deterioration of Western civilization. He explained the idea of the people, the idea of the nation, the idea of the state, and the role of the Western aristocracy in state affairs.

**Keywords**: Oswald Spengler, the people and its types according to Spengler, the state according to Spengler.

## Introduction

Spengler still ranks high in the history of contemporary Western thought. His ideas were exciting because he was creative in visualizing them in a sophisticated artistic style. We chose this title for the meaning of the concept of the people, the nation and the state in Spengler's thought. The research consists of three main axes, including the first: the people and their types according to Spengler. As the idea of the people is not formed from the unity of race or language because its people are a group of people who feel that they form an existing unit. Therefore, the common feeling is a major factor in the formation of peoples. Among the types of peoples are primitive, civilized, and late peoples. As for the second axis: he referred to the idea of the nation in Spengler, as it is like civilized peoples that embody the shape and image of civilization. The third axis talked about the state according to Spengler, as it is a state of wars, and that wars between states have subsequent effects on the military capacity of the nation.

The research relied on important sources, including the writings of Oswald Spengler himself, the most important of which is the book The Decline of Western Civilization, as well as Arab and foreign sources.

## First: the idea of the people and the types of peoples when Spengler

The idea of the people at Spengler took its role as a main axis in the movement of history. He said that "the idea of the people is not formed from the unity of race or language, because the people are a group of people who feel that they form an existing unit. Therefore, the common feeling represents the main factor in the formation of peoples" (<sup>1</sup>). The people, according to Spengler, is a system of links that the individual makes, feels and realizes. Therefore, Spengler showed that neither the unity of language nor the unity of gender makes a group of people a people in the proper sense. The people will only be a real people if they realize the unity of the sense of life and existence. The deeper that feeling, the stronger the unity of the people. Spengler believed that it is possible to say that there is an agreement between the idea of people and race, provided

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Oswald Spengler, The Decline of Western Civilization, tr.: Ahmad al-Shaibani, Part 2, Dar Maktabat al-Hayat, Beirut, 1964, pp. 467-469.

that the meaning of race is not the (Darwinian) meaning that affirms that people are the product of the same physiological origin, because if this saying was true, it would have been possible for people to survive and perpetuate for many centuries. As for the meaning in which the idea of the people meets the race, it is that cosmic spiritual meaning that is based on the unity of the sense of life and is close to history, destiny and time. The people are born from spiritual and emotional unity, not linguistic or political.  $(^2)$ 

In his view of the idea of the people, Spengler emphasized that the historical events were not accomplished by the people, but on the contrary, because they created the people. This is because the historical event brings about certain changes which lead to the formation of the nature of the people and not the other way around. Therefore, Spengler attacked everyone who gives priority to the people over civilization, and denies every saying that civilization is the product of peoples, because for him civilization is an original and essential thing, born from the depths of the soul, and the people have no role in manifesting it. Rather, the spirit expresses itself through the people. This means that the people are one of the means of the spirit and one of its symbols, and an example of that is the Arab civilization, which is the result of the spirit that emerged in that region, and its emergence to the light was not the work of the Arab man. According to Spengler's vision of the idea of the people, he distinguished between three types of peoples, primitive peoples, civilized peoples, and peasants. As for the first, they are unstable and heterogeneous peoples, who are formed and then dissolved without any rule, and do not undergo any change in their human personality, and they have a sense of civilization that has not yet been born. (<sup>3</sup>) The primitive peoples are the peoples who lived at the beginning of the process of evolution and development, and these peoples are considered as fossilized remnants of the original primary cultures (<sup>4</sup>). Primitive society is the tribes brought together and united by the bond of kinship. Everyone is free to exploit natural resources. That society has a high degree of social equality and has little social distinction (<sup>5</sup>). Primitive thinking and feeling are characterized by absolute embodiment, as they are linked to a permanent feeling. The thought of primitive man does not exist independently and separately, but rather is linked to material phenomena.  $(^{6})$ 

As for civilized peoples, they arise when the spirit of civilization awakens, which is manifested in all manifestations of civilization. The Western spirit, for example, was awakened in the tenth century AD when the Saxons, Franks, Lombards, and Goths were replaced by the Western peoples represented by the Germans, French, Spaniards, and Italians (<sup>7</sup>). Civilized peoples are nations that know their interests and choose what benefits them scientifically and accurately. They are the nations that established their societies on the historical and cultural foundations and their moral

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 476-482.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Oswald Spengler, The Decline of Western Civilization, Vol. 2, pp. 476-484.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Firas Al-Sawah, Encyclopedia of History of Religions, Primitive Peoples and the Stone Age, tr.: Ghada Jawish and others, Part 1, Edition 4, Dar Al-Takwin for Authoring, Translation and Publishing, Damascus-Syria, 2017, p. 14.
<sup>5</sup> Ashley Montagu, The Primitive, Translator: Mohammad Asfour, D. I, The World of Knowledge, Kuwait, 1982, p. 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Oswald Spengler, The Decline of Western Civilization, Part 2, pp. 482-483.

and ethical authenticity. And that these nations thought and planned to build themselves. In addition, it was able to build an advanced system and life for humanity as well. And it worked to save and rid other nations in the world from deviation and deterioration when it found the way to salvation for the man of tomorrow and history. It is the path of culture, progress, knowledge and creativity (<sup>8</sup>). As for the peoples who follow civilization, they are the peasant peoples whose social status was changing slowly. The best example of these late peoples is the Egyptians after the Roman era (<sup>9</sup>).

Spengler reduced the status of the peasant class and removed it from the circle of civilization. This is what has been criticized for being the ultimate first seed of any civilization. And we find many thinkers, historians, and philosophers who believe that the desert is the beginning of history, and among them is Ibn Khaldun, who is considered one of the most important intellectual influences in Spengler's thought, and who contributed to Spengler's understanding of history. As Ibn Khaldun and Spengler represent the circular theory in civilization, where they see that civilization proceeds in a circle that begins with birth, then maturity and completion, and then reaches old age. Nevertheless, Ibn Khaldun goes to the fact that the history of the world includes the desert as well, because the desert is the origin of civilization, because man at the beginning of his life lives a simple life and his living requirements are simple. Ibn Khaldun said, "The Bedouins are the origin of the cities and urban areas and preceded them both, because the first of man's essential demands does not end with perfection and luxury unless the necessity is fulfilled (<sup>10</sup>).

## Types of peoples when Spengler

1- **Primitive peoples**: For Spengler, these peoples are primary peoples. For he says, "The primitive peoples are like federations of disorganized, heterogeneous people, who form unions and then dissolve them without any verifiable rule, and their matter remains in this state until finally the inner sense increases more and more, and phase after phase of a civilization that has not yet been born" (<sup>11</sup>). That is, they are unstable and heterogeneous people whose human character does not undergo any change and is not controlled by any

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ali Shariati, History of Civilization, Tr.: Hussein Nasiri, (Dr. I), Dar Al-Amir for Culture and Science, Beirut-Lebanon, 2006, p. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Oswald Spengler, ibid., pp. 483-484.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Khaldun's introduction to his book Al-Abir and Divan Al-Mubtada wa Al-Khabar fi Tarekh Al-Arab and Berbers and their contemporaries with the greatest power, Part 1, Edition 5, Dar Al-Qalam, Beirut, 1986, p. 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Oswald Spengler, The Decline of Western Civilization, Vol. 2, pp. 481-482.

fate, and they have a sense of civilization, but this civilization has not yet been born  $(^{12})$ . Examples of primitive peoples in the era of Seleucus  $(^{13})$  are the Jews and the Persians  $(^{14})$ .

## 2- Civilized Peoples

Civilized peoples arise, in Spengler's opinion, when the spirit of civilization awakens, and this spirit is manifested in all manifestations of civilization, and it develops according to a specific image, which is the image of the civilization that created it. Thus, it emphasizes the mobility of these peoples and their ability to achieve goal and purpose. What distinguishes these peoples from other peoples is that they have an image.<sup>(15)</sup>

Spengler called these peoples the name of nations, and this is evident through his saying, "We will call peoples, depending on the style of their civilization, nations, and this word (nations) distinguishes them from the forms that preceded them and those that follow them" (<sup>16</sup>). They are distinguished from others because they alone embody the form and image of civilization, and each of them has its own character that it acquires from the spirit of civilization and from which it is difficult for any nation to understand another nation, because each nation only understands its image. Moreover, the nation that belongs to a civilization is united by a special character emanating from the initial symbol of the spirit of civilization. Thus, these peoples are considered the only historical peoples who have a historical presence in the world and they have a deep emotional unity.(<sup>17</sup>)

Nations are the real peoples who build cities and arise inside castles, grow in cities and dissolve in global cities. Each town has its own character as well as a national character. As for the village, which is something of an element, it does not possess that character, and also the major global cities have lost that character and no longer possess it. It is from this point of view or the basis that forms public life in a different way to the extent that simple phenomena in this life refer to it and point to it. We can imagine self-sufficiency, strength and unity, if the curtain that separates the souls of two civilizations is a tight curtain and insight cannot penetrate through it. And if the Western individual did not lose hope in understanding the Indian or the Chinese, then this saying

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Khawla Obada, The Philosophy of History for Spengler, unpublished master's thesis, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Al-Arabi Al-Tepsi University, Algeria, 2021, p. 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> He is the founder of the Seleucid state, a major state whose borders extended from the Aegean coast to India, which included many regions, the most important of which are Babylon, Syria, Persia and most of Asia Minor. He was one of the senior noble officers, and one of the most important leaders of Alexander the Great who participated in the Babylon Conference (323 BC M), and after that he became governor of Babylon...... For more, see: Abu Al-Yusr Farah, The Near East in the Hellenistic and Roman eras, 2nd edition, Eye for Human and Social Studies and Research, Cairo, 2002, p. 119; Mufid al-Abed, The Establishment of Cities under the Seleucid Policy of Hellenism Syria, master's thesis, unpublished, Ain Shams University, Cairo, 1971, p. 8; Bevan E, A House of seleucos, London, 1902, p.37-40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Oswald Spengler, ibid., p. 482.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Jamal Berwal, The Civilizational Course between the Thought of Malik Bennabi and Oswald Spengler, Master Thesis, Faculty of Humanities, Social and Islamic Sciences, Haj Lakhdar University, Batna, 2012-2013, p. 68.
<sup>16</sup> Oswald Spengler, The Decline of Western Civilization, Part 2, p. 484.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>Jamal Berwal, ibid, p. 68.

applies completely to the nations that have become at the highest levels of sophistication of development (<sup>18</sup>).

#### **3-** Late Peoples

"They are the peoples who follow one of the civilizations and follow it, so we may name them based on the best known example we have: the post-Roman Egyptians" (<sup>19</sup>). Spengler considered these peoples generally devoid of context, meaning, and historical purpose. At this stage, the person is characterized by violence, and from here the existence turns in some way to death because he is tired of life and the fear of fate and fate made him not afraid of death, and he no longer feels his duties and therefore there are no more reasons to justify his existence (<sup>20</sup>). Life, according to the experience of primitive peoples and peasants, is only a waste of time and events without planning or decree and devoid of a goal or a rhythmic crawl within time. Incidents abound in it, but in the end they are abstract and devoid of any meaning or purpose. And that these peoples, in Spengler's view, do not possess an internal history, and that their battles and settlements were accidental, that is, they were not necessary, and their end was insignificant and had no specific meaning or purpose.(<sup>21</sup>)

#### Second: The idea of the nation when Spengler

According to Spengler, the civilized peoples are historical peoples with deep emotional unity. Spengler calls these peoples (the nation), that is, the nation is like civilized peoples that embody the form and image of civilization as being meaningful, unlike the primitive and peasant peoples that are devoid of context, historical meaning, and purpose. Spengler pointed out that each nation has its own character, which it gained from the spirit of civilization. Where it is difficult for a nation to understand another nation, because those countries live in complete estrangement among themselves. And it seems to one nation that it possesses another nation, but this is a wrong understanding because the nation only understands the image formed by that civilization or nation. And this image is usually distorted and sometimes leads to evil. However, the nations that belong to one civilization are united by a special character, and an example of that is the Arab civilization. The real nation in it is based on the religious meeting associated with its initial symbol represented in the cave, so this nation neglects the role of the homeland or the geographical location in its formation (<sup>22</sup>).

Language, history, patriotism, culture and ethnicity each play an important role in the formation of a nation. The creation of national symbols and rewriting of history are also among the important

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Oswald Spengler, The Decline of Western Civilization, Vol. 2, pp. 485-486.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> ibid, pg. 282.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Khawla Obada, the previous source, p. 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Oswald Spengler, The Decline of Western Civilization, Part 2, pg. 484,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> ibid, pp. 484-485.

parts of building and forming the nation  $(^{23})$ . And the primacy of the nation appears in the form of a general feeling that extends its subjects through three media: the language by which feeling unites with representations, the action by which individuals or groups of individuals unite with nature, and property by which the nation or groups of individuals unite with themselves. $(^{24})$ 

The nation, in Spengler's opinion, is a symbol of civilization, and it is a monopoly of a few groups, that is, it is possessed only by a few people by instinct. As the representation of the nation is a talent similar to the talent of the artist or the philosopher. The nobles are the only ones who create the nation. The idea of a nation is embodied only in the noble aristocracy that properly represents civilization. Where the owners have a deep inner sense of history and existence, and this in turn means that civilized peoples are aristocratic peoples. This is because the nation is the same as the civilized peoples of historical value, and the values of the nobles prevail in the stage of prosperity of civilization after the nobles took control of the peasants and professionals, because the nobles have a historical talent that qualifies them to represent and shape the nation. However, there is a class that appears alongside the class of the nobility, and it is the class (the bourgeoisie) that cares about nature and facts and neglects history, fate, facts, and rationality is its weapon. However, this class does not express or represent the nation because the nation knows only noble groups with a spiritual sense (<sup>25</sup>). The nation is an idea that searches for a reality that is often imposed by a minority on the majority.(<sup>26</sup>)

And the idea of the nation disappears when civilization reaches the stage of civilization, due to the weakness of the control and sovereignty of the nobles. After that, the bourgeois class prevailed, reaching the domination of the barbarian masses who despised the values of the nobles and the values of science and reason, until the idea of the nation moved away from its reality (<sup>27</sup>). Nation building as a normative concept means different things to different people on the basis of an individual's objectivity and political inclination. The basic infallible revolves around the concept of social homogeneity within commendable regional borders, with the conclusion of a carbuilding condition. If nation-building is not linked to any particular system of government, it nonetheless calls for sovereign independence if it is originally intended to succeed. Although in theory one could imagine that this process of social homogenization could be carried out under duress for the purpose of a particular reality. State building is best served by commonalities and the need for communities to work together toward a future they collectively imagine.(<sup>28</sup>)

The nation is not a definite entity forever, but it is in fact created. This means that nationalism is a two-faced creature and that it is synonymous with self-determination for those who have the good fortune to live in a society that has its own history, language, culture and religion, but it may

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Ingmar Karlsson, Policy Brief, what is nation, Global Political Trend Center, Istanbul kultur University, Istanbul -Turkey, 2009, P. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Hassan Hanafi, In Contemporary Arab Thought, 4th edition, University Foundation for Studies, Publishing and Distribution, Beirut 1990, p. 401.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Oswald Spengler, The Decline of Western Civilization, Part 2, pp. 507-508.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Ingmar, Ibid, p.2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Oswald Spengler, ibid., pp. 509-510.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Catherine Shakdam, Nation -Building and the Politics of stste - building, Al-Bayan center for planning and studies, 2018, P.3.

be xenophobic, aggressive, unforgiving, dominant and authoritarian, lacking the will and ability to allow others what the nation claims itself.<sup>(29)</sup>

#### Third: The idea of the state when Spengler

For every nation (state) that forms its expressive image, every nation needs a state in its struggle and struggle, for there is no nation without a state, no civilization without a nation, and no history without civilization. In addition, Spengler confirms that history is embodied in the state and that the state represents history in a suspended state. That is, "Civilization is the entity of nations in the forms of states," in his opinion that the state is a state of war and fighting, and that it is the prerogative of men. Every life began with flight and sublimation" (<sup>30</sup>).

That the state is a state of wars and that wars between states have subsequent effects on the military capacity of the nation. And the positive results in wars greatly increase the international standing of the state. It motivates individuals to identify themselves at the national level and thus reduce internal conflict. Thus, leaders have incentives to invest in state capacity to solve internal state-building problems (<sup>31</sup>). Spengler saw the true great state as the one controlled by the aristocracy. It is characterized by strength and efficiency in managing state affairs, especially the army and military affairs. As this class considers that its mission in life is to run the state and lead wars. In addition, large states do not preserve themselves through material means, constitution, justice or freedom, but rather through effectiveness, activity, spiritual unity of states, supremacy and political leadership.(<sup>32</sup>)

We note here that Spengler exalts the status of the aristocracy that does not deal with people as free, and in this contradicts his compatriot Hegel, who raised the status of his Prussian state, where he treated everyone, according to his opinion, as free. When the German state collapsed due to private property and because general laws did not find anything, Hegel called for the establishment of a state supported by a strong army and central political and economic authority. It is a progressive idea in its time, as Marx pointed out, so that this state can eliminate the remaining pockets of feudalism in the separate states. Therefore, Hegel put in the draft (the constitution of Germany) the force to replace the law in such a country because the freedom of the individual is inconsistent with the freedom of the group and the contradiction between freedom and necessity is resolved (<sup>33</sup>).

Spengler believed that there are types of states commensurate with the stage of development of civilization. Before the advent of civilization, the primitive peasant state appears, a state that Spengler does not consider historical in the correct sense of this word because it is devoid of the deep organic essence of the state. It is believed that although it is an almighty state, it does not symbolize a deep and pure living existence. With the beginning of the emergence of civilization, the feudal state appears, and it is tantamount to managing people's lives by one class, which is the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ingmar, Ibid, p1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Oswald Spengler, The Decline of Western Civilization, Vol. 3, pp. 277-280.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Harris Mylonas, Nation Building, George Washington university, Article 2020, p.6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Oswald Spengler, The Decline of Western Civilization, Vol. 2, pp. 550-554.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Hassan Hanafi, the previous source, p. 401.

feudal class that controls the administration of the state in the spring of civilization and the morals of the nobles prevail in terms of values and teachings in this state, and in the stage of civilization's prosperity and development, the ruling royal family prevails. As the fate of the people is linked to the politics of that family and its power, because the fate of the ruler is the fate of the human race (<sup>34</sup>). We find that the land for primitive peoples is the property of the entire community, so we find that the state is devoid of its organic essence (<sup>35</sup>). With the rise of civilization, the feudal class appeared. As the feudal lords imposed on the free man loyalty or subordination to them and service, especially military service, in exchange for protection and spending on him.(<sup>36</sup>)

After the end of the rule of the royal family state, the city state is formed, a state dominated by aristocratic teachings. This state arises through cohesion between the rural nobility and the city nobility, with the existence of classes of professionals and artisans. And at the advent of the late stage of civilization, the absolute state appears, that state in which the power of money and reason is strengthened, the rule of the class is absent, and a balance is established between the countryside and the city, as well as the rule of bourgeois morals instead of the morals of the nobility. The nobles try to stop this development, but they fail to do so, as it is an inevitable matter that cannot be changed or altered. And that the ruler cares about that state by caring for everyone without exception and is interested in resisting the nobles who aspire to reach more powers.<sup>(37</sup>)

And when the civil stage began, the classless people felt that they had a say, authority, and power. They began to defend their freedom, common ideals took over from cosmic symbols, and sensual goals prevailed over spiritual ones. The bourgeoisie cared about people's rights without their interest in foreign policy, which led to preparing matters for the emergence of multiple wars. In addition, the rationalists are trying to achieve a just society, establish human rights and freedoms, especially economic ones, criticize their ancient traditions, and raise in their place the slogan of democracy and liberalism, which, according to Spengler, are nothing but slogans driven by money, which began to become stronger little by little at the expense of the old aristocratic values (<sup>38</sup>). After the dissolution of bourgeois society due to its internal contradictions. Where freedom turns into necessity and reason into power. When injustice is generated by free will, the individual collides with the social system that he claims to represent and searches for freedom and his rights. Then comes the liberal system that raises the slogan of democracy and freedom for individuals. And that this liberal system is based on the freedom of individuals that ends up in exploitation or monopoly. Marx also explained that if liberal interests are intertwined with the freedom of individuals, then this is a result of chance and not the result of a free mental decision (<sup>39</sup>).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Oswald Spengler, The Decline of Western Civilization, Volume 3, pp. 290-294.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Will and Eriel Durant, The Story of Civilization, tr.: Zaki Naguib Mahmoud, Vol. 1, Part 1, Dar Al-Jeel for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, Beirut, Dr. T, p. 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Ahmed Ibrahim Al-Shaarawy, Feudalism and Europe in the Middle Ages, (D. I), International Press 16 and 17 Shrine Saad Street, Cairo, 1970, p. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Oswald Spengler, ibid., pp. 313-322.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Oswald Spengler, The Decline of Western Civilization, vol. 3, pp. 345-354.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Hassan Hanafi, the previous source, pp. 402-403.

After that comes a stage overshadowed by great disagreements, which Spengler calls the stage of conflicting states. It is a stage that Spengler believes that the West is going through in his era, and this stage represents an important stage in the historical development. Where you witness the dominance of individual power and the emergence of strong men trying to reach power at any cost. The fate of their civilization is linked to their own politics, an example of which is the era of the First World War. Spengler also believes that the transition from the absolute state to the conflicting states is the most important feature of civilization. Based on the dominance of the Warring States stage in the era of Spengler, Spengler explained that the West is living in a clear civil stage that is dominated by terrifying, frightening, and blind internal conflicts and revolutions because it did not reach its goals, but rather all it does is pave the way for tsarism. In addition, these wars are run by individuals who are not militarily disciplined. Where these wars lack appropriate military bases and are fought by bloody men who eliminate the enemy in any way.<sup>40</sup>

Finally, the tsarist state appears, which is based on the authority of one individual and the authority of his personal ambitions. Where Spengler decides that this stage is devoid of all historical value and importance because the entity of the state has moved to adventurers and Caesars who do not realize the existence of nations and the meaning of history. Which refutes every historical and spiritual meaning of a society ruled by tsarism.(<sup>41</sup>)

We have an important issue in this regard, and we do not forget its effects here, which is that the state that Spengler is talking about, which is based on force and wars, is a state that the Arab philosopher Ibn Khaldun had previously talked about in his introduction. In his talk about the state, Ibn Khaldun moved away from the ideals that later prevailed in the minds of philosophers and historians and decided that the state is based on force, represented by (asabiyyah), which means a natural tendency that leads to cohesion and union between individuals of the same lineage and leads them to mutual support and competition, which is what It represents the most important characteristics of tribalism, and this competition in turn leads to the demand for the presidency by (overcoming), after confronting other tribes  $(4^2)$ . Thorn and fanaticism are among the most important foundations on which states are built.  $(4^3)$ 

When we looked at Spengler's judgments related to peoples, nations, and states, we realized that the aristocratic tendency that dominated Spengler made him issue arbitrary judgments that were not objective in every aspect. Spengler also made a mistake when he decided that the noble civilized peoples - alone deserve the name (the peoples), because the word people does not include the peasants, the bourgeoisie, the owners of professions and crafts, and other common people. Thus, he ignores the unity of language, land, and heritage, and the unity of customs, traditions, religions, and common human natures, in which we see the basic ingredients for the emergence and emergence of peoples, as Spengler went to in this regard, nothing more than saying that the aristocrats alone represent the true people in every civilization. Spengler's mistake becomes more

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Oswald Spengler, The Decline of Western Civilization, vol. 3, pp. 356-373.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> *ibid, pp. 374-385.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Khalil Sharq al-Din, Ibn Khaldun, (D. I), Al-Hilal Library House, Beirut, 1983, pp. 76-79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>Ali Al-Wardi, Ibn Khaldun's Logic in the Light of His Civilization and Personality, 1st edition, Al-Sadiq Institution for Printing and Publishing, Iran, 1380 AH, pp. 248-250.

serious when we do not find him presenting to us, as we are accustomed to, objective arguments or scientific evidence to support his saying this.

### Conclusion

After we discussed the idea of the people, the state and the nation in Spengler, some conclusions became clear to us, namely:

- 1- Among what Spengler reached from his point of view on the idea of the people is his assertion that the historical events were not accomplished by the peoples, but on the contrary, as they were the ones who created the peoples.
- 2- Spengler distinguished between three types of peoples, which are primitive peoples, which he considers as federations of homeless, heterogeneous people who form unions among themselves, and that their human nature does not undergo any change. Examples of these peoples are the Jews and Persians in the Seleucus era. The second type are the civilized peoples, and they are the peoples that arise when the spirit of civilization awakens. Spengler called these peoples the word nations, and they are distinguished from others in that they alone embody the shape and image of civilization, and each of them has its own character. As for the third type, they are the late peoples who follow one of the civilizations and follow it, and these peoples are devoid of context, meaning and historical goal in general. At this stage, the person is characterized by violence, and here the existence turns in some way to death because he is tired of life, and an example of these peoples are the post-Roman Egyptians.
- 3- Spengler explained that the idea of the nation is linked to the noble aristocracy, and the idea of the nation is absent when civilization reaches the civil stage, due to the weak control of the nobles and the supremacy of their values.
- 4- The great state according to Spengler is the state of the aristocratic nobility because it is a state based on force and wars, and the morals, values and teachings of the nobles prevail in it.

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