

**Zhansugurova Zh.A.<sup>1</sup>, Ramos Montaner A.<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Associate Professor, al-Farabi Kazakh State University,  
Kazakhstan, Almaty, e-mail: jazzira55@gmail.com

<sup>2</sup>Associate Professor Macroeconomics, Faculty of Social Sciences of University Castilia LA Manch (UCLM),  
Toledo, e-mail: agustin.ramos@uclm.es

**THE THEORY OF JUSTICE IN THE HISTORY  
OF POLITICAL THOUGHT AS THE MAIN ARGUMENT  
FOR THE DESTRUCTION  
OF CORRUPTION AND PUBLIC DISCONTENT  
(Part first)**

The category of justice is more than a political concept. Based on an analysis of political thought from various historical eras and using complex historical and naturalistic approaches, the authors conclude that this category has a deeply natural meaning and has the right to be law for society, for its institutions and citizens. They should be permeated with the whole of nature and the essence of the political system and personality as parts of a whole. "The laws of nature existed before the laws of men – they are only constant ... social laws can only be called fair, when they are agreed with them" (Footnote in the text, author's note). The initial understanding of the importance of the principles of the theory of justice that has taken shape over the centuries, and its impact on the eradication of corruption, and thus the weakening of public discontent, is, in the opinion of the authors, the main task of this study. This article is the first theoretical part of a political science study, introducing an experimental part, which will be devoted to the perception of the phenomenon of "corruption" by respondents from Kazakhstan and Spain and a comparative country assessment of the impact of corruption risks on society and government in these countries.

**Key words:** theory of justice, corruption, political thought, history, power, citizen, society, truth, values.

Жансугурова Ж.А.<sup>1</sup>, Монтанер А.Р.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>саяси ғылымдар кандидаты, ассоц. профессор, әл-Фараби атындағы  
Қазақ ұлттық университеті, Қазақстан, Алматы, e-mail: jazzira55@gmail.com

<sup>2</sup>Кастильи-Ла Манч Университетінің әлеуметтік ғылымдар факультетінің  
ассоц. профессоры, Толледо, Испания, e-mail: agustin.ramos@uclm.es

**Саяси ойлар тарихындағы әділдік теориясы қоғамдағы  
наразылық пен жемқорлықты жоюдың негізгі дәлелі**

Әділдік категориясы – саяси ұғым ғана емес, оның ауқымы өте кең. Өртүрлі тарихи кезеңдердегі саяси ойды талдау күрделі тарихи және натуралистік тәсілдерді кешенді қолдану негізінде авторлар бұл категорияның терең табиғи мағынасы бар және ол қоғам үшін, оның мекемелері мен азаматтары үшін заң болу құқығы бар деген қорытынды жасайды. Бұл категорияда, саяси құрылым мен тұлғаның барлық мәні бірліктің бір бөлігі ретінде көрінеді. «Табиғат заңдары адам заңдарынан бұрын пайда болған – тек олар ғана тұрақты... қоғамдық заңдар табиғат заңдарымен келісімге келген жағдайда ғана әділ деп аталуы мүмкін». Әділдік теориясының ғасырлар бойы қалыптасқан принциптерінің түпқайнарын түсінудің маңыздылығы авторлардың ойынша жемқорлықтың тамырын жойып, қоғамның наразылығын азайтуға мүмкіндік береді және бұл осы зерттеудің негізгі мақсаты болып табылады. Мақала саясаттанулық зерттеудің бастапқы теориялық бөлігі «жемқорлық» құбылысына қатысты Қазақстан мен Испанияның

респонденттердің көзқарастарына арналған. Бұл елдердегі жемқорлықтың қауіпінің мемлекет пен қоғамға әсеріне салыстырмалы баға беру зерттеудің экспериментальды бөлігіне арналады.

**Түйін сөздер:** әділдік теориясы, жемқорлық, саяси көзқарас, тарих, билік, азамат, қоғам, ақиқат, құндылық.

Жансугурова Ж.А.<sup>1</sup>, Рамос Монтанер А.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>кандидат политических наук, асоц. профессор,  
Казахский национальный университет имени аль-Фараби,  
Казахстан, г. Алматы, e-mail: jazzira55@gmail.com

<sup>2</sup>асоц. Профессор, Университет Кастильи-Ла Манча,  
Толледо, Испания, e-mail: agustin.ramos@uclm.es

**Теория справедливости в истории политической мысли  
как главный аргумент уничтожения коррупции и недовольства общества  
(Часть первая)**

Категория справедливости – это нечто больше чем политическое понятие. На основе анализа политической мысли различных исторических эпох и с помощью комплексно-исторического и натуралистического подходов авторы делают вывод, что эта категория имеет глубоко естественное значение и имеет право быть законом для общества, для его институтов и граждан. Им должно быть пронизано все естество и сущность политического устройства и личности как частей единого целого. «Законы природы существовали прежде законов человеческих – они одни только постоянны... законы общественные тогда лишь могут называться справедливыми, когда с оными бывают согласны» (Сноска в тексте, прим. автора). Исходное понимание важности принципов теории справедливости, складывавшейся веками, и его влияние на искоренение коррупции, а тем самым, ослабления недовольства общества, является, по мнению авторов, основной задачей этого исследования.

Данная статья является первой теоретической частью политологического исследования, предворяющей экспериментальную часть, которая будет посвящена восприятию явления «коррупции» респондентами из Казахстана и Испании и сравнительной страновой оценке воздействия коррупционных рисков на общество и власть в этих странах.

Ключевые слова: теория справедливости, коррупция, политическая мысль, история, власть, гражданин, общество, истина, ценности.

Historically, the democratic principles of equality and equal rights are gaining a large number of supporters both in political science circles and in public ones. However, we still observe that even developed democratic societies demonstrate numerous problems, such as wage demands, high taxes, corruption, paid education and much more. At the same time, countries that are on the way to the introduction of democracy enviably announce public stability, reduced corruption indicators, etc. The authors of the article set the task of figuring out what the root of the problems causing corruption instincts is. We hypothesized that corruption instincts arise as a result of slowing down the process of democratic development, “expanding and updating its ideas and principles, institutions and procedures”. (Melville A. 1999: 17). In addition, we believe that an understanding of the fact that the main principle and, moreover, the law, democracy is justice, fairness of resource allocation, fair decisions, which are made in terms of civil consent, can dramatically improve the situation in eradicating corruption. The fact is that democracy, according to the authors of the ar-

ticle, is not a static result that can be achieved once and for all, it is a constant evolutionary process. Accordingly, different countries are at different stages to achieve democracy and its goals. The fact that Kazakhstan is in 122nd place in terms of corruption among 180 countries of the world suggests that the existing democratization process in the republic is only at the initial stage, and the process of bringing the principles of justice into proper condition is still long, but very real. The basis of the two hypotheses mentioned above is our idea of our study that the requirements of justice are embedded in the very nature of man and the failure to implement the principles of justice in the context of a political system leads to destabilization of society through people’s distrust of government representatives and their policies.

To confirm our hypotheses and research tasks, we resorted to the historical-systemic method and used the naturalistic approach as a priority.

Many authors believe that “within the framework of a historical study of ideas about power, civil society, forms of political freedom and coercion,

questions are raised about the possibilities and limits of politics as a tool for reforming society". (Smirnov, 2014: 14) It is well known that for the first time the "ancient" Greeks declared about "democracy" as a political form of government, which means that the transformation of political regimes is one of the most difficult processes that faces the inertia of the government and society itself and even in a long historical period cannot to fix in the ideal patterns proclaimed by their enlighteners. Therefore, we consider it appropriate to refer to the works of the founders again and again.

Russian political scientist Smirnov G.N. writes: "Democratic ideas that have arisen in traditional society were devoted to relations in the polis – the civil community. The urban community here is a special relationship between people who turn them into citizens ... Justice grows out of fair equality, the political culture of the policy puts it above all other norms, but fair decisions are subject to discussion, they can be changed. Socrates (469-399BC) was one of the first ancient thinkers who thought about the role of morality, morality in politics. In the view of Socrates, justice is the core of virtue, and virtue binds the Athenians together, into a civil community – a policy. Politics Socrates sets the task of safeguarding the civil dignity and freedom of the person, as well as the «honor of the policy». (Ibid, 2014: 16). We see that in the ancient polis the law and justice are perceived as a general rule, obligatory for all.

The disciple of Socrates, Plato (427-347), in his "ideocratic" model of managing society, pointed out that the ideal norm and the highest values of being should be his support. The measure, according to Plato, is equal to the law, equal to justice. Justice is understood by him as the "idea" of the state, as its essence, what makes the state exactly the state, and not any other institution. The knowledge of justice, according to Plato, gives us not the deed of an individual and a citizen of a policy, but the activity of the state as a whole. (Ibid: 2014, 16)

The ideal state according to Plato is that in which justice is a property of the policy, where each of the parts performs its organically inherent functions in harmony with the whole society and with the rest of its parts. The naturalism of Plato can be seen in how he defines 5 types of states – aristocracy, timocracy, oligarchy, democracy and tyranny – which, in turn, correspond to 5 types of structure of the human soul, depending on which principle dominates it. (Ibid: 2014, 17)

According to another great ancient Greek thinker, Aristotle, justice is not an equal distribution

of wealth and is not a right court. Justice is the correct estimate of the volume and degree of difficulty of labor, which manifests itself in exchange and can be measured in money. After all, what is useful for the part is useful for the whole, it is useful for the soul. A well-defined monetary equivalent is the measurement of the volume of labor expended. "So, a reward equal takes place when an equation is found, when, for example, a farmer treats a shoemaker in the same way as a shoemaker's work to a farmer's work. Prior to the exchange should not be a proportion; otherwise both excesses will be on the same side. Only in the case when everyone gets what he is following, they become equal accomplices" (Rozhdestvensky, 1997: 25). At the same time, Aristotle stipulates that a concrete understanding of justice depends on what rules and habits are established in a given society. (Ibid)

The thinkers of Rome transform and adapt the Greek ideological and political tradition to new political realities. Rome loses the features of the polis and becomes the administrative center of the empire, uniting various ethnic groups and cultures. There is a transition from the republic to the principle and imperial power. To replace the elected and limited in time of their existence authorities come unlimited and irremovable power. Mark Tullius Cicero (106-43BC), a political leader of the principality (early empire) era, adapts classical teachings (the concepts of Plato and Aristotle) to the values of Roman political culture. The moral component in the political arguments of Cicero was embodied in his attempts to link political valor and eternal justice, civil consent and justice as the eternal law of the state.

The political experience of Rome was attempted to assess from the standpoint of social ethics the Roman Stoics and the thinker Seneca (circa 5 –65BC) and the emperor Marcus Aurelius (121-180BC). Seneca formulates the idea of universal humanity, which he associates with the idea of equality. Marcus Aurelius, in his ethical reflections, relies on the idea of the moral practice of individual self-improvement. The idea of serving Rome is filled with new content: he is attracted not by fame and military honors, but by social obligations. In the sphere of politics, Marcus Aurelius gives the concept of moral duty a civilian sound. He understands his role as ruler as a public ministry (the emperor continued the work of state charity and guardianship). No wonder Marcus Aurelius is among the last best emperors of the Roman Empire. The idea of a model state is connected with his idea of the state «with equal laws for all»; such a state is governed in accordance with the principles of equality and equality of all.

From the common for all people of the spiritual beginning, notes Marcus Aurelius, it follows that we are all intelligent beings. “If so,” the Stoic Emperor continues, “then the mind, commanding what to do and what not to do, will also be common; if so, then the law is general; if so, then we are citizens. Consequently, we are involved in some civil system, and the world is like Grad. For who could point to any other common device in which the entire human race would be involved? From here, from this City, and the spiritual principle in us, and reasonable, and the law. « (M. Aurelius. To himself. VII, 9). The spirit of the Whole, says Marcus Aurelius, requires communication, but not chaotic, but corresponding to the orderly peace of the world. “Everything is interwoven with one another, and this connection is sacred, and there is almost nothing that is alien to the other. Because everything is subordinated and orderly in a single world order. The world is one in all, and God is one in all. And nature is one, and one law – the common mind of all rational beings, and one truth. (Smirnov, 2014: 29).

“Subordination and subordination” everywhere in the world, and among people (“the most perfect beings”) – “like-mindedness” – this is what stoic philosophy serves! The doctrine of Marcus Aurelius, the emperor, the politician and the scientist fits in with the “collective unconscious” psychologist C. Jung (1875–1961), who says that this is a form of the unconscious, common to society as a whole, and a product of inherited brain structures. The main difference of the collective unconscious from the individual in that it is common to different people, does not depend on the individual experience and the history of the development of the individual, is a kind of a single «common denominator» for different people. The collective unconscious, in contrast to the individual (personal) form of the unconscious, is based on the experience not of a specific person, but of society as a whole. (C. Jung, *The Concept of the Collective Unconscious*).

As a confirmation of the above thoughts, we see that the ideas of democratic principles of justice, morality were born in all corners of the globe and at all times. Fast forward now to the eastern continent and to another century to the great scientist and thinker al-Farabi, originally from the Turkic city of Farab (the current city of Otrar, South Kazakhstan), who once cruelly destroyed Genghis Khan after a 100-day siege, and in which time went into the world of another formidable ruler Timur. In Damascus, where he spent most of his life, he completed his fundamental work “The Book of Views of the Residents of the Ideal City”. The material and spiritual

culture of Central Asia at that time reached its highest peak – grandiose architectural ensembles were created in cities, a synthesis of arts and architecture was taking place. The monuments of that era are magnificent – the famous Amudarya treasure and the Issyk complex of gold items, Hellenistic sculptures and rhytons from Old Nisa, beautiful images of the polychrome painting Balalyk-Tepe, Ajina-Tepe, the Otrar library, which in its richness could be compared with the Alexandrian one, the magnificent palaces of Pedjikent, Afrasiab, Shakhristan with a unique perfect style.

Since VII century AD. Central Asia and part of Kazakhstan were incorporated into the vast Arab Caliphate. The cultural upsurge of this vast region reached its apogee in the 9th-12th centuries, when the works of thinkers and scientists who worked on its territory entered the golden fund of world culture. The components of the mighty cultural movement of this time were the philosophy and science of al-Farabi, Ibn-Sina, Biruni, Alhazen, as well as the art and poetry of Ferdowsi, Balasaguni, Rudaki, Hisrow, Khayyami and others. As for the philosophy of al-Farabi, it had a decisive influence on the development of advanced social and philosophical thought in North Africa and in «Arab» Spain in the XI-XIII centuries. A number of his writings were devoted to issues of public life and the state – “Civil Policy”, “On Attaining Happiness”, “Aphorisms of a State Figure”. He was the first in the medieval era to develop a theory of social progress, had an enormous influence on all subsequent political and sociological thought, creating a coherent political and philosophical system of society and the state (from its origin to full perfection) as an ideal model acceptable to all humanity. In his «Summary of the Laws of Plato,» Al-Farabi formulated the idea of a «city of necessity» – a «virtuous city» living according to just laws, *namus*, guaranteeing maximum benefit, happiness and a perfect way of life of its citizens. However, laws are not necessary for those people whose virtue is virtuous, “he needs laws whose temper is neither direct nor good.” One of the representatives of this idea was the famous philosopher Ibn Badj (the end of XI-1138), who developed a number of ideas of al-Farabi. His main work, “On the lifestyle of seclusion,” in which a picture of the moral improvement of the individual and ways to achieve happiness is drawn, is written under the strong influence of al-Farabi. (Nigmatova, Kuserbayeva, 2018: 54-55). *Socium* al-Farabi viewed as the unity of individual human desires, which we later see in theory and the ideas of the “social contract” by J.-J. Rousseau. In recognition of many European schol-



ars, the emergence and development of eastern peripateticism, which had a great influence on medieval European thought, is associated with the name of al-Farabi. Scientist Farabian A.Kh. Kasymzhanov notes that “Al-Farabi’s legacy, which has absorbed diverse cultural traditions, testifies to the inconsistency of Eurocentrism and aziocentrism, because in the development between different cultures there is not just an analogy, but borrowing, influence, continuity, struggle, etc. Contacts were not only multilateral, but also, more important, mutually stimulating, mutually enriching.”

Al-Farabi was a bridge between cultures of the East and Europe. And now we are trying to connect the East and the West, to find a relationship in establishing the principles of justice and the task of overcoming the corruption of civil servants in the progressive scientific thought of two civilizations.

The specificity of the political thought of the European Middle Ages also explains political processes based on human needs when there is a difference in the social structure of ancient (polis, citizens) and medieval society (feudal lords, urban and rural communes, class unions of knights, merchant guilds and artisans). The basis of the aspirations of medieval politicians laid the Christian idea of the sacred state. Peace, nature, and man, being the result of God’s creation, depend on their Creator. The theologian and great philosopher of his time, Augustine Aurelius (354-430), considered the state a punishment for original sin and considered it a system of domination of some people over others. However, according to the views of the medieval philosopher, it is not intended to achieve the rulers of happiness and good, but only for the survival of society in this world. Functions of the state: ensuring the rule of law, protecting citizens from external aggression, helping the Church and fighting heresy. The state in the hierarchy of God’s creations takes second place, second only to the “City of God”, i.e. fair state – a Christian state. (Smirnov, 2014: 23)

Following the antique and medieval enlighteners (Thomas Aquinas, Dante Alighieri), Renaissance thinkers such as Jean Bodin (1530-1596) define the state as a legal administration, consistent with justice and the laws of nature. It should be noted at the same time that they assigned the role of a fair regulator in such a state to the monarch.

The political thought of the modern era (modernity) developed the idea of the universal natural equality of people and the right to exercise it by political means. With all the ambiguity of the heritage of the philosopher-materialist, one of the founders of the theory of social contract T. Hobbes (1588-

1679), who defended an authoritarian monarchy, it states that in relations between subjects, the sovereign should ensure equal justice for all. You can not take away from the citizen of what belongs to him, to ensure the inviolability of contracts, impartial protection in court, to determine uniform taxes.

The founder of liberalism and theorist of parliamentarism J. Locke (1632-1704) believed that the state was created to ensure natural rights and laws, it should not encroach on these rights and reliably guarantee them. As such a model, he put forward a liberal monarchy. Another representative of the Enlightenment, Zh.J., advocated for liberal republicanism. Rousseau (1712-1778) – the founder of the theory of social contract, in which sovereignty belongs to the people in the face of an association of equal and free individuals. One of the principles of the rule of Rousseau called the establishment of the «kingdom of virtue, which is in accordance with the will of the individual (private will) of the common will. Nothing can replace good morals as the support of the government.” (Golikov, Isaev, 2012: 222)

We consider it necessary to note also prominent representatives of Russian liberalism. Its representatives were educated strata of the Russian noble intelligentsia. One of the early Russian philosophers and enlighteners, Ivan Pnin (1773-1805), considered that «in order to lay the foundations of social justice, it is necessary to solve the main issues – individual freedoms, property, constitutional restriction of absolutism, the establishment of the necessary, fair relationship of personal and state principles. (Golikov, Isaev, 2012: 311) Pnin sharply opposed the idea of the slave nature of man. A man «on earth» is his own God, and without divine help, he is able to know reality and transform it. The enlightener closely associated the justice of social laws with the recognition of laws of natural law, with which social order, justice and legislation must be coordinated. «The laws of nature existed before the laws of men – Pnin argued, – they alone are constant ... social laws can only be called just when they agree with them.» (Ibid: 311)

The thoughts of one of the most famous Russian thinkers of the liberal-conservative direction, the founder of the Russian public school B.N. Chicherin, who asserted that “no persons exist for institutions, but institutions for individuals”. (Ibid: 325). This formula could be a slogan against corruption in modern society.

In general, justice as a category of the history of philosophy and morality, political and legal consciousness is one of the most acute political problems of all societies and developed democratic countries

and countries that are on the path to modernization. So the advantages of a market economy constantly stumble upon the related problems of inequality, unemployment, injustice, and environmental threats.

The theory of justice of John Rawls served as a powerful agent, catalyst of philosophical debates and discussions. A professor at Harvard University insisted that it was philosophy that should reflect the self-portrait of society and it was the philosopher who was the main source of influence. Justice's theory of justice gave impetus to the beginning of the revival of political philosophy in the United States and English-speaking countries. The idea of justice absorbed the core values of modern liberalism, sharply raising questions about the justice of political institutions, the distribution of freedom and other social benefits. He argues that people are interested in increasing their own and reducing the overall share of the benefits derived from cooperation. In order to overcome this, says Rawls, it is necessary to work out such principles of social justice, which would define the rights and duties of the basic institutions of society, and distribute the shares of benefits derived from cooperation, according to a principle acceptable to all. (Rawls 1995: 260). Justice's theory of justice remains to be studied in depth by scholars in countries that have taken the path of democratization and modernization. Here we mention the basic principles of his theory of justice, which, as we see it, play a role in eradicating corruption. The first principle: "every individual should have an equal right with respect to the most common system of equal fundamental freedoms compatible with similar systems of freedoms for all other people; the second principle: social and economic inequalities should be organized in such a way that they simultaneously (a) lead to the greatest benefits of the least successful ... and (b) make open to all positions and positions in conditions of fair equality of opportunities". (Rawls 1995: 267).

In turn, the Russian political scientist G.N. Smirnov writes that since the monopoly of power cannot be destroyed, there is only one direction to improve public authority – to ensure normal, civilized political competition within it. Here and only here is the key to limiting the corruption of power. The intention to get rid of privileges is completely utopian and unrealizable ... Privileges must be clearly stipulated by law and not exceed the minimum necessary for their normal work. Democracy is not that power is deprived of privileges, but that it becomes accessible to everyone who has the necessary abilities, qualifications and public recognition." (Smirnov, 2014: 162)

So, the challenges of modern society show that one of the requirements of citizens are claims to the authorities to be fair and transparent in the distribution of public goods. Citizens, as in all times, demand freedom, equality and justice, which proves the principle of the naturalness of these requirements, the naturalistic origin of civil liberties. We see that corruption, as an unnatural type of ethical human existence, which has caused criticism of both public morality and science throughout history, should also be considered an unnatural phenomenon that contradicts the laws of nature. However, according to our point of view, it is worth noting that this phenomenon is dependent on the political model and directly proportional to the level of implementation of a fair assessment of labor costs and the efficiency of citizens providing services to society, and the level of development of socio-ethical norms in one way or another. society.

As we see, a large number of thinkers of the past and the present (of course, in one article we could not specify all the scientists involved in this subject) stopped their attention on answering the important, in their opinion, questions: what is the purpose of the state, its function and what there should be a form of government that would lead society to achieve universal happiness, and each individual to the ability to be guided by reason, gaining freedom and, again, happiness.

By studying the political literature that characterizes democratic principles, the authors of the article confirm their hypothesis that the concept of justice plays a key role in achieving a democratic structure of society. Rethinking this concept should take place, in our opinion, within the framework of a universal paradigm, which has receded into the background behind the charms of the material world. As a result, society struggles with its «diseases», not knowing their cause, and this fight does not bring tangible fruits. In the case of finding real sources of global problems now, the cure can go faster. Therefore, the awareness and understanding of corruption as a consequence of an unjust society, the loss of moral guidelines that great thinkers have tried to pass on to us from generation to generation, and the creation of new social and personal imperatives is a fundamental task of political science. The authors intend to present their proposals on this subject and empirical facts in the second part of the study.

The analysis of the works of major representatives of the state thought of several past eras and modernity allows us to draw some preliminary conclusions about the most important factors for reducing corruption, which can be:

1. The role and political will of leaders and elites in understanding and affirming the needs of society in eradicating corruption as a natural legitimate desire.

2. Equitable distribution of material and social benefits in the society, fair designation of wages according to the contribution made to efficiency, the presence of social elevators.

3. The widespread circulation of elites and personnel rotation, social and political mobility and co-optation.

4. The educational organization of educational activities, which fosters both “theoretical virtue and practical virtue”, the stages of which, according to Al-Farabi, are formed as follows: at the first stage, existing things and problems are comprehended by the mind through reliable evidence, then acquired by persuasion, then knowledge containing the images of these intelligible entities, a confirmed conviction, then knowledge extracted from these three types of knowledge for one or another of the people, so that each of the knowledge extracted in the number of people, covers all, so that the people improved and achieves happiness. (Amirkulov, 2018: 58).

Professor Andrew Fellows, in another part of the world, retorts: “The classical culture of Greek civilization called “good, beauty and truth” the triumvirate of values. In the function of these three there is something trinitarian, existing together as one. We could ask ourselves if the loss of this triad of values means the death of Western civilization, because without recognizing them as larger realities, it is impossible to support human society. The human receptors of goodness, beauty, and truth are conscience, sympathy, imagination, and reason, which are the crown of our humanity and distinguish us from animals. Taking it as a basis, is it possible to become a spoiled person if we really had good-

ness, beauty, and truth as our life goals?” (Fellouze, 2008: 48).

Professor Daniel Kaufman believes that corruption is a symptom of a larger disease – “insolvency of institutions and management, which leads to poor management of income and resources and the lack of delivery of public goods and services” (Kaufman, 2018: 14). Their delivery at a fair price is higher, since the difference is an illegal commission (approx. Authors).

Professor Kaufman also adds: “We need to think not only about anti-corruption rhetoric and traditional tactics. We need to be more strategic and rigorous, identifying and eliminating the underlying causes of corruption, and exploring weaknesses in key government institutions and policies and practices. We must focus our efforts on a wider management and accountability context. Only then can we see many other forms that corruption can take, and resist this epidemic” (Kaufman, 2018: 14).

Here we see the importance attached to properly understanding the problem at the stage of theorizing and discussion. Our reality attaches great importance to the result, pace, but not to the process of life creation itself. Not without reason, one of the conclusions of the al-Farabian readings at the Kazakh National University in 2018 proclaimed that “the highest value for a person is reason and it is necessary to enrich your mind, learn to live according to the laws of reason. It is the mind that makes a person a person. And the value of the latter is measured not only by the real existence of the personality, but by its spiritual heritage, which has been functioning in life for quite a long time, from generation to generation. Satisfaction of consumer interest is temporary and its value is limited, it gives only physiological satisfaction and pleasure, and the mind, as a basic element of culture is long-lasting, it is effective as long as humanity exists (Amrekulova, 2018: 59).

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