

THE ROLE OF UBUNTU IN SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Ekaterina Emelianenko¹

St-Petersburg State University

Abstract: This article focuses on the role of Ubuntu in South Africa's foreign policy. Since independence, African intellectuals have tried to develop their own strategies and approaches to solve problems on the continent. These ideas were aimed at rescuing the African younger generation from enslavement by Western culture, to invent new approaches and to reanimate traditional concepts that would contribute not only to the revival but also to the protection of African culture. They were designed to promote traditional values both within the African continent and globally, to be the antithesis of Eurocentrism, to carve new Afrocentric ideas from their own historical experience and current conditions, socio-economic priorities, with African interests at their center. Among modern concepts aimed at protecting Africans and promoting the African position on the global arena is the traditional philosophical system of Ubuntu. It is the ideas of Ubuntu that have been adopted by South African politicians back in the late 90s and formed the basis of South Africa's foreign and domestic policy. In 2011, the White Paper "Building a Better World: Ubuntu Diplomacy" was published, proclaiming the promotion of a multipolar, just and equitable world order and the desire for development and prosperity in Africa as one of its main theses. South Africa was the first state of the continent to base its foreign policy document on one of the main codes of African identity: Ubuntu. This gave the foreign policy document an African character. The Republic of South Africa presents a unique example of an attempt to implement into state strategy a philosophical concept that is a defining element of African identity, a significant part of the traditional culture for more than 350 million people living almost all over sub-Saharan Africa. The notion of Ubuntu is also reflected in the state documents of the Congo, the Republic of Chad, Uganda, as well as Kenya (harambei). By promoting the Ubuntu philosophy, South Africa claims the existence of African values, spreading their importance in the international space through various instruments of public diplomacy. Various magazines, radio stations and a national Ubuntu Awards have been created. All these tools are aimed at informing and sensitizing the public about South Africa's foreign policy, promoting a multipolar world and establishing an alternative model to the Western system of individualism.

Keywords: *South Africa; Ubuntu; foreign policy; Ubuntu diplomacy.*

SOUTH AFRICA AND NEW POLICY

Changes in the global marketplace opportunities for Africa to position itself as a significant player in the global economy: the demand for natural resources is increasing as a result of the rise of new economic powers, bringing significant benefits to Africa.

¹ ekatem@mail.ru

The entry of the Republic of South Africa into the BRICS in April 2011 should be considered as part of the foreign policy and economic policy to increase the country's influence both in the international arena and in the internal geopolitical space of the African region. However, the actual date of incorporation of South Africa into the BRIC should be December 24, 2010. It was on that day that South African Minister of International Relations and Cooperation Maite Nkoana-Mashabane announced that she had received a telephone notification from Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi, according to which China, the presiding country of the BRIC of that time, in agreement with other member countries of the organization, invited South Africa to become a full member of the BRIC (BRICS), and Chinese President Hu Jintao sent an invitation to South African President Jacob Zuma to take part in the BRICS summit in Sanya, China, in early April 2011.

A month later, in May 2011, the South African government released a white paper called "Building a Better World: The Diplomacy of Ubuntu", which became a very significant document. For the first time since South Africa's transition to democracy in 1994, a strategic document was prepared outlining the principles and actions of the country's foreign policy for the future.

The peculiarity of this document is that the leaders of South Africa made Ubuntu a key element of their strategy, thereby giving it African features. The appeal to the traditional culture of African society, one of the significant elements of African identity, has given enough impetus to Ubuntu to receive the attention it deserves from African researchers and has spread throughout the world. The developers of the White Paper aimed to introduce the concept of Ubuntu into the political, economic and social discourse not only within South Africa, but also in the African region and the global international space. In the future, the concept of Ubuntu will form the basis of key state documents of the domestic and foreign policy of South Africa, become widespread in English-language literature, become an instrument for regulating public life, enter the practice of state domestic policy and foreign policy of the country.

Ubuntu

Ubuntu is a key concept of life philosophy for more than 400,000 ethnic groups living almost throughout sub-Saharan Africa. United by common traditions and languages, this group of Bantu-speaking peoples is more than 350 million people.

The concept of Ubuntu first appeared in written sources of South Africa in the middle of the 19th century. A number of researchers believe that the term consists of the prefix u-, the prefix of the abstract noun buand and the noun stem -ntu, meaning "human", which shall be translated as personhood or humanness (Kamwangamalu, 1991; Tella, 2021), that is, "humanity". The concept of Ubuntu is one of the main philosophical concepts and organizational principles of the Bantu-speaking peoples of Africa. The idea of Ubuntu has been popularized in terms of "philosophy" and "worldview" since the 1950s, through the writings of Jordan Kush Ngubane, an African intelligent thinker, writer and analyst (1917–1985). Since the 1970s, Ubuntu has been interpreted as one of their philosophical concepts, called "African humanism".

According to Ubuntu, there is a connection between all people. It is through this connection, the interaction of people with each other, that a person can discover his/her own human qualities. Ubuntu has many meanings. There is a saying

in the Nguni language: “Umuntu Ngumuntu Ngabantu” which means “a person is a person through other people (Gade, 2011, p. 303)». South African Nobel laureate Archbishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu, in his essay “Ubuntu: On the Nature of Human Community”, explained this expression this way: “We need other human beings in order to be human. None of us comes into the world fully formed. We would not know how to think, or walk, or speak, or behave as human beings unless we learned it from other human beings.»².

Desmond Tutu described a human being who, in his daily life, preaches the Ubuntu principle as open and accessible to others, supporting all members of society. “A person with Ubuntu is open and available to others, affirming of others, does not feel threatened that others are able and good, for he or she has a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole and is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished, when others are tortured or oppressed» (Isike, 2021).

One of the characteristic features of the concept of Ubuntu is complementarity, which is expressed in the following relationship: “one sees the other and the other sees the one”. Kenyan philosopher John Mbiti (1931–2019), who is considered the father of African theology, said that only in relation to other people does an individual begin to realize his own being: through the fulfillment of his duties, feeling responsible towards himself and towards other people. When a person suffers, he/she does not suffer alone, but together with the general group; when he/she rejoices, he/she rejoices not alone, but with his/her fellow tribesmen — neighbors and relatives, dead or alive. The main social formula for the individual is the expression: “I am because we are, and since we are, then I am» (Tella, 2021). Ubuntu is a catch-all term for the norms and values inherent in many African traditional societies. The recognition of the necessary connection between people enables the structuring of a person’s behaviour in society, including his or her mental health (Wilson, 2013).

The principles of Ubuntu go back to the idea of communalism, an inextricable connection with the community, and consider the existence of an individual as deeply woven into a social structure based on humanism and a collectivist way of life. An individual can be realized only through interaction with the community and work for the common good, revealed only with the help of others, and therefore it is unacceptable to separate him/her from others, disregard their interests and problems. Therefore, understanding, cooperation and partnership are the binding values between the individual and the community. Ubuntu is an integral part of the South African culture, with values such as reciprocity, humanity, dignity, caring, sharing, mutual aid, compassion, forgiveness and friendship, aimed at promoting peace and maintaining harmony.

SEARCHING FOR IDEAS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN POLICY

The search for an idea that would serve as the foundation for building a national strategy began from the moment of independence and was reflected in the political thinking of such leaders as Kwame Nkrumah, Leopold Senghor, Julius Nyerere, Obafemi Awolowo, Kenneth Kaunda and Ahmed Sékou Touré. All of them called

² <https://www.lookingforwisdom.com/ubuntu/>, accessed 13.06.2022.

for Africanization and tried to build the main political vector on the postulates of traditional African humanist or socialist values (Gade, 2011, p.11).

Some narratives that were created within ideological and political trends can be characterized as narratives of return, as they contained the idea that a return to something African (such as traditional African socialism or humanism) is necessary for the well being of society. In this context, it is worth noting that such post-colonial rhetoric divides history into three stages: the pre-colonial stage — its characteristic feature is harmony, it is often perceived as a “golden age”; a period of decline, which was caused by the invasion of foreigners who tried to deprive Africans of their resources, dignity and culture, and a period of revival, when Africans were able to gain sufficient political power, began to restore their dignity and culture by returning to traditional, humanist or socialist values (Gade, 2011, p. 304).

In the 1990s, the concept of “African Renaissance” was born in South Africa, which for a short period took the place of an ideology aimed at uniting African society to overcome the crisis. It required Africans to recognize themselves as successors to the great civilizations of Africa, to regain respect for themselves after the suffering of colonialism and the hardships of the first decades of independence. The new ideological concept encouraged them to mobilize their potential (first of all, intellectual) to revive their former greatness. According to the idea of the Renaissance, one of the most important features of the future society should be the absence of elites with a “parasitic” character, who act exclusively in their own interests, in the power structures (Political Systems of Modern States, 550). The ideas of the “African Renaissance” reflected the growing expectations of the process of democratization in Africa and in many ways became a harbinger of the creation of the economic development program of the African Union NEPAD. However, despite its undoubted relevance and popularity, the concept developed by South African President Thabo Mbeki faced many objective difficulties and was not implemented (Ibid).

Securing Ubuntu in South Africa’s Foreign Policy

At the end of the 20th century, Ubuntu became the subject of special interest and study as a result of the ongoing political processes in the territories of Zimbabwe and South Africa. After the fall of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa and the democratic reforms undertaken in 1994, the term became widely known outside the state. The idea of Ubuntu is being used for the first time as a means to unite the people against the apartheid regime — to overthrow the minority and to rule the country by majority.

During the political events of the 1990s, peacekeepers working to lay the foundations of a future free state had a vital insights that later helped them define their vision of democracy and make it the basis of key government documents in South Africa’s domestic and foreign policy (Manifesto On Values, Education and Democracy, 13).

Among the publications made at that time, it is worth noting the keynote article by Nelson Mandela (1994–1999) “South Africa’s Future Foreign Policy”, which was published in the Foreign Affairs magazine in 1993. In his work, he singled out six main points on which, in his opinion, the foreign policy of South Africa should be based. In addition to the provisions on human rights, democracy, respect for international law, development of international and regional cooperation, Nelson Man-

delala spoke about the need to reflect the problems and interests of the entire continent in the foreign policy of South Africa (Mandela, 1993, p.87). The leader of the Republic of South Africa encouraged citizens “not to avoid their African fate and bring their energy to the continent itself, so as never to become a victim of the forces that brought destruction to it”. He paid much attention to the thesis of increasing economic cooperation between African countries and developing a trade network (Mandela, 1993, p. 80). These theses became the starting point for bringing the concept of Ubuntu into the emerging state agenda, the rise of diplomacy and a new strategic foreign policy vector for South Africa after the apartheid period.

The concept of Ubuntu first appeared in the epilogue to the interim constitution of 1993, which was intended to become a kind of historical bridge between the past of a deeply divided society, characterized by conflicts, suffering and injustice, and the future based on such a dominant as human rights, democracy, peaceful coexistence, equal development opportunities for all South Africans regardless of color, class, creed or gender. It emphasized that the desire for national unity, well-being of all citizens of South Africa and peace required reconciliation between peoples and restoration of a single society (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Act 200 of 1993., 1994, p.147)³. According to the constitution, it was necessary to overcome disagreements and enmity, which in turn gave rise to a gross violation of human rights, fear and hatred in society, through “... understanding, but not revenge, compensation, but not retribution, Ubuntu, but not victimization (Ibid). The main theses of the temporary document were enshrined in the subsequent constitution of South Africa in 1996, which is currently considered one of the most progressive in the world. It is based on Ubuntu and aims to develop a stable and prosperous African continent “which must not be marginalized in world affairs (Foreign Policy Journal, 2018, p. 7).

In 1997, the National Assembly of South Africa adopted the “Social Security White Paper», where among the key principles approved for the implementation of programs such as democracy, partnership, equality, there was indicated Ubuntu (Vasiliev, 2017, p.12). It was seen as a principle of concern for each other’s well-being that would be encouraged and a spirit of mutual support developed. The Paper notes that the human qualities of each person can be expressed through his/her relationship with other people, and their relationship, in turn, through the recognition of their own humanity. Ubuntu means that people are people through interaction with other people. It recognizes both the rights and obligations of every citizen in promoting individual and social welfare (Ibid).

The leaders of the state considered South Africa as part of a larger whole — Africa. They realized that the well-being of their country largely depended on the well-being of the continent. Therefore, the South African region is a priority area of the foreign policy. It is no coincidence that it was South Africa that became an active participant in the Southern African Development Community (SADC, 1992), which includes 16 states, initiated the organization of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD, 2001), initiated the formation of the African Union (AU, 2002). In addition, the African Renaissance and International Cooperation Fund (2000) was organized in South Africa to finance projects aimed at developing inter-African

3 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Act 200 of 1993. — 196 p. — URL: <https://ucdpged.uu.se/peaceagreements/fulltext/SyA%2019931118.pdf> (дата обращения 15.06.2022)

relations, strengthening democratic institutions, resolving inter-regional and ethnic conflicts, and improving social and democratic situation (Political Systems of Modern States, 2014, p.550).

In 2011, 4 months after receiving the invitation to join the BRICS, the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) issued the aforementioned White Paper “Building a Better World: The Diplomacy of Ubuntu”. The preamble to the document refers to South Africa as a multi-faceted, multi-cultural and multi-racial nation, where the concept of Ubuntu is a way of self-defining and forming relationships with others. The inclusion of Ubuntu in South Africa’s foreign policy strategy best illustrates the importance the government attaches to Ubuntu as a strategic means. The document incorporates the thesis that, being the beneficiary of many initiatives of selfless solidarity in the past, South Africa sees its people as having the same aspirations as the citizens of the whole world. The national interests of the country are focused on people, where the main postulates are: the well-being of its citizens, protecting the planet for future generations and ensuring the prosperity of the country, neighboring regions and the continent. Achieving these goals is possible if we strive for a just, humane and equitable world order that ensures security, peace, dialogue and economic justice (Building a Better World: The Diplomacy of Ubuntu , 2011, p. 10).

Through the diplomacy of Ubuntu, South Africa defines its history and shapes its national identity. The White Paper states that “the fate of the Republic of South Africa is inextricably linked with the fate of the region of South Africa <...> regional and continental integration are the basis for the development and political unity of Africa and are necessary for their own prosperity and security (White Paper for Social Welfare, 1997).

After the principles of Ubuntu were included in the state agenda, it began to be actively replicated by various tools. Here is an example of the context in which Ubuntu is mentioned, taken from South African Foreign Minister Maite Nkoana-Mashabane’s introduction to the African Renaissance and International Cooperation Fund (ARF) 2016/2017 report: “Our Ubuntu diplomacy requires that our participation in the life of the continent was based on humanity and collective responsibility. In this regard, ARF allocated funds for humanitarian assistance to assist fraternal countries affected by natural disasters, namely: Madagascar and Namibia. This contributed to the reconstruction of the affected countries and the elimination of human suffering (African Renaissance and International Cooperation Fund. Annual report, 2017, p.11).» Ubuntu gains distribution through the content of government documents. So, in the report for 2021 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Ubuntu stands along with such values as patriotism, loyalty, devotion, batho pele (people first) and constitutional values (Annual report 2020/2021. — Department of international relations & cooperation, 2021, p. 20). It is also presented in the Strategic Plan 2020-2025 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation in the Public Diplomacy section [23], in the Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy, in the Strategic (2020-2025) and annual (2022-2023) action plans of the African Fund of Revival and International Cooperation 23. Along with this, in the National Development Plan 2030, in the section devoted to fostering of constitutional values in children, the School Values Manifesto of 2002 is mentioned, which sets out the values that should permeate the education system: democracy, social

justice and equality, the absence of racism and sexism, human dignity, open society, respect and reconciliation, accountability, responsibility, rule of law and Ubuntu.

Public diplomacy means such as Ubuntu Radio, Ubuntu Magazine (Ubuntu — South Africa's Public Diplomacy in Action) and It's your voice. Ubuntu Diplomat are also named after Ubuntu. Along with this, cooperation with SABC's Channel Africa, the largest international South African broadcasting corporation, has been established for the dissemination of information. All these tools are aimed at informing and drawing public attention to the foreign policy issues of South Africa, stimulating various discussions. In 2015, the annual Ubuntu Awards were established to reward South African citizens who play an active role in creating a positive image of the state at the international level. South African politicians also actively use the concept of Ubuntu in their rhetoric [*].

CONCLUSION

The principles of Ubuntu are in conflict with modern Western values, which include such a thing as individualism. Competition is one of the characteristics of individualism, and its consequences directly affect values such as peace and security (Akinola, 2018, p. 93). In a sense, Ubuntu serves as a counter-ideology to Western global hegemony in the social, cultural, and economic spheres (Qobo & Nyathi, 2016, p. 424). Unlike the Western worldview, which is based on theories, each of which was developed by one person, "as is the case with Aristotelian eudaemonism, Kantian deontology or Platonic dualism", Ubuntu ethics were created in "the pursuit of ideals between the Creator, ancestors and people" (Kamwangamalu, 1999, p. 2). Ubuntu standards are developed by the community, and not by one person, and they are fulfilled by it (the community), since they are born in it (the community).

According to Ubuntu, power is exercised on the basis of consensus in accordance with the fundamental value of Ubuntu — harmony in society. Mogobe B. Ramose, a South African philosopher, one of the key thinkers who popularized African philosophy and the concept of Ubuntu, put it this way: "In the sphere of politics, the real arena for making laws, Ubuntu is confirmed as the basis of judging the areas of human life using the principle: Kgosi ke kgosi ka batho, which means: the source and justification of royal power is the people" (Ibid).

One of the greatest researchers of post-colonialism, Homi K. Bhabha, in his work "The Location of Culture" wrote about the need for the emergence of the so-called "third space", which should become an alternative to the existing social paradigms and the hegemony of being (Bhabha, 1993, p. 285). As a result of historical events and the experience of colonial subjugation, African society, and South African society in particular, has long recognized the need for such a space for itself. South Africans chose the Ubuntu, returning to a philosophy that had been engineered by more than one generation of Africans and had established itself as an effective means of community survival and prosperity. By promoting the ideas of the concept of Ubuntu, South Africa declares the existence of African values, spreading its significance in the international space through various means of public diplomacy.

South African society sees Ubuntu as an opportunity to replace, reinvent and create an alternative to the current "destructive way of growing global injustice" (Swanson, 2015, p.33). M. Ramose wrote: "In the context of economic globalization, the peoples of South Africa must <...> remain open to cooperation with all people

around the world, be determined to replace the deadly dogma of economic fundamentalism with the vivifying logic of Ubuntu, putting the preservation of human life through living together above the relentless pursuit of profit» (Ramose, 2003, p.734). South Africa is making a big bet on Ubuntu in foreign policy, wants to gather African states under the banner of Ubuntu, to become a kind of voice of Africa, a representative of the will and interests of the African people in the global market and in the system of international relations. The White Paper states that “South Africa will seek equitable representation of Africa in the UN Security Council as well as permanent membership. In doing so, South Africa will use the non-permanent membership as a strategic opportunity to advance the interests of Africa and the South, maintain relations between the UN and regional organizations, in particular the African Union» (White Paper on South Africa’s Foreign Policy, 2011).

Africans know very well that the strength of the community comes from mutual support, and then the community itself is able to defeat any force. Because, as the African proverb says: “You can’t wash your face using only one finger».

REFERENCES

1. *African Renaissance and International Cooperation Fund. Annual report 2016/17.* — 56 p. — URL: http://www.dirco.gov.za/department/african_renaissance_2016_2017/african_renaissance_fund2016_17.pdf (accessed 18.06.2022)
2. Akinola, A. Okeke-Uzodike, U. (2018). Ubuntu and the Quest for Conflict Resolution in Africa. *Journal of Black Studies.* 49 (2), pp. 91–113.
3. *Annual report 2020/2021.* — Department of international relations & cooperation. Vote № 6. — P. 20 — URL: https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/202110/international-relations-annual-report-202122.pdf (accessed 08.06.2022)
4. Avdokushin E.F., Zharikov M.V. (2013). BRICS Countries in the Modern World Economy.
5. Lavrov S.V. (2019). The World at a Crossroads and the System of International Relations in the Future. *Russia in Global Politics.* - No. 5, September/October, 2019. - URL: <https://globalaffairs.ru/articles/mir-na-perepute-i-sistema-mezhdunarodnyh-otnoshenij-v-budushem/> (date of access 07.09.2022).
6. Bhabha H.K. (1993). *The location of culture.* London. URL: <https://ia800507.us.archive.org/28/items/TheLocationOfCultureBHABHA/the%20location%20of%20culture%20BHABHA.pdf> (accessed 18.06.2022).
7. BRICS2018 [official site] — URL: <https://www.brics2018.org.za/brics-outreach/> (accessed 16.06.2022)
8. *Building a Better World: The Diplomacy of Ubuntu. / White paper on South Africa’s foreign policy.* — 36 p. — URL: https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201409/foreignpolicy0.pdf (10.06.2022)
9. *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Act 200 of 1993.* 196 p. URL: <https://ucdpged.uu.se/peaceagreements/fulltext/SyA%2019931118.pdf> (дата обращения 15.06.2022)
10. *Foreign Policy Journal. Reflecting on 2018. The Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO).* Prepared by Branch: Public Diplomacy. — Published by DIRCO. — 88 p. — URL: http://www.dirco.gov.za/department/foreign_policy_journal_december_2018.pdf (дата обращения 14.06.2022).
11. Gade Ch.B.N. (2011). The Historical Development of the Written Discourses on Ubuntu. *South African Journal of Philosophy.* 30 (3), pp. 303-329.
12. Isike Ch., Madise D. (2020). Ubuntu diplomacy: Broadening soft power in an African context. *Journal of Public Affairs.* 2020 (2). pp. 1-10. URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/339703328_Ubuntu_diplomacy_Broadening_soft_power_in_an_African_context (accessed 19.06.2022)

13. Kamwangamalu N. (1999). Ubuntu in South Africa: A sociolinguistic perspective to a Pan-African concept. *Critical Arts*. 13.2, pp. 24–41.
14. *Looking forward: Desmond Tutu, Ubuntu and the Possibility of Hope*. — URL: <https://www.lookingforwisdom.com/ubuntu/> (accessed 13.06.2022)
15. Mandela N. (1993). South Africa's Future Foreign Policy. *Foreign Affairs*. Vol. 72, No. 5 (Nov. - Dec., 1993), pp. 86-97.
16. *Manifesto On Values. Education and Democracy*. — URL: https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201409/manifesto0.pdf (accessed 14.06.2022)
17. *National Development Plan 2030 Our Future-make it work*. — URL: file:///Users/admin/Desktop/BRICS/South%20Africa_%20national%20plan%20development_2030.pdf (accessed 14.06.2022)
18. *Political Systems of Modern States: Encyclopedic Handbook: In 4 Volumes, Vol. 4. Africa / MGIMO (U) MFA of Russia, INOP*; editor-in-chief A.V. Torkunov; scientific editor A.Yu. Melvil; executive editors M.G. Mironyuk, A.V. Malgin. M.: Aspect Pres. 2014. — 560 p.: ill.
19. Qobo M., Nyathi N. (2016). Ubuntu, public policy ethics and tensions in South Africa's foreign policy. *South African Journal of International Affairs*. 23 (4).
20. Ramose B. (2003). Mogobe Globalisation and Ubuntu. *The African philosophy reader*. pp. 732-761.
21. Shubin V.G. South Africa - Chairman of BRICS. *Institute of Africa RAS* [official site] URL: <https://www.inafran.ru/node/1702>.
22. Shubin V.G. (2013). Why South Africa needs BRICS and why South Africa needs BRICS *Security Index*. №2. (105). Vol. 19. pp. 57-70.
23. *Strategic plan 2020-2025. Annual performance plan 2022-2023*. DIRCO. URL: http://www.dirco.gov.za/departement/strategic_plan_2020_2025/strategic_plan_revised_2020_2025.pdf (accessed 17.06.2022)
24. Swanson, D.M. (2015). Ubuntu, indigeneity, and an ethic for decolonizing global citizenship. *Decolonizing Global Citizenship Education (Eds)*. — Rotterdam: Sense Publishers. pp. 27-38.
25. Tella O. (2021). *Africa's Soft Power Philosophies, Political Values, Foreign Policies and Cultural Exports*. New York, NY: Routledge, Series: Global Africa.
26. *UKEssays. Applying The African Communalism Theology Religion Essay*. — November 2018 — URL: <https://www.ukessays.com/essays/theology/applying-the-african-communalism-theology-religion-essay.php?vref=1> (accessed 13.06.2022)
27. Vasiliev A.M. (2017). The Republic of South Africa within and beyond BRICS. *BRICS international portal*. URL: <http://infobricts.org/post/25846/> (accessed 16.06.2022).
28. *White Paper for Social Welfare. August 1997*. 101 p. URL: https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201409/whitepaperonsocialwelfare0.pdf (accessed 15.06.2022).
29. *White Paper on South Africa's Foreign Policy (2011)*. — *Final draft* . DIRCO — 13.05.2011. P. 25.
30. Wilson D. (2013). Ubuntu: Development and Framework of a Specific Model of Positive Mental Health. *Psychology Journal*. Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. xx-xx. URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/261706211_Ubuntu_Development_and_Framework_of_a_Specific_Model_of_Positive_Mental_Health (accessed 07.06.2022).
31. Yakovenko A.V. (2008). *The Alliance of Civilizations and World Politics*. SPb.: Publishing house of SPbGUP.