



**KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY FORMER PRESIDENT OLUSEGUN OBASANJO ON THE
OCCASION OF THE INAUGURAL PUBLIC LECTURE ON THE KEY ASPECTS OF PRINCE
BUTHELEZI'S LEGACY**

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**INKOSI ALBERT LUTHULI INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION CENTRE, DURBAN, SOUTH
AFRICA**

Your Excellency, Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi, my dear senior brother,

His Majesty King Misuzulu kaZwelithini,

Members of the Buthelezi Family and Clan,

Since we have had the opportunity of acknowledging the dignitaries here, I will crave your indulgence to introduce you to one of the inventions of Nigeria, which is, on occasions like this, after we have covered a long list of people to be acknowledged, we end off by saying, "All protocols observed." So, you will permit me to say, "All protocols observed."

I want to thank my brother who gave a bit of my CV in introducing me. Except to make him realise that when I was in politics in Nigeria, when I would go to occasions like this, if the people who want to introduce me are members of the opposition, they will start by introducing me as "General Obasanjo", just to show that I am a dictator. And if they are members of my own Party, they will introduce me either as President Obasanjo or Chief Obasanjo. I saw that you do the mid-job, calling me "His Excellency Dr Obasanjo", which means you are neither on the side of the opposition nor on the side of my own Party!

I must, from the onset, confess that when I received the invitation to deliver this address today, I had a moment of hesitation, simply because I was not certain where and how I would begin. My hesitation turned to trepidation when I carefully re-read the invitation letter, which entrusts me



with the responsibility of speaking to **“the key aspects of Prince Buthelezi’s legacy which are pertinent to the present global debate.”** My anxiety increased as I continued to read the invitation when I was ‘ordered’ to focus on **“servant leadership, courage under fire, and the path of moral values.”**

In that moment of anxiety, my mind went back to March 6, 2019, when I was deeply moved by your following words:

“I find it difficult to describe what I am feeling as I stand here this morning. There is a sense of tremendous joy, knowing that we have the privilege of celebrating the 82nd birthday of His Excellency Dr Obasanjo with this great man himself. I feel deep satisfaction in having the opportunity to be in Nigeria, knowing the ties of this country to my own, South Africa”.

Now, my dear friend and brother – my Prince - when you expressed these kind words on the occasion of my birthday - when you were my guest of honour - little did I know that I would find myself in the same situation as you did then, so I will return the favour by repeating once again your words to me on that occasion ...*I find it difficult to describe what I am feeling, but I too, feel a deep sense of satisfaction in having the opportunity to be here with you today, knowing not only the important ties that bind our two sister nations, but those that bind us personally.*

In other words, if I may try to be like Idi Amin, I have come to retaliate!

Before I delve into my speech, allow me to pay my respect to the Zulu Royal Family and the reigning Monarch, Your Majesty, as I find myself here in KwaZulu-Natal in the same month that back in 2021, the longest reigning Zulu King was laid to rest.

As I pay my respect to the Royal Family, I am also reminded of the fact that the role of Prince Buthelezi in protecting and guiding the late Monarch is eloquently recorded in King Zwelithini’s *praise songs* where his bravery and unwavering support to the young Monarch’s rightful claim to the throne is duly acknowledged. And, when history once more called upon him to rise to the



occasion of his role as the Traditional Prime Minister to assist the Royal Family to manage the transition to the current Monarch, he did so unflinchingly.

Honoured guests,

It is thanks to the Prince for living such a long and illustrious life that, when looking for aspects of his life to highlight one is spoilt for choice. He has not only lived through very turbulent times in South Africa but he has been an influential figure ...I could stand here and talk for hours...But, not to worry, I am not going to do that!

Now, having overcome my hesitation, and in finding a starting point, I was reminded of the South African, and indeed the African philosophy of *Ubuntu - I am because you are*. It is true that we become the people we are through the reality of the environment into which we were born, and so it is there that I shall start.

In April 1906, Dr Pixley ka Seme gave his moving speech calling for the regeneration of Africa. In that speech he said:

“From the four corners of the earth Africa’s sons, who have been proved through fire and sword, are marching to the future’s golden door bearing the records of deeds of valour done”.

I draw upon these words from Dr Seme for two reasons. This great son of Africa was Prince Buthelezi’s uncle, and they speak to Prince Buthelezi’s life in a prophetic way. Prince Buthelezi is a son of Africa, who has been proved through fire and sword, and was part of the generation of leaders that marched to the golden door and ushered in a better future for South Africa and indeed for Africa.

Allow me to put these words in their historical context. Dr Seme was speaking at a time when the Western Empires were at their peak, and colonialism was well entrenched on the African continent. Despite the subjugation of the peoples of Africa, their spirit was not crushed. The European age of empire is littered with examples of Africa’s undying spirit. Just 27 years prior to



Dr Seme's speech, the battle of *Isandlwana* took place. In that battle King Cetshwayo delivered a resounding victory for the Zulu Kingdom and the African people. The Zulu forces out-generalled and out-soldiered the British army camped at the foot of the Isandlwana mountain. The *impi* cried *uSuthu* and surged forward – in what was a battle for their most prized possession, the land of their forefathers. They delivered to the British one of the worst defeats in the history of their colonial expansion.

I bring up this battle not only because it was a great victory for the Zulu people, but because the events of that day would foreshadow the century to come, with the spirit of the Zulu warriors being called on time and again. After the defeat the British Empire took a more aggressive approach, deploying more soldiers and ending any hopes that King Cetshwayo had of a negotiated peace. In the years that followed the Apartheid government would face this same fighting spirit and choosing to meet this spirit for freedom with bullets and violence and for decades refuse to pursue a negotiated settlement.

At the time of this British invasion, Prince Buthelezi's grandfather, Myamana Buthelezi, was Prime Minister to King Cetshwayo, a role his father, Mathole, also provided to the Zulu Royal family. It is through his mother, the daughter of King Dinuzulu, Princess Magogo kaDinuzulu, that Prince Buthelezi called Pixley ka Seme his Uncle. Through his mother, he has the spirit of the Zulu Monarchy that fiercely fought British colonialism, and through his father he has the spirit of selfless service to a cause of justice, and human dignity.

In addition, the spirit of a revolutionary can also be found in Prince Buthelezi. In 1912 his uncle, Pixley ka Seme, became one of the founding fathers of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), that gigantic fighter for freedom that would later become known as the African National Congress (ANC). His grandfather King Dinuzulu was bestowed the greatest honour of being crowned the Honorary President of the ANC.

Distinguished guests,



In the context of war and conflict, the first casualty is truth. These strong ties that Prince Buthelezi's family had with the ANC was a fact that would be forgotten in the 1980s and 90s, especially by those who wished to drive a divisive narrative among the ranks of the oppressed peoples of South Africa. I bring up these family relations because these were the people who surrounded a young Prince Buthelezi in his formative years, and who undoubtedly strengthened and shaped the man we have today.

While it was an accident of birth that Prince Buthelezi found himself born into a family and community that was this illustrious, it also means that it was only natural that he would be counted among those who played a leading role in the struggle for the restoration of dignity for the people of Africa. I think we can all agree that Prince Buthelezi did not disappoint his forebears, or their spirit of refusing to succumb to subjugation, and that he truly embodied their spirit throughout the various stages of his political life.

It was at the University of Fort Hare - one of the bastions of African leadership – that Prince Buthelezi began to make his mark in history. Together with his comrades in the ANC Youth League, they were not disheartened by the 1948 electoral victory of the National Party (NP) and the implementation of the system of apartheid. If anything, they saw this as the most opportune time to agitate, mobilise, and organise under the clarion call of 'freedom in our lifetime'. He rubbed shoulders with some of the giants from our continent, such as Dr Z K Matthews, Mr. Robert Sobukwe, and former President Robert Mugabe. Meeting and interacting with such leaders could only have a positive impact on an individual and must have provided a better education than one would receive in the halls of any university anywhere in the world.

Unfortunately, due to his political activism, Prince Buthelezi was not able to complete his studies at Fort Hare. Through this action, Prince Buthelezi showed his commitment for putting the good of the people ahead of his own needs, and a strong desire to right the wrongs of an oppressive system, despite it costing him his place at University.



Even at a young age, Prince Buthelezi displayed a bravery that many people spend their whole lives searching for. Indeed, it can only be an act of bravery to jeopardise one's future to take such a strong moral stand. And in that act of bravery, Prince Buthelezi inspired others to follow in his footsteps. Prince Buthelezi's life was to be filled with moments of bravery.

Following his expulsion from Fort Hare, Prince Buthelezi completed his studies at the non-European section of the University of Natal and was ultimately allowed to graduate at the University of Fort Hare. While in Durban, Prince Buthelezi had the honour of being mentored by Inkosi Albert Luthuli - Africa's first Nobel Peace Prize recipient, a man who continues to command respect the world over. Prince Buthelezi also forged friendships with the stalwarts of the South African struggle, such as Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela, as he continued his political activities.

Despite being engaged in political activism in Durban, and preparing to undertake his legal articles, Prince Buthelezi was summoned to take on his hereditary position as Inkosi of the Buthelezi Clan, which took him back to his home in Mahlabathini and away from Durban.

Once again, the Prince showed a willingness to make the sacrifices that were asked of him as a leader. The role of an Inkosi ties one to the prosperity of the people who fall under the authority of that Inkosi. In spite of his young age, Prince Buthelezi rose to the occasion and assumed the role of a protector and advocate for his people. To be an Inkosi is no small undertaking, and to be one during the dark days of Apartheid, and with a government that was hostile to the legitimacy of such a position, made the responsibility much harder. But such daunting circumstances did not deter Prince Buthelezi from the obligations thrust upon him.

Indeed, an easier path would have been to shirk these responsibilities in favour of furthering his professional aspirations in Durban. Prince Buthelezi, however, recognised the importance of traditional leadership structures, which needed to be preserved and cultivated. It would have been tempting to continue to protest against the Apartheid government from the comfort of urban areas, where access to resources was far greater, and the impact of actions likely to be far larger.



But if one was not prepared to preserve traditional mechanisms of leadership, and use them as instruments of political transformation, then the centuries' long fight against colonialism and western imperialism would have been in vain. By taking up the role of Inkosi, Prince Buthelezi was saying "I am an African and these are our ways!"

Distinguished guests,

Decades later, Prince Buthelezi was once more called upon to serve in another capacity as leader of the then Kwa-Zulu homeland. Prince Buthelezi was elected by the amakhosi to lead what was in essence an attempt by the Apartheid government to further drive a wedge within the oppressed peoples of South Africa and absolve itself of any obligations to care for the welfare of the majority of the population. Debates raged at the time about how best to handle Apartheid's homeland system. Most of those who took up leadership positions in the homeland structures were branded as puppets of the Apartheid regime, anti-revolutionaries and enemies of progress, accusations, I am sure, Prince Buthelezi heard more than once. He was at a stage ostracised by the OAU. He was attacked left, right and centre by the ANC and the apartheid regime.

By creating the homelands along vague ethnic lines, the Apartheid regime attempted to dilute any united black response to bring about effective change in South Africa. It cannot be denied that the position of Chief Executive Officer of the Zulu Territorial Authority was created by the Apartheid government, which until then was alien to the Zulu people. Therefore, by accepting this position must not be taken out of its historical context. I can imagine that many would have considered, that serving as the leader of Kwa-Zulu afforded Prince Buthelezi the opportunity to undermine the system of Apartheid 'from within'. And that he did.

It was in the context of these trying times that the bonds of friendship were forged between myself and the Prince.

I remember the day - back in 1976 - as though it was yesterday, when I hosted him in Nigeria. And let me just give the background to that historic meeting. The OAU said you must have nothing



to do with either Prince Buthelezi or Inkatha. As a responsible member of the OAU and as leader of Nigeria I had to obey the resolution of the OAU. But at the same time, I wanted him in Nigeria. I could not directly invite him. So, I got the Nigerian Institute for International Affairs to invite him to give a lecture and he agreed. Of course, he could not come without paying me a courtesy call, which would not be at my own invitation. So, he came, gave his lecture, acquitted himself at the Institute, and then he called one me. And he made me understand a lot more than met the eye through our discussions. Therefore, his accepting to lead KwaZulu should not be taken out of its historical context.

His presence in my country, and his absence from South Africa, afforded him the opportunity to avoid attending the institutionalisation of the so-called independent Homelands. His willingness to honour my invitation, with the full knowledge at the time that Nigeria was host to the ANC – with former President Thabo Mbeki as its Chief Representative in Nigeria – only attests to how he understood his place in history, and how he regarded his relations with the broader liberation movement.

Programme Director,

The 1980s was a tumultuous period the world over. There was the Chernobyl disaster, famine in Ethiopia, war in Sudan and Uganda, the fall of the Berlin wall and the collapse of the Soviet Bloc. While all of this was happening, at the bottom of Africa, the Apartheid government desperately clung to power as resistance in South Africa reached a crescendo.

The Ciskei became the fourth Bantustan to declare independence from South Africa, and those who operated in the homeland system faced increased criticism. The ANC's General Secretary, Alfred Nzo, criticised those who worked in the Bantustan system as having "betrayed the... sacred interests of... the people."

Despite having the opportunity to declare Kwa-Zulu an independent state, Prince Buthelezi refused to do so, thus demonstrating his commitment to the struggle, not only in Kwa-Zulu, but



for the whole of South Africa, recognising that freedom in Kwa-Zulu could only be achieved with freedom in South Africa as a whole. So committed was Prince Buthelezi to a free South Africa, that when then President Botha offered the Prince the independence of Kwa-Zulu he rejected the offer in its entirety.

Despite the pressures of living and being a leader during the Apartheid era, and the growing criticism that the ANC (a partner in the struggle for the dignity of the African) - was levelling at Prince Buthelezi, he had the bravery and strength of character to continue down the path of freedom and had the foresight to know that Kwa-Zulu independence would be judged poorly by posterity.

In this context, it is regrettable that in the 1980s we saw the build-up and the intensification of tensions between the ANC and Prince Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). This reality was lamentable for a number of reasons, first and foremost because both Inkatha and the ANC were in pursuit of similar strategic political outcomes, albeit with different tactical approaches. The 1980s, more than any other period, tested the commitment of the liberation movements to a united, non-racial South Africa.

The semi-state of emergency, followed by a full state of emergency declared by the Apartheid government, was a desperate response to an escalating crisis for the Apartheid regime. The violence in South Africa escalated during the decade and the need for strong leadership grew with every bullet that was fired.

Ladies and gentlemen,

The 1980s in South Africa is a period I remember well - I do not know if you recall - but I visited South Africa in 1986 as a member of the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group. At the time the international community was still grappling with its response to Apartheid. I visited former President Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison and I had a long discussion with him. We discussed many things, but one of the things I did ask him about was Prince Buthelezi indirectly. I said Madiba,



“When you leave prison, your problem will not be resolution of racial differences but also resolution of ethnic differences”. Nelson Mandela got me perfectly and said “You are referring to Comrade Buthelezi, he is a freedom fighter in his own right. The means are different, but the objectives are the same”. I asked him, “Can I give this message to him?” and he said, “Please do.” So, I told the Prince and he asked, “Did he really say that?” I said, “Yes, he really said it, and he even said I should mention it to you.”

Despite the narrative surrounding Prince Buthelezi at the time, Nelson Mandela knew who Prince Buthelezi was, and knew that at his core, when one looks at Prince Buthelezi, one sees a committed fighter for greater freedom in South Africa. I learned a good lesson from that position of Madiba and I reported it to Prince Buthelezi.

During my visit in 1986, the Group also met with members of the Apartheid government, and what we ultimately found was a government that was politically stubborn. Whereas Prince Buthelezi continued to hold a principled stance of refusing to enter any negotiations with the government until Mandela and other political prisoners were released from jail ... he recognised how paramount African unity was to the negotiations ... he had the wisdom to see that unless Mandela and the ANC were free and able to participate in the negotiations, that process would not be sustainable.

If the 1980s were a complicated time, the 1990s would prove to be just as challenging. The negotiations were not easy, and violence persisted. What we saw, among other things, was not only the intensification of attempts to end Apartheid through negotiations, but a contestation of ideas for the future of South Africa and fighting for supremacy in a new order.

In 1954 Inkosi Luthuli said:

We meet here to express our deep resentment at the claim made by South Africa through its governments and parliaments since the union, to determine and shape our destiny without consulting our wishes, and arrogantly to assign us a position of permanent



inferiority in our land, contrary to the plan and purpose of God our Creator, who created "all men equal." And into us too, not to whites only, He breathed the divine spirit of human dignity. And so, we have every human and moral right to resist laws and policies which create a climate inimical to the full development of our personalities as individuals, and our development as a people.

These words are a demonstration of Inkosi Albert Luthuli's strong sense of Christian faith, which often informed his political activism. Inkosi Albert Luthuli set an example of demonstrating his Christian faith by devoting himself to the betterment of mankind, and relentlessly fighting for the liberation of South Africa, and Africa more generally. This is an example that I believe Prince Buthelezi has followed well. I believe that his Christian faith, among other things, served him well during the final years of Apartheid, the negotiations, and the infancy of South Africa's democracy, when he was called upon to be part of the processes that sought to choose forgiveness over punishment, and reconciliation over vengeance.

The fact that South Africa did not descend into a full-scale civil war during the 1990s is one of the true miracles of our time. Prince Buthelezi must be commended for his resistance to escalating tensions with the ANC. Not only did Prince Buthelezi balk at the thought of civil war, but he was more than ready to sit around the table and offer his wisdom for the establishment of a new South Africa.

The future that South Africa needed was one of reconciliation of all races and all tribal groups, as without reconciliation the development of a national will would have been almost impossible and democratic values would have been hard to establish. By sitting around the table with the oppressive Apartheid government, the ANC and other political formations, Prince Buthelezi was already demonstrating his capacity for reconciliation and a great maturity to put personal differences aside for the good of the wider community. The negotiations called for great leaders, and thankfully there were people such as Prince Buthelezi to answer that call.



While being able to sit across the table, Prince Buthelezi also exhibited a position of principles during the negotiations which some might say were disruptive to the negotiations, while others will see it for what it was, a man dedicated to the people he served. I talk of course of the Prince's insistence on ISILO – the Zulu Monarch - being part of the negotiations. During the negotiations Prince Buthelezi exhibited a capacity for compromise, such as accepting that South Africa would not be a federal state system in which provinces would hold greater power. However, on the issue of traditional leadership, Prince Buthelezi took a principled stance.

Today experts write books and journal articles and hold seminar after seminar on the role that traditional leaders play in peace processes and conflict prevention in Africa. It seems that Prince Buthelezi was well ahead of today's academics! Prince Buthelezi recognised the importance that traditional leaders play in situations such as South Africa faced in the 1990s. Traditional leaders, and in this case the Zulu King, had the unique ability to represent whole societies and communities during negotiations, and the ability to sway public opinion one way or the other. Traditional leaders carry the spirit of generations gone by as custodians of a whole culture and people. Even outside of the continent, we see European Kings and Queens continuing to be held in high regard, and to be seen as leaders of nations, despite many no longer having any constitutional or legal authority. In the case of some, the rest of the world are told to look on European monarchs as world leaders and are made to pay attention to what they say. That is because monarchs bind people together as a nation, an ability more powerful than anything that can be found in law or written down on any piece of paper.

After all is said and done, the negotiations produced a democracy for all South Africans to be proud of, and in fact a democracy that all of Africa could celebrate.

I mentioned earlier that South Africa's transition from Apartheid to democracy and the avoiding of a full-scale civil war, which would in any other circumstance have been an inevitability, was a miracle.



But let me say it again because it really was an awe-inspiring achievement. This miracle, however, did not just happen. It required patience, commitment, strong leadership, and a true desire for peace from all parties involved. It was a great act of providence that South Africa was blessed with so many leaders who were all active at the same time and who were able to exhibit the requisite qualities that produced South Africa's democracy. Whether people want to cast Prince Buthelezi as the villain in the story or not, it cannot be denied that he was a significant player during a crucial period of South Africa's, Africa's, and indeed the world's, history.

Most leaders, after a life dedicated to the struggle and liberation of his or her people, followed by a tumultuous period of negotiations, clouded in violence, bringing the country to the brink of civil war, but in this case ultimately led to the advent of democracy in South Africa, might retire to the rolling hills of KwaZulu-Natal and enjoy some well-deserved rest. But Prince Buthelezi was not done just yet.

Having fought so hard for the liberation of South Africa, Prince Buthelezi became an active participant in the democracy he helped to shape. Prince Buthelezi was also not done providing us with examples of servant leadership and exhibiting his capacity for reconciliation.

During the visit of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group in 1986, I asked Prince Buthelezi what he was working for. He said, "The interests of all people of South Africa." I said to him, "We are all with you."

When thinking of reconciliation in South Africa, most people, and rightly so, will talk about the leadership of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The great achievements of the TRC cannot be denied, and Archbishop Tutu's leadership can only be looked on with awe. A lesser celebrated aspect of South Africa's reconciliation efforts, however, was the Government of National Unity (GNU). As the Minister of Home Affairs, the government of national unity called on Prince Buthelezi to work side-by-side with other leaders. The ability to forge reconciliation with political enemies and work together in the same government is not a gesture that posterity should overlook. This government existed at a time when not only



South Africans expectations were high, but the whole world was watching the country's progress with bated breath. Not only did the GNU not collapse, it showed South Africans that as a nation they could work together to build a better future, and that those who were once enemies are capable of working together, almost seamlessly, for the good of the people.

This is a great example for many countries in Africa, and indeed the world as a whole, who find themselves in a similar position to South Africa in the 1990s.

Shenge, I recall vividly the time when you were once more called upon to show great leadership – when I led an African Observation Mission for the 2009 elections in South Africa under the auspices of the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD). You exhibited great statesmanship, by leading your party towards accepting the electoral outcome, resulting in a smooth transfer of political power in a province where people had seen so much suffering and pain! You accepted defeat gallantly and cooperatively in the best interest of the people. You eschewed violence and disorder.

Ladies and gentlemen,

While South Africa was able to avoid a civil war, many countries in Africa have not been so lucky, including my own country, Nigeria. What we very often see develop in many cases is a cycle of conflict, as issues remain unresolved, and leaders find it difficult to co-operate with those who yesterday they saw as enemies. Many leaders, be it at the national or local level find it hard to reconcile with their opponents and difficult to work with them, even if they have signed a peace agreement that has ended the conflict.

All too often people seek to assert their dominance over their rivals instead of seeing an opportunity to work together for the good of the people they profess to serve. It is true that once a conflict is brought to an end, the real work begins. Key to preventing another conflict from occurring is addressing people's needs, providing basic services, addressing the root causes of the conflict, and making sure that people's expectations of peace are met. If their expectations



are not met, then further conflict is bound to occur. Prince Buthelezi, by serving in the Government of National Unity was key to contributing to South African's expectations for peace. We must do more to promote such actions on the continent. I believe that if more leaders in Africa had the strength and foresight of Prince Buthelezi, then Africa might be able to free itself of the shackles of conflict. Then we will be able to silence the guns.

It is only by working with our enemies that our enemies become our partners for peace. It is only through reconciliation that peace can be sustained.

If there is any life that proves the veracity of these two statements, it is the life that Prince Buthelezi has lived. To learn more about his life is to learn more about strong, moral leadership, commitment to principles, dedication to the people he serves and leads and what it truly means to possess the traits of courage and bravery.

Prince Buthelezi had the misfortune of being born during trying times, but the great fortune to walk among giants, and the ability to become one himself. In this context, the Zulu nation, South Africa and the African continent as a whole must continue to hold you in high regard.

My brother, my friend, my Prince, an African leader I admire, I hold you in very high regard.

Mtwana wa kwaPindangene,

As I conclude, allow me to, once more, 'steal' and then slightly amend your words and say: when a leader reaches a certain age, people often talk about their legacy.

Your legacy – a young student activist, traditional Prime Minister to the Zulu Monarch and Nation, negotiator, Member of Parliament, Minister of Home Affairs, Chief Minister of the former KwaZulu Government, liberation stalwart and a freedom fighter in your own right, Chancellor of the University of Zululand, conservationist, and a man who fears God, a transformational African leader, and a true servant of the people.



My dear brother, I was looking at all that you have achieved, and I said to myself, “Do I have anything to beat him in?” And I discovered that I do. As I said to President Mandela at one time, when he, myself and President Kenneth Kaunda were together, I said to Madiba, “You know, you are senior to me in age, but I am senior to you in one thing. In fact, President Kaunda and I are both senior to you. You see, you went to prison before you became President, we went to prison after our presidencies!” Prince Buthelezi, you have no prison in your record. So, I am ahead of you in that!

Shenge, your legacy has been cast in gold. It will outlive you through many future generations. But it is not yet a closed book. Your legacy is still being written. You are going to leave an enviable heritage. We thank God for your life.

Thank you all for listening to me.

