brief biography

Kenny Bafo has since 2016 held the position of councillor in the Cape Town Metro Council representing the Pan African Congress (PAC). Previously he lectured political science and academic development at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and political reporting at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT). Bafo holds a BAdmin(Hons) in public administration from UWC and he is currently completing a MAdmin in political science. He was the leader of the Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania (PASMA) at UWC from 2000 to 2002 and national secretary-general of PASMA in 2005/06. In 2002 he was elected president of the SRC of UWC.

This chapter is based on an interview conducted by Thierry Luescher and Nkululeko Makhubu on 17 August 2018.

Early influences

Kenny Bafo traces what influenced his involvement in student leadership by recollecting his experiences as a schoolboy. By the time Bafo joined UWC in 1995, he had had a different schooling experience to most of his peers who grew up with him in Gugulethu and who had lived as school kids through the momentous transition years of the late 1980s and early 1990s.
I went to a primary school in Gugulethu in the early 80s. Standard 3 to standard 5 I was at Intshinga Higher Primary School, the school just behind Mzoli’s. I went into 4a which means that I was classified as a good student for that cohort and it had added responsibilities. You know, in standard 3 I was in the top five, in standard 4 I was in the top 10, also in standard 5 as well.

I did my standard 5 in 1989. That was at the time when the first cohort of Robben Islanders were being released. It was a big hullaballoo that was taking place. There was a shift, but we were still kids. Time and again we would see people doing the toyi-toyi in the street and we would just join them not knowing what was happening or who was being released; who was Mandela? That was also the time when there was the state of emergency; the townships were having a lot of upheavals. The Witdoek, the IFP-Inkatha, they were also deploying to assist SAPS at the time. We also had the Third Force, those who were staying in a place called Crossroads. At the time they were referred to as the ‘witdoek mense’. So, there was a lot of turmoil at the time, but as kids we did not understand what was happening.

Intshinga Primary would pride itself on learning excellence; so, what some of the teachers decided to do was, they called in our parents. They said: ‘Look, these kids are now going for high school in 1990 and the situation in the township is untrainable.’ The teachers thought that there would be no schooling for that year, 1990. So, the advice they gave to our parents was: ‘Let’s take some of our best kids into coloured schools.’ There was a sense of normality, a sense of stability in some of the coloured schools. So, I was one of those who were then taken from Gugulethu township school into a coloured school.

By moving from Intshinga Higher Primary School in Gugulethu to a coloured school in Athlone, Bafo realised that schools were differently resourced and he now had to learn in English.

It was going to be a whole transition for me from just being in Gugulethu using my mother tongue as my first language and everything, now going into an environment whereby English will be the medium of instruction. So, it was a major paradigm shift for me.

I went to Athlone North just for one year, as part of adjustment. I did extremely well there as well, despite the language barrier. It was the teachers of Athlone North who suggested that I must go to Athlone High. So, they applied on my behalf. I went to Athlone High so that’s how I managed to get my high school, grade 12 now, it was standard 10 then.

And the first thing there for me was a wow-moment. In Gugulethu, the only person who had a car was the principal. When I went to Athlone North and Athlone High, almost all the teachers had cars. So, this for me was a wow:
this was a good school. The parking lot was full of cars. But in Gugulethu there was only one car and that was the principal’s car. So that culture, that transition, that paradigm shift for me it’s what instilled a sense of, look I need to be serious now.

The novelty of the new school environment soon faded; after doing initially very well in the new school, Bafo got a wake-up call in 1994. Having always been a top-achieving learner, not getting a university exemption in his matric in 1994 meant he had to find a way to be able to repeat standard 10. He recalls:

That seriousness went up to standard 8; because now I was already in the system, I could bunk classes, and I was able to stand my ground. English was no longer the barrier and I was doing well in sports as well. I was going up to what was called ‘champ of champs’, almost representing the Western Cape Province for 100 and 200 metres. So, my high school days were quite normal; they were not necessarily disturbed because of politics. Only when I went to University, then I was exposed to other material.

In ’94 I was doing my matric. It was the time of the elections. I was the only one in my neighbourhood who was attending a school in a ‘foreign’, they used to call it ‘a foreign land’. I was the only one attending a school outside of Gugulethu.

1994 was just one of those year where you were just going to school for the sake of going to school. All my friends, in as much as they were also doing matric, there was that laissez-faire, that chill, don’t worry about anything, we’re gonna pass. And matric was a totally different story. In as much as that was supposed to be the year where I was just going to concentrate on my studies, the opposite happened. In 1994 I was less serious on my studies; it was a year where one was just with friends. But one thing I told myself was that I will not fail matric. So, when it came to exams, I wrote my exams and all of that.

And my father then came to me and as is the normal state of affairs that when you are in matric at a certain age, 18, then you must go for the right of passage, you know. So, I said to my dad: ‘Look, let me just wait for my exams, my results, and then I will make my decision.’

After I had written my exams, I realised I had wasted a year. The exams came and I looked at my results: I passed but it was not my full potential. I then called my dad and my mom and I said: ‘Look, this is not Kenny Bafo, I just request an extra year.’ But now the difficulty was, in coloured schools they don’t accept repeaters, right. So that meant that I had to go and find another school. Despite the fact that I know I passed, but I only got a school -eavers certificate and not a university exemption.

I sat down and some of my friends, in fact all of them had failed. For them it was like, what’s up? There wasn’t even a single person who passed matric
who was our role model at the time. So, we really had no role models, almost everyone failed matric before us, so it was not like a huge thing. But for me who was someone who was always goal-oriented and someone who had potential; for me it was a very down moment. I felt that I had disappointed my parents.

So, in 1995 when some of my former colleagues from Athlone High went to do their first year at CPUT, then PenTech, at UWC, and all of that, I put my uniform on, Athlone High, and went straight to the principal’s office. I sat down with him and I pleaded for him to take me back. He said: ‘Kenny you passed. You gave us a lot of trouble in your years. Now you had passed, so that’s it.’ But he took me back under very strict conditions, and I had to make some commitments. I guess in my case, they were more concerned because they knew my potential. So, I did my matric again; it was the most difficult year for me. I had to stay in line. I had to stay on top of things. Every time I want to go otherwise, teachers would remind me: ‘You made a promise to us.’

I did well. I wrote my exam and I felt good. Then, while I was waiting for my exams I had to go for my rite of passage in 1995. So, the results came out while I was still in the bush. My little brother brought it to me, and it was a matric exemption. I had applied to UWC and everything went well. So, in 1996 I went to UWC.

**Context of getting involved at UWC**

When Bafo arrived at UWC in 1996, the idea of student representation was something new to him and there was no ‘student political career’ that he had in mind to pursue at university. As a first-generation student, he recalls how many misconceptions he had about studying and how little orientation he was given to understand what was expected of him.

**Academic life as a first-generation student**

I went to UWC to do my BA in law but then, one was not taken through the process. I thought with going for law, it is six months of theory and I’ll just go straight to court [Kenny laughs]. That was the misunderstanding. And you didn’t have anyone in your family who would explain to you: ‘Ok this is gonna take so many years,’ that kind of thing. I was the first one to go to university. My sister went to a teaching college. I was the very first one. Everything was new.

I did not stay on campus. I was referred to as ‘opidam student’, travelling back and forth, and it also had a huge financial impact on my mom who was a single parent with three kids. You know the normal township story. The abnormal made normal. And also just coming out of the bush, you want to contribute at home; the rite of passage on its own it gives a financial strain; and still you have to pay upfront payment at varsity. So, I started working at KFC.
I went to do my first year. Now BA law meant that it had a bit of BA in it. I took history and something else, I can’t recall. But I enjoyed history more than anything; the legal subjects were just boring to me. So, we took a decision that is not for us. Let’s go and see if we can’t change this into a BA. And we were told that: ‘Look you should feel lucky that you were accepted for a BA law. Many were rejected. You were accepted based on your results, you were accepted from a number of pupils.’ We were like: still we don’t like it. We were not taken through the process of what this entails. Law sounded very nice. ‘What are you doing?’ – ‘I’m doing law.’ It sounded very professional, than someone saying they are doing BA. But now you had to go to the library, you had to look at the legal proceedings and all that nonsense. That frustration coupled with the fact that no one was taking us seriously.

So for us it was like fine; we have a choice of just going to class or not and no one was going to ask why you were not in class. And there was also ‘The Barn’. We were more there than being in a lecture hall, you know. But that caught up with us, come exam time and DP and classwork marks. We were coming from the schooling, whereby you could go into an exam room, write an exam and pass. The idea of a DP for us was like, what is that? Continuous assessment …

So BA my first year it was terrible. The only thing I passed, I think it was history with an A [laughs]. The rest was like bad. But then 1997, now that I knew the system, it was a much better year for me.

Getting interested in politics: the International Socialist Movement and PASO

After recounting his frustration with his first year of university studies, Bafo recounted how he became aware of the changes in higher education that were taking place nationwide, and how 1997 became a year that profoundly influenced his political ideology.

There were so many student activities taking place at the time in 1996. The institutional right-sizing was taking place in 1997, the higher education landscape was being debated and all that nonsense. So it was quite an exciting period for SRCs, you know.

Then came the student uprising of 1997. It started in 1997. At that time I was already attending seminars that were organised by the International Socialist Movement [ISM] and we were introduced to Karl Marx’ material, Leon Trotsky, Steve Biko … you know all the Marxist socialist theory was introduced. And there were these guys from exile coming to introduce workshops and for us it was incredible … us being members of ISM, those of us who made a conscious decision to attend the workshops.
I made a couple of friends on campus and I was spending less time at home, despite the fact that I was a day student. Some of them were staying in res. Because UWC had this 60 km radius, so for me to get accommodation in res it meant that I had to come up with an address from Eastern Cape, because I’m outside the 60 km radius. But if you stay in Gugulethu you will not get into res.

So, I made friends on campus and we would have these discussions. What made them interesting is the little stories that we were getting from exiles. The one person that was telling these stories was a guy by the name of Terry Bell. He now writes for *Cape Times*. Terry Bell is a former principal of Solomon Mahlangu High School in Tanzania. He was also the head of curriculum at that school. He was also in the top structure of the SACP. So, he was one of those gurus of the SACP up until he had a Damascus moment where he started to question the two-stage theory of the ANC and Stalin’s work and all of that and the route that the SACP was taking. Not post-1994, still in exile. And that’s when he started to read a lot of Trotsky. Issues of the revolution and all of that. So, he was part of that group that was expelled by the SACP referred to as Trotskyites.

So post-1990 when they came back, he was part of the International Socialist Movement, and part of their task was to set up student chapters at university. One part was the Student Socialist Action Committee [SSAC]. So, I was part of the Student Socialist Action Committee. That was my first political home. But it so happened that 80 per cent of their members were members of PASO, the Pan Africanist Student Organisation, you know, the predecessor or the precursor or the mother of PASMA, being the Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania.

PASO at the time, which was a body of the PAC, had serious ideological challenges. Some members of PASO believed in the socialist, Marxist theory; others believed in the Africanist nationalist approach. And these were guys like Terry Bell who managed to find and utilise the gap and draw in those who were more aligned towards the Marxist way of thinking and they became one of the student socialist movement centres. But now the offices, PASO. PASO and SSAC were all occupying ground floor offices, in the student centre, so you would have members of PASO who would go to PASO for a meeting and they would attend our meeting also …

So, in 1997 when the student protests started, we wanted to analyse them using the Marxist lens. There were many debates that were organised at varsity and AZASCO at the time was very powerful in terms of how they were presenting their case. And these were the guys who were well read and who knew their stuff and were ideologically grounded. The Black Consciousness people are always like that. So, we were engaging with Black Consciousness movement student leaders and all of that.
Building a socialist state, the 1997/98 protests, and getting academically excluded

Bafo describes how easy it is to become so committed to the ‘extra-curricular’ student work that it can have bad repercussions for academic progress.

1997 I spent most of my time attending those workshops rather than being in lecture halls. I then realised that there was no way that I would succeed with my studies. You know, 80 per cent of my time was spent attending ISM or going to other institutions representing ISM. When you are a student activist, 80 per cent of your time is less on what you came to varsity for, than what you met at varsity, in terms of your activity. I ended up going to various institutions pushing the ISM chapters, and that of course coincided with the student uprising of 1998.

Because I did not write my exams – I was in and out of Cape Town – automatically one would be excluded academically at the end of ’97. And that was a shock for me, because the rules were not that well explained because first year I was not excluded academically. I just failed some of the modules; I passed others. So, in 1997 because I was just not there and did not write exams, I was excluded. I was prevented from even entering the exam room. But that did not bother me at all, because I had a mission to fulfil, and that was the attainment of a socialist state. You get into that zone as a student leader you know [laughs].

Basically in 1997 when the student uprising was really starting to kick in and we had lecturers who were committing suicide, that was the time when most of the faculties were starting to close down under Vice-Chancellor Cecil Abrahams. The Department of Religious Studies was going to Stellenbosch. Music, all those were being closed down. So, I was very much into those discussions in terms of understanding the developments theory-wise and all that. They knew my potential, they knew my commitment, and when we decided to make the institution ungovernable, I was part and parcel of that process.

So, 1997 I was excluded. I remember when we made the institution ungovernable, that was in September.42 My photos were up and down at varsity, and I think this is now where I am going to incriminate myself, but it is fine. What happened is that this one moment we decided: let’s make the institution ungovernable.

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So, we had a plan. All of us we met at AZASCO’s office, there were many representatives: Goodenough Zizi Kodwa, the former ANC spokesperson, he was the president of AZASCO and the president of the SRC. So, we came up with this plan of just going into male toilets and just open up the taps. Let them run, you know, and just make everything ungovernable. You know, and you go and litter the entire institution. You go to res, you do the same thing. That’s what we did. So, whilst people were having lectures you just see water flowing in.

There were cameras of course; they picked up my face and all that. The campus protection identified us; there were three of us. So, they chased us and we went into the student centre and I gave my girlfriend my bag because I had a very unique bag. And we went and locked ourselves into AZASCO’s office. They could not get hold of me, but they knew I was in the student centre. And they were able to identify the bag as mine. So, they asked this lady to give my whereabouts, but she refused. So, she ended up being arrested as well. There were about 15 of us and she was number eight, because she had my bag. So that case went on for about three months at the Bellville Magistrate Court, but of course they were all found not guilty. And it was only 1998 that I made a decision not to go back to varsity, because the first two years were just terrible. I called my family and I told them …

And, of course, as much as I was not studying or passing, I was accumulating debt all the way.

UWC and student politics: round 2

Bafo recalls how after the experience of the 1997 student protests and its aftermath, he went to work at the Cape Town Waterfront and eventually prepared for rejoining the university.

Getting back to UWC

So, I said to my mother: ‘I just need a space, I just need to find myself. Yes, I’ve been to varsity, I know what varsity is like now. But I went for a law degree which I was not properly orientated around, what it entails; the system and the culture around what it means to be at university. But I just need a six-month break to really do the introspection.’ And her response was: ‘This is the second time you’re asking for introspection. You did that in matric and you were successful. And this time, I hope you will also be successful.’

It so happened that my sister spoke to a friend of a friend and she gave my CV to Truworths. I went to Truworths on Saturday and I was told the same day to start the next day. When I got my first pay, I gave it to my mother and she opened it, she looked at it, and I said: ‘Thank you, now that I have done the cultural thing of giving you my pay, can I have it back.’ [Bafo laughs] So
from R1 500 she just took the R500 and gave me back the R1 000. So now I was working at Truworths from 1998 at the Waterfront. I was no longer at varsity. And in 1998, Waterfront was booming. Then I left Truworths for Stuttafords; that was now in 1999. It was also the year that I made a decision to go back to varsity. I went back to varsity the following year, in 2000.

I kept some money while I was still working. So, I was able to say this is what I have, you know. So, I negotiated when I presented and also I shifted from BA law into something new. I was exposed to the retail market sector; I had the experience of being a student before; I was much more equipped, you know, and I was aware of what I wanted. So, I went to varsity and of course I kept it secret at home, at first. I was accepted for first-year BAdmin.

Every single decision I was making I was getting the desired outcome. When I started out with discussions with some of the university officials to have me back, they looked at my academic performance, they asked me to write a letter of readmission. It was a whole long procedure. I had to go to Student Credit Management and I had to negotiate my settlement for the debt that I had; I had to make a commitment in terms of paying the monthly instalment. Once that was all done and dusted, I then called my mom and I said: ‘Look, I’m back into the system.’ So, I had to sit with her and explain the process, you know: I’m no longer doing law, it’s not that I’m defeated it’s just not in me. You know, our parents, they come from that mould of saying, if you cannot finish something, ikubululile. For me I was never defeated by law, even if I were to complete it, I would still be frustrated. So, I explained it to her. Workwise, even the management staff agreed; if this is what you want, we’ll support you. You work 5 to 9. So, everything was working out greatly.

So, I did my first year. I would go to class and 2 o’clock I would catch a train. That was my routine – class-work-class-work. For six months everything was fine until some of the PASO guys were told I was back in the system. PASO in 1999 did not contest SRC elections. So, they hunted me, big time. And they got hold of me when I was in second semester and that’s when my political activity was activated – again.

Bafo recalls how he sought advice from his lecturer in political science, Prof. Sipho Maseko, who advised him to reconcile his different interests.

I had passed my first semester in BAdmin extremely well. So, when I was confronted with this challenge the first thing I did was, I said guys, I have to consult someone. So, I went to Prof. Sipho Maseko and I told him exactly my stories as I’m telling you now. And his response was: ‘It will not assist to run away from something that you know you are, it will always find you. The best way is to accept it and manage it.’ That was the advice. He said: ‘Don’t let it overwhelm you, try to find a way to live with it. Because in politics you
are doing extremely well, theory-wise. You just need to have that discipline.’ So, I was then able to marry the two. It was through Sipho’s advice that I was able to activate my student political activism and still at the same time do my academic work and also at the same time work.

Rebuilding PASMA at UWC

In the period between 1998 and 2000, PASO saw a decline in members, in terms of brave soldiers, in terms of activism, in terms of SRC, and also in terms of SRC contestation. That was why in 1999 they did not contest because they had no members.

So, there I was as someone who came from ISM, having had a very close relationship with former PASO members; someone also who has been interacting with them. So, they came to me and said: ‘Comrade, during those days, you were active in PASO more than with any other structure.’ They won me over in terms of their ideological inclination. I said: ‘Look here guys, whatever you have put on the table, I’m ok. I’ll do it but here are my conditions: it has to be five committed comrades; I don’t want more than five. And we meet on a daily basis, we give each other tasks and we give feedback the next day.’ I was working, going to class, you know, balancing everything.

We were five when we started, all excelling academically, and we were also tutoring at the same time. So, I shifted my tutoring hours and venue. I started to use the PASO office for student consultation, and I told them as well to do that. So that is how the office now was more active and people were coming in; not to join PASO but for academic reasons because the tutors was there. That office was kept open for tutoring. You know, and also for lunch and everything … So we had students, some of them were leaders, and they were coming to the PASO office for tutoring. Whenever I look at the EFF I always think of how we activated PASO.

In 1997 PASO had a congress at UWC and I attended that congress as an invited delegate of ISM during their open session. It was in 1997 that PASO was demarcated into PASO and PASMA. PASMA was now the name for the university-sector students and PASO for high school. And also there was the South African Schools Act and also the 1997 Higher Education Act. Comrades had to accommodate that the Schools Act dealt with COSAS and PASO, and the Higher Education Act was SASCO and PASMA.

When I got back in 2000, I became the chairperson of the PASMA branch at UWC. And we first needed to win the confidence of students. Because in 1999 we did not contest SRC elections, so in 2000 we had to make a mark. Unfortunately, the comrades approached me in 2000 during the second semester and we couldn’t do anything. I told them: ‘Look comrades, let us agree that we are not going to win the elections. And let us agree that we are not going to contest the elections. But what will be key even during election
time: we are visible; and we must have a story telling people why we are not contesting. We must spin in such a way that students will understand.’

So we started to have sessions, political sessions and classes on Fridays and also to attend and respond to invitations from other structures as well.

Towards the 2001 SRC election
After having shown his strategy of rebuilding PASMA internally and its membership in 2000, the challenge now was to build the organisation towards being able to contest the SRC election. Bafo tells the story of how he and the PASMA comrades pursued the goal to contest and win the SRC election in 2002.

The story now is rebuilding PASMA from the ground up in 2000 to contest elections in 2002. I made it a point that those comrades who were tutoring passed, because that was our goal: Let us set up the academic standards that will make it attractive for people to follow us.

End of 2000 we had a get-together with the students that we were tutoring to make commitments in terms of how we want to shape 2001. Came orientation week 2001, we had materials. We approached the SRC because we were a structure of the SRC, and they gave us a lousy R2 000. We said it’s fine. We understood we were building a structure that will be seen as equal to other structures of PASMA outside of the university, because when PASMA at UWC was deflated, PASMA at Cape Tech and Pen Tech was making strides; they were winning SRC elections.

So, in 2001, we went on this growth path of the branch. Then came elections … uhm … we made a study of the elections and we said look we will not win the elections. But we will get three or four seats at most out of the 12 seats. We contested the elections in 2001 as a force and everyone was excited. Remember this was after two years of non-contestation, now everyone was angry and hungry. And the results came, we lost everything. We didn’t get a seat. Aye! People were so demotivated, that is those that voted for us. So, we had to wait for another SRC election in 2002.

Participating in student structures
But Kenny and these five guys, we were now a force to be reckoned with, because we would attend the General Council meetings and ask difficult questions. General Council [GC] at UWC is when all the structures of the SRC meet. Each affiliate would have two representatives and the SRC would chair it. And what made it extremely good for us, or what was working for us was the fact that some of the affiliates of the SRC would even come to us before the GC and ask about certain positions around the agenda. So, we were able to win over some of the affiliates of the SRC. Affiliates being the student organisations that were formally registered with the SRC and getting funding.
from the SRC, like the religious structures, sports, creative arts, which was
UWC choir and all of that. So, we were able to win some of the affiliates.

Towards the 2002 SRC election

Building an election coalition: the United Student Front

Then 2002 I was doing my third year and we told ourselves that come rain
or shine we were going to take over the SRC. This was also the first year
that we realised that AZASCO [the Azanian Student Convention] was now
resuscitating themselves. We approached AZASCO and we said: ‘Look guys,
if we are serious about elections, we can only have two blocks. That is SASCO
and us. Let’s give the voters two choices. Either they vote for SASCO or
they vote for us. Right, so let’s engage.’ As early as March 2002 we started to
engage around the issue of forming a coalition.

Now people felt that I was so close to AZAPO [Azanian People’s
Organisation] and some of the GC and PASMA guys outside of UWC were
against the coalition; they even wrote a letter saying that if you guys meet with
AZASCO you will be given a summary dismissal from the organisation. But
we said: ‘Comrades, look. When we were all down and under, these guys were
nowhere to be found. We started this branch, it’s time that we also became
arrogant. We had to protect what we started … we’re very much on the right
path.’

And then in the GC we pushed for whoever was running the elections to
come for a presentation, because we didn’t want to have what we had last year.
We discovered that the same guy who running last year was also applying for
elections this year. That’s when we took the matter up with management. It
went to a point whereby a neutral person had to be called. And now we were so
highly motivated because we were winning on this on the table. Management
would call us at four in the morning. Management would call us late in the
afternoon. We were just having discussions.

Normally the elections were run during the third term, but now we were
going into the fourth term and there was a deadlock in terms of elections.
And for us the more there were deadlocks, the more we were getting inspired,
because our confidence was booming. This was a SASCO-led election but
they could not make a decision. And every decision that they wanted to take
they had to consult with us. We were more like same scale as the SRC going
into the elections.

We also realised that we had to bring in a third party into the coalition.
So PASMA ended up as partners with AZASCO and UCSA, that is the
United Christian Students of South Africa. It had to have that ‘coloured’
flavour as well. And we had to come up with a name. We reactivated an old
name, because there was a coalition of that nature before, in 1998, which
gave PASMA one seat: the United Student Front [USF]. So, we reactivated
that name and called our coalition the United Student Front. Our theme was ‘unity in action’. So, every time we saw each other we said: ‘Unity, comrade, unity.’ That was our slogan basically. And the question of the presidential candidate was non-negotiable, everyone had agreed that Kenny would be the presidential candidate; the rest we will discuss after the elections.

So, came the voting day. Students voted. And the next day I left for Pen Tech for a PASMA AGM and because I was just not in a good space to hear the results. Whilst I was there, I got a call from the DVC: Student Affairs, Prof. Ikey van Rheede. ‘Is this Kenny Bafo?’ ‘Yes it’s Kenny Bafo.’ ‘I just want to say congratulations.’ I say: ‘Who’s this?’ – ‘Prof. Ikey van Rheede, Student Affairs.’ I was like, ‘Eish, how did you get my number?’ That was my immediate response.

And SASCO protested the elections; called for a recount. Because out of the 12 seats, we had won the entire 12 seats. The recount was conducted, and we had won 11 and SASCO gained one seat. And our mandate was that ‘comrades, can you frustrate the hell out of that comrade’.

**SRC induction and internal organisation**

**SRC handover, induction and institutional memory**

After years of a SASCO-led SRC at UWC, PASMA in the coalition of the USF won the 2002 SRC election. In Bafo’s recollection, the handover process was far from ‘clean’; it was mainly a process of trying to frustrate the incoming SRC.

The next day [after the election results had been announced] we went to management for a meeting as SRC. There is a 14-day handover and then we will be inaugurated. So even before we were inaugurated, we had a meeting with management. And in our discussion with management they told us that whatever demands we have we need to submit them.

And there was a lady there by the name Nondumiso. She worked for Student Affairs but has since left UWC and went to work for HESA. At the time she was also a SASCO member but employed by the institution as the head of SRC admin. So, management knew that we thought that she was suspect and of course wanted to have our own admin.

That’s when comrades who had left UWC to PenTech were coming to advise us. The same comrades who did not support our coalition with AZASCO and who had left the UWC PASMA office unattended for two years. They were now coming to say, as senior members, in terms of portfolio allocation, so and so must occupy this one, so and so must do this. And we were like, ‘Comrades, what rights do you think you have to come and tell us who must occupy what and where and how?’ So, we stood our ground against them, senior as they were. We even reminded them of their threats to expel us.
and they did not even donate a cent to our campaign. We ran it from our own pockets. We had comrades from the ANC Youth League supporting us in our cause and not our own comrades. So, we told them where to get off. And so some of them never forgave me for that. And those differences then are still current even in the PAC now with some of their comrades.

Two things I refused to do: First, I refused to fire Nondumiso. She was working as an admin person and she had all the institutional knowledge. Apart from that, here was someone that was renting a flat with a two year old and for me to say she must be fired, or removed somewhere else, what would I be gaining from doing that? So, I was accused of protecting the terrorists. Secondly, I was not going to frustrate the SASCO guy who won that seat. In fact, I took him into Council position. It was myself and him. Because he also had his institutional knowledge as well. I was aware that we were just winning elections, but in terms of governance we were babies. I think his term was much better compared to some of the PASMA members who were also SRC. Little did I know that many years to come this very same comrade that I protected would be employed as the director-general in the Department of Mineral Resources, Thabo Mokoena.

Lack of handover

After we were elected into the SRC, we did not have the official handover from SASCO members because they were bitter about the elections; it’s normal. So, there was no institutional handover, like, ‘Comrades, this is where we are, these are the programmes we are busy with.’ We inherited a structure where there were no inventories, nothing. The computers were wiped; everything was cleaned, nothing. And the only person who was there to guide us, was the very same person PASMA members were saying I must fire: Nomdumiso from Student Affairs. And the argument was that we had nothing except this person to guide us through the process. So we went into an office which was empty; we had to go through some serious files; we had to find our way.

SRC portfolio allocation

Having won the election in a coalition as the USF, the SRC constituted itself internally by distributing SRC portfolios between the coalition organisations.

So, we went into office in late 2002, when we were inaugurated. The process of appointing people into the SRC portfolios was very much ok. This is how we composed the SRC: It had to reflect the face of USF. So, the president was from PASMA, myself; the first deputy president was from UCSA; and the second deputy president was from AZASCO. Because the idea of a coalition came from us, we also had to be smart about portfolio allocation. We had to show the face of a united SRC, but we also had to come strong in terms of
portfolio allocation, right. For instance, UCSA came later into the coalition and it was up to us to bring UCSA on board; it was also us who suggested a coalition to AZASCO. AZASCO had no numbers, but we needed AZASCO for psychological reasons, to say that students are united. And one of our comrades registered as an UCSA member, so that when we discussed the portfolio allocations, we took from UCSA a comrade of ours. And this was an agreement that we had with UCSA: ‘Look comrades, you don’t know how SRCs work. You’ve never been into the SRC. You don’t even have a muscle on res, but we want you to be part and parcel of this arrangement.’

UCSA also did not have experienced cadres, or people that were courageous enough to say I’m willing to stand in front of the masses and present a manifesto. So, we had to train them as well. We took the president of the International Student Organisation, who was from Burundi, and we asked UCSA to register him as one of their members and they must bring him into the coalition. So, in reality UCSA had three members not four.

In the SRC there were 12 seats and we all had to fill it four-four-four members. But in essence PASMA had five members. But when it came to the financial collective, which is the president, the secretary and the finance: the president is PASMA, the secretary is PASMA/UCSA and finance we gave to AZASCO.

**SRC and co-operative governance**

Bafo recalls the challenge of running an SRC where for many years a different student political organisation had been governing. There was a lot of learning and little institutional memory. This included participating in the university’s governance structures and institutional committees, managing the SRC budget, and maintaining the relationship with student organisations and the student body.

**Allocating committee membership**

Once you are in the SRC, you now need to attend institutional committees. Issues that we were not privy to as affiliates of the SRC. Once we had completed the portfolio allocation, we then had to allocate ourselves to institutional committees. So, we looked at the list of these institutional committees and we had the SRC constitution which guided us. If you were the president you sit in Council. Something along those lines.

If there was one committee that we were all aware of and we all agreed I would not be part and parcel of – but we would need to monitor that committee – it was the tender committee. We reached a consensus that the second deputy president dealing with the issues of legalities would go and sit on that tender committee and then he would come and present issues to us collectively there. And the second deputy president sat there, and things went astray. He was no
longer reporting to his organisation, he was no longer reporting to the SRC. We had to deal with that.

I also went into Senate meetings and we were articulating positions. Some of these committees had agendas like big books. And there I was required to read these books, and yet I was struggling to read my own course reader which was this small!

**SRC budget**

Our SRC had a budget of R1.2 if not R1.3 million and we had to divide that money to SRC affiliates and also ensure that we had operational funds as well. Now these PASMA comrades, myself included, who now find themselves in charge of a budget of R1.3 million, we were so used to getting R2 000 for a year from SASCO as our budget. And now we were in a space where it was us allocating budgets to structures.

**Relationship between SRC and PASMA BEC**

After being elected into office we had to ask ourselves, can you serve as an SRC member and BEC member at the same time? We had to quickly call a branch executive AGM. Now this is a branch that we had strongly guarded as the top five, that inner core, but we had to leave the branch, because our focus was more onto SRC. And that’s where we made our greatest mistake, because we opened the branch to anyone and everyone; to cadres who needed insight on how to build a branch, how to build your membership. We also were no longer there for them because we were all-consumed by our SRC activities. And they would come and say: ‘Hey comrades, we want to do this activity.’ And our response would be: ‘How much do you need?’ And then we give it to the branch without monitoring the performance of the branch.

**Main challenges and issues**

**Fee increment and debt agreement with management**

Bafo shares how the university management and the SRC would annually agree on the fee increase for the following year by means of a ‘fee increment agreement’ with the outgoing SRC and a ‘debt agreement’ with the incoming SRC. The new SRC from PASMA was now faced with having to defend a fee increase that the SASCO SRC had agreed to and to which they had not been party and which they did not understand. The agreement on fee increments had, however, implications for the debt agreement that the new SRC was meant to sign, which stipulated the required upfront payment that students would need to make for registering in the new year.

After our inauguration, we had a meeting with management and we agreed on the date when we were going to have the student summit. We agreed on the
agenda and all the institutional managers and directors must come and present. The director of finance would come and do the projections for 2003 and in terms of the fee increment as well. And we as the SRC will draw up a proposal to the institutional leaders and to the student leaders as well, and at the student summit we must come to a consensus. Now you can imagine, there we were, being told that there was something like fee increment. Now the technicality is that, it is the outgoing SRC that signs the fee increment, you understand.

We were expected to call what is called a student summit where you invite management to present their plans for the following year and to allow student leaders to engage with that.

So … and we as the SRC were supposed to sign the agreement for 2003 that was our major challenge. We were good at identifying the loop-holes and also at magnifying the incompetency of the SRC, but in terms of their weaknesses when engaging with management. But now we were in the SRC and we were tasked with signing a financial agreement for the following year. A financial agreement which will have an impact on student enrolment.

We, the SRC, we had a huge mountain to climb.

Now it’s November and the institution closes on 23 December and we need to sign the financial agreement with the institution, latest by 15 December, and we need to have the mandate from the student summit which must sit in November. All that after the elections which were dragged because of the deadlocks until we managed to find a consensus. So, we were behind by almost a month and we had to rush things.

By the time the new SRC comes into office, the fee increment has been signed by the outgoing SRC. All you have to do as the new SRC is to sign what they call a debt collection agreement, because fees have been increased. But if fees increase by a certain percentage, it will have a direct impact on what I will pay in the year towards my debt. So, if Kenny owes the institution R10 000, this SRC must then agree in terms of the upfront payment. Kenny will pay 25 per cent towards his debt and also an upfront payment of at least R1 000. Now this is the debt agreement that the incoming SRC signs and it is influenced by the fee increase agreement that the outgoing SRC must sign.

So, we were not privy to this information but we were forced to sign something here. And these guys knew we were not privy to this information and they were waiting for us to make the announcement at the student summit and to deal with us there on the spot.

So, we went into the student summit. Even before the student summit, we met the comrades from AZASCO and UCSA and we brought this challenge to their attention. Of course, UCSA was very quiet, because they are religious students who were only brought in to bring numbers. So as usual it was between us and AZASCO. And the guys from AZASCO were like: ‘Let’s
sign.’ My argument was that I am not putting my signature to something that I do not know and will not be in a position to defend.

So, we went to the student summit, we listened to management. They all presented and then we asked them to leave. And then the SASCO guys, some of them had been in the outgone SRC, wanted to hear our proposal and we refused to give the proposal. We said: ‘No, this was more of an information-gathering session.’ We then were telling structures that these guys were refusing to give us an official handover ... we did not know how many computers we were inheriting and all of that. Then the student summit collapsed. We then went to management and we told them the date that you set for us will be impossible. We need more time to study the fee agreement and to consult before we could sign.

Finally, we signed the debt collection agreement on the last day of the institution, the 22nd of December, not on the 15th. Some of the university managers who had plans to leave the institution had to remain for an extra week, because the SRC was still busy studying the fee increment and all of that. For us it was victory in a sense, since we were able to alter the process in our favour.

When asked if the debt agreement actually changed in their favour, Bafo intimated:

It slightly changed and it was more explained to us. What they had in mind was you go in, sit down for 30 minutes and then we sign the agreement. We actually wanted the presentation from the day they signed the fee increment with management with SRC. Because remember, it’s the University Council that agrees on fee increment, and there was no way that we could change that. The best we could do was to change the debt collection into our favour.

**Student registration and finances**

At the beginning of the year, in terms of salaries and operational expenses, the institution depends on registration fees mostly. If you owed them R10 000 and only had R1 000 just go and pay them that money. And the students felt if I paid that money there would be no guarantee that I would be allowed to register. It was not enough for us to say we’ll cross that bridge when we get there. Students wanted some guarantees. But we had to lie and tell the students that you will be guaranteed registration. We had students owing a maximum R10 000 and we said if your debt was R10 000 and you had passed, then you only owe R2 000, just go and keep the receipt.

But now the process was abused by students who had failed and who were owing R40 000, just paying R1 000, showing that slip to res coordinators to get their rooms and all that nonsense. So, it had become a very complicated
process – we had to manage somehow. It was January/February and there was a string of students who were coming back.

So, we assigned some of our comrades to be part of the finance collecting and we had a target as well. We said we are going to monitor on a daily basis how much the institution was receiving in terms of registrations. And we had a target. We said if the institution was getting x-amount at the end of the month, it means that they must open up the gates.

Frustrating SASCO’s launch of the Right-to-Learn Campaign

The partisan competition between the USF coalition SRC led by PASMA and SASCO which had lost the election continued to define much of Bafo’s term. In his interview, Bafo gave a number of examples of the way former SASCO-aligned students who were now institutional officers frustrated the work of his SRC. Conversely, now being in the SRC also gave PASMA a certain muscle to frustrate SASCO’s efforts. Bafo is aware that this was not necessarily in the interests of students; it was rather ‘politicking’ between the two organisations, as the example of the Right-to-Learn Campaign shows.

We went into 2003 fully armed because SASCO was bad-mouthing the SRC. Mid-February SASCO was putting up posters to say they were launching their Right-to-Learn Campaign. The campaign was going to be launched the Monday, and a certain minister was part and parcel of their campaign. And that minister will have discussions with management in terms of assisting this SRC that is failing.

So, we allowed those posters to be up. And I said to some of my guys: ‘Look, we just have to go back to our BEC days.’ So, the Friday we called an urgent meeting and that meeting we planned how we were going to counter the Monday event. On Monday morning at six o’clock, we were all up and letters were delivered to various offices. Six o’clock in the morning we were already standing in front of the rector’s office with a letter saying that SASCO is suspended by the SRC.

So, when they went to fetch audio sound for their event, they were shown the suspension letter. When the rector was called to address, the rector could not, he said: ‘The SRC suspended you.’ So, we had suspended SASCO and we did not give them any letter. It was a strategy just to frustrate the Monday event.

There were no grounds; we just had to suspend them. It was just politicking, and we knew that they were going to come running angry to our office, and that they did. They came bashing doors and all that nonsense. On that grounds we suspended them: just to prevent them from getting the necessary resources to arrange that the campaign kick-starts. But they also fell into a trap, because they came and they became chaotic and distracted the registration process. So, they fell into that trap and now we had good reason for suspending them.
We suspended them until the registration process was finished. It was only then that the registration process started to run smoothly. When we knew that at least 80-90 per cent of the students were in the system everything was fine.

**SRC budget and spending on bashes**

Being in charge of a huge budget can be an overwhelming responsibility if there are not enough checks and balances in place. Bafo’s SRC had to learn the hard way and eventually ‘spoilt’ it for future SRCs.

We had a cheque book that was with the SRC secretary of finance all the time. The institution was putting R50 000 a month into that cheque book so that any structure of the SRC, when they come they need this. We just said: ‘Look I have given you R20 000, here’s R5 000 you are going to minus it.’ So, we kept all the records. The signatories were myself and the secretary for finance, Sandile Dolweni [who is an advocate now and currently the proctor of UWC]. And we also had a political responsibility to uphold and also fund the programmes of other bodies.

When asked what the institutional procedures and control mechanisms were to make sure the SRC budget was spent responsibly, Bafo argued:

We should have been workshopped around it. Mind you we had that cheque book, we had the petrol card, we had the Toyota Venture, we had everything, we had everything as SRC, 12 of us. And suddenly you wake up and you find you have this power. Petrol card, you have a driver, you have everything.

And what did the students say to that?

Students? All that they want is for you to throw a bash for them and that’s it. That’s where it ends. And that’s how you keep them happy. Bring Mandoza, bring Mdu, that’s service delivery for them and then you engage with SAB. The students were happy and everything was fine.

What, other than bashes, did the SRC organise for students? Any debates or academic programmes?

There were no real academic programmes because we did not understand what it meant to be in the SRC and run an academic programme as an SRC. We were not informed. The only thing that made us go into the SRC, we were just opposing SASCO and it happened that we won. We were just good in opposition.
The Mr and Miss UWC spending crisis, forensic audit and removal of the SRC cheque book

And also financial controls should have been in place. Because we were almost arrested for fraud in the SRC. And that would have dealt with my life completely.

The matter of financial controls was eventually resolved with the forensic audit and the institution of a new process by which the SRC budget is disbursed at UWC.

What happened was that before we had Miss UWC, we realised that we had run out of finances. We had zero from our budget and we could not understand it. Because we were told when we went into office that we had R1.3 million. Nobody told us from that money they paid the photocopier machine, they pay electricity, the petrol card, the staff, the admin is paid from that money. We were not informed of how that money is utilised. Right, a certain portion goes to the payment, a certain portion is operational and all of that. We were not informed. We were just signing. And also the photocopier machine, we thought it was institutional property. So, comrades come and print and make photocopies as much as you want to. If it runs out of ink it's fine, we just have it refilled and all that nonsense.

By the time we hit June we were flat broke, flat broke. But there was money that was kept for AGM and elections and we had to make a very strong case for that money to be released for Mr and Miss UWC. And the very same thing that I told them is what I am going to tell you now. That had you put these measures in place we would have been more resilient, we would have been more careful how we spent money. But if you want chaos – because management was also aware about the chaos that we had – if you want chaos, we will unleash it as SRC. So uh, what management said to us as part of the conditions for releasing the money was that they were going to call in Price Waterhouse Coopers to do a forensic on the SRC. So, we had to submit the cheque book, we had to submit everything to them. The auditors came, and they came rushing, they came like wolves on us. You know this thing of you write something and then you tear it and then you leave it. I had that experience of auditors coming into the SRC offices and checking everything, the bin and all of that nonsense. And I was making notes of all of these things as I was planning. And we were grilled individually.

There were two commissions in my term. One commission was headed by Advocate Norman Arendse SC and that one was on the suspension of SASCO. It was through the commission’s recommendations that the suspension was lifted. If you can go to UWC and ask for the Norman Arendse’s commission of 2003 which sat at the Senate Building you will find my submissions there.

And then the other commission was the one of the forensic auditors. So, they came and I was called into an office for an hour session. And then I told
Reflections of South African Student Leaders

them literally that: ‘Look, there were no financial controls and we gave money to PAC just like the SASCO-led SRCs funded ANC programmes at UWC. We gave money to so-and-so, so-and-so …’ We just told them what we were doing, we were not hiding anything. We said, we thought that these things were normal when we were in the SRC; we would even go to Prof. Ikey van Rheede and we would tell him that we need this and this and this. We had to attend conferences, because we are political deployees, so when our mother bodies had conferences we had to go. Because being in the SRC is a political job. So, we were exonerated from that but the one thing they did was to take the cheque book from us.

And since then, no SRC ever had a cheque book. That was our legacy. [Bafo laughs] It was taken permanently from the SRC. I think the process has fundamentally changed now.

We came into office at a time, it was Brian O’Connell’s second year in office. But by the time he left there were so many controls. Even to buy a cool drink as an SRC you had to go through certain processes. So, the SRC in my time, I think it was the very last of the SRCs to have free rein.

It had to happen the way that it did, so that the rest can learn, right. And also for the institution to actually see the weaknesses and what can happen if we have an SRC that’s not properly inducted into office.

Reflecting on #FeesMustFall

Bafo’s reflections on the #FeesMustFall protests are mixed. On the upside, he was surprised by the strong pan-Africanist leanings of the movement and wishes that the PASMA leaders of the 2015/16 student campaigns were better accommodated within the PAC and given guidance by former PASMA leaders and PAC leaders.

#FeesMustFall and the PAC

The Fallism – #OpenStellenbosch, #RhodesMustFall – decolonisation project; all those took the PAC by surprise. #FeesMustFall has taken the PAC ideals to another level. And even when they have graduated they maintain this, but not at an organisation level; the sad part about the Fallists is that we really don’t have space within the PAC, currently. Hence, the EFF is the nearest space for them because the leadership of the EFF is very young, they’re attractive. They fit in into the vocab and the dialectic of these youngsters … But very few of the PAC members assume the platform and make these quotations of Ngugi wa Thiong’o, WEB du Bois … in the manner that is attractive, you know. We are not moving with the times. The best we do is say ‘Sobukwe said’ … and we don’t have any other person outside of Sobukwe.

So, this is the difficulty with #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall. The most reasonable thing that the PAC should have done, was to call in all of us
who have led an SRC into a summit and ask to give our experiences. Because we have led SRCs at CPUT, at Cape Tech, Pen Tech, Fort Hare, you know. That is what one would have expected from a thinking, leading organisation like PAC.

**A new culture of engagement, reading and new concepts**

Bafo also feels that the #FeesMustFall and related activism brought back fundamental debates to university campuses, a new culture of engagement, and of learning.

Thanks to #FeesMustFall, debate was able to resurrect. Thanks to the Fallists and the decolonisation project, quality was brought back into the discussion. The beauty of #FeesMustFall is that it brought back engagement with management in a way that we never thought it would happen … And now we have students who are able to – and eloquently so – present their cases and also bring new terminology into the discussion. The culture of reading is starting to take shape, to find its way. And these learners themselves are also reading; it’s not about attending political workshops in your own mother body, they are now workshopping themselves.

#FeesMustFall has brought back the dignity of the student body. It has also made reading fashionable. The concepts that they are using, are concepts that we never really used back in the days. Concepts foreign to the vocab of our mother structures. Intersectionality, feminism and all of that, they are not there in the PAC. As I have said, the conservatives within the party, they have a problem in accommodating or providing a space for Fallists. They are saying these arguments are not PAC.

**The individualistic mentality of #FeesMustFall leaders**

Bafo deplores what he sees as the self-aggrandisement of some leaders that he spoke to from the movement.

I’ve had a discussion with some of the leaders of #FeesMustFall and the most troubling thing is constantly hearing the word I-I-I-I … I did this … I did that … I was arrested … I spoke to this comrade: the I-mentality kind of leadership with your #FeesMustFall. It sounds more like a cult mentality. I think some of the comrades, some of the leaders of #FeesMustFall were starting to have an ‘if-it-was-not-for-me’ kind of mentality.

**Own involvement during #FeesMustFall**

During the 2015/16 student activism, until he was elected the sole PAC councillor in the City of Cape Town municipal council, Bafo was an academic staff member in the Department of Political Science at UWC. His history of having been in the SRC before, his leadership role in the Western Cape provincial executive of
the PAC, and his role as political analyst predisposed him to get involved in some form in the movement.

As a former PASMA member I was called by the university management to speak to the PASMA-led SRC when there was a crisis, you know. So, at times I was this person who was putting out fires on behalf of management because now I was a university employee. But for me the passion that I have is for students and politics.

I can remember with Pastor Xola Skhosana. We were there, me and Pastor Skhosana. And where it became very personal for me was when I witnessed the brutality of the police towards students.

And I was called in to give my input on TV, as a political analyst on ANN7 about #FeesMustFall. I ended up siding with the students, being the ‘spokesperson of #FeesMustFall’ – against the other invited guest who was the chairperson of the UWC Council, Mthunzi Mdwaba. We were debating this issue and I had to remind him: ‘Let us listen to the students.’ So I came from the Department of Political Science, but I ended up taking him on; and the next day I came to campus and some of my colleagues in the faculty questioned my approach, asking whether I was a staff member or an SRC member, and all that nonsense.

Being at UWC 13 years after my term in the SRC, I have seen the rise and the fall and the rise again of the SRC.

The impact of the student leadership experience

As much as Bafo sees his experience as student leader as a huge learning curve, he also sees how former leaders from other student organisations like SASCO have reaped a huge benefit from having been in the SRC in terms of their careers, while as a PAC man, he does not see such benefits.

Impact on career trajectory

Having been in the SRC has taught me a lot of things. Like the ability to stand in front of a crowd. I think my lecturing experience was greatly influenced by my student activism. I was able to stand in front of 400 students and teach them politics; not teach but to facilitate a discussion around politics and current events.

I think it made it easier for me to understand the transition from being an ordinary student; the ability to make mistakes and also to rectify those mistakes.

Looking back, I would say it has been a good investment for me personally to have been a student leader for PAC. But there is a very painful observation … if you look at growth projections of some SASCO comrades, the ones
who I was leading with, where they are now and where I am at, it’s a painful observation. And where they are at, some of them, it’s through organisational support, because the organisation invested in them. I was the first SRC president who stayed on past my term at UWC. Because the trend was SRC president, parliament; SRC president, government. Because those were the SASCO progression positions. They became spokespersons for the so and so. Because being in the SRC also gives you the ability to stand in front and spin things. I went into Senate meetings and we were articulating positions. I was only in those positions because I was in the SRC. I sat on those committees with big books like this. And here I am as a PAC councillor. Unlike those from the ruling party, I don’t have researchers, I don’t have organisational support. All I have is people who are in and out of office because I belong to a certain faction. All that assists me is that I have an academic background. And yet I am here pushing the party line, right. You understand the frustration.

I’m just saying as a former SRC president, your role is to serve. That for me is an esteemed position. That for me is reputable. It’s highly respected. Now I knew the guys that I was going against. I knew the guys who were there before me. I left UWC after 13 years, and I was there for two years before that. In 1997, right, under Zizi Kodwa and then I left, came back under Xolile Majola; they are big guns now.

Impact on political attitudes and active citizenship
My year in the SRC was messy because it is only through that process that you actually learn. And it had to be messy because I was the very first in the history of UWC to lead an SRC under the banner of PAC. I came to the conclusion that you can unseat even the ANC. But you have to deal with officials, because those officials are there, employed by the ANC, and they had a lot of experience.

These are the things that you reflect and you say it’s wise to win elections, but it’s wiser to tell people to learn and apply for positions. So that when you take over you have a human resource that you can rely on.

Impact on personal and family life
I have grown as a person. I think it has taught me to be bold enough and take steps; not to be afraid to venture into the unknown. What it has also taught me is that it takes a lot of effort, but what keeps you there is character; it has built my character. And it’s had a huge dent on my family. I think I’ve sacrificed a lot in terms of my time.