

INTELLECTUAL DISPOSSESSION AND THE POST-APARTHEID STRUGGLE FOR EQUAL EDUCATION AND DIGNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. Professor Badat, the Community of Mandela Rhodes Scholars, students, friends and comrades thank you for the invitation to address the subject of ethical leadership. Rhodes University is one of the places that I regard as a home.
2. This address will examine the link between ethics and the struggle for equal education. A few words on my own understanding of ethics, citizenship and leadership is necessary to ensure clarity.
3. Ethics can be defined as the principles that govern our personal lives and our society. Therefore, an ethical leadership requires first and foremost an ethical person who is also an ethical citizen. Citizenship is wrongly confused with and attached to the nationality of a person. A citizen is a political person who may or may not struggle to be ethical in their life.
4. A life lived on the basis of ethics is a very hard life. One can only struggle to be an ethical leader because every day we are faced to make choices that require a principled resolution. What we eat, wear, how we speak to our parents, comrades and friends, whether we learn at school, how we earn our daily bread, or, our hunger and the public service we render, all place ethical duties on us.
5. I want to remember Uncle John Vollenhoven who died yesterday at the age of 59 after living with HIV for about 20 years. He was an activist, leader and educator with the Treatment Action Campaign for the last decade from its Atlantis Branch. Unemployed and poor Uncle John was on a clinical trial with ARVs in about 1998. He was not educated or seen as an

autonomous person who could understand science because of limited formal education. He went off his ARVs because he did not understand it. When he joined TAC – his autonomy and dignity was affirmed through its Treatment Literacy Campaign. On 5 September 2003, he and I started ARVs together. I started my first-line regimen and he had to start his second-line regimen because he had come off his treatment earlier.

6. He became an advocate on the HIV Talk Show *Siyanqoba/Beat It!* and an educator of stature in one of the poorest Coloured townships in the country – Atlantis. Uncle John was buried yesterday six years after both of us started treatment. He was an exemplary ethical leader, citizen and activist with a sense of humour that will always keep us laughing as we remember him.
7. I would argue that our ethics must be based on the fact that every human being on our planet is born with the inalienable rights to life, freedom, dignity and equality. These rights can only be exercised ethically with the fullest regard to the right to a sustainable environment and planet.
8. All people also have the right to open, ethical, accountable and professional public service locally and globally.
9. Individuals and society have the right and duty to demand that private corporations observe all these rights including open, ethical, accountable and professional corporate governance to promote human dignity and a sustainable environment.
10. These rights exist independently of any government or corporate power. In South Africa after an enormous struggle for freedom these rights are now codified in our Constitution.

11. The only guarantee of these and other rights anywhere in the world is solidarity between human beings as citizens.
12. Education is central to every right and above all to ethics and leadership. This idea is almost as old as philosophy. Jean-Jacques Rousseau one of the Enlightenment philosophers (of whose existence and work I learnt in school at the age of twelve) wrote:

There can be no...liberty without virtue, no virtue without citizens; create citizens, and you have everything you need; without them, you will have nothing but debased slaves, from the rulers of the State downwards. To form citizens is not the work of a day; and in order to have men [and women] it is necessary to educate them when they are children. (From *The Discourse on Political Economy* 1750 & 1993)

13. Apartheid, the ideology of white supremacy and its education system was designed to make all human beings subjects not citizens or in Rousseau's words "debased slaves from the rulers of the State downwards". It removed freedom and dignity from all people.
14. One of the greatest crimes of apartheid was the imposition of inferior education that discriminated against black people and this destroyed the ethical foundations of all education. To this day, its effects on human dignity can be gauged in a myriad of personal and systemic race, class and gender relations, and, in every sphere of our economy and public life.
15. In 1976 and beyond, we marched. We sang – "We Shall Overcome". We threw stones when shot at. We were arrested and beaten. We set our schools on fire because we desired, wanted, demanded equal education. Sadly, one of the outcomes of this struggle was some of the reactionary slogans popularised in the 1980s such as "Liberation before

Education” and “Pass One, Pass All”.

16. The commitment of the ANC government to equal education has never been in doubt. Today, President Jacob Zuma’s government has again committed itself to excellence and equality for all. Many years ago in during an interview on his time on Robben Island, President Zuma spoke of learning to read and write in prison taught by Deputy Chief Justice Dikgang Moseneke. (Lewis: 19) Despite this commitment by our government since 1994, the reality is different.
17. The sacrifice of generations of young people and our parents demand that as we celebrate 15 years of freedom by asking – has our education system restored dignity and equality to our people?
18. The evidence says: we have failed dismally. Evidence based on rigorous research is one of the most important qualities of citizenship and ethical leadership.

EDUCATION IS CENTRAL TO INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM, DIGNITY AND EQUALITY

19. Fifteen years after freedom and almost two decades since the transition to democracy began we have a duty to address the post-apartheid inequalities in education.
20. In her introduction to *Changing Class: Education and Social Change in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, Professor Linda Chisholm makes the following simple but profound observation: “Language policy in education and curriculum were vehicles for the **intellectual dispossession** that characterised apartheid” (HSRC:2005 p18).
21. There are four critical concepts both explicit and

implicit in this statement relevant to our struggle for equal education today.

22. First, language is central to knowledge and every intellectual tradition.
23. Second, curriculum or the content of education is fundamental to the possession of an unlimited intellectual horizon and education.
24. Third, under apartheid, both language and curriculum policy were instruments that constructed and entrenched race, class and language inequality.
25. Last, the concept of “intellectual dispossession” contains the implicit recognition that the fundamental human dignity of all people but specifically of black people was destroyed through apartheid.
26. From the assertion that intellectual dispossession is a systemic denial of human dignity it must follow that it is a denial of an education based on ethics.
27. **We** can develop the concept intellectual dispossession because we need its rallying cry for an education system that restores human dignity. The concept intellectual dispossession is therefore central to contemporary struggles by students, parents, teachers, principals, activists, government, communities and civil society to create a system of equal education.
28. Education is a fundamental human right located in freedom, dignity and equality. In its broadest sense, education is a form of social and socialised property. Our common ownership of education is inherited in struggles from Ancient times but in particular from the Enlightenment to ensure that education becomes the common property of every person and not simply the

preserve of the dominant classes.

29. Philosophy, science including medicine and technology, the humanities including economics, art, music literature and the histories of communities from every part of the world constitutes our common property.
30. The American and French Revolutions, socialist and labour movements as well as the anti-colonial movements from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries all demanded the right of poor and working class people to claim society's common ownership of education.
31. The clergy of the Dark Ages in Europe attempted to repress all freedom and knowledge from the Ancients.
32. The late Edward Said, an exiled Palestinian and one of the great minds of the twentieth century in his combat against mediocrity and anti-intellectualism as an ideology argued: "The purpose of the intellectual's activity is to advance human freedom and knowledge." (Said:1994)
33. By the early 1970s, the state in almost every country (except parts of the Muslim world) was committed to the provision of universal and in the main free education.
34. In more recent times, significant attempts have been made to privatise or reduce education to the status of private property restricted to those with income and wealth. This is now changing again because it is not socially, economically or politically feasible.
35. Mass equal, free and quality education for all people including poor and working class students can only be realised through active, ethical citizenship, activist

leadership and public service.

POST-APARTHEID INTELLECTUAL DISPOSSESSION OF AFRICAN, COLOURED AND MINORITY WORKING CLASS AND POOR CHILDREN

36. In 2006 I read a PhD thesis by Urshula Hoadley on the recommendation of Professor Paula Ensor, Dean of Humanities at UCT. It gave me an evidence-informed insight into education in democratic South Africa.
37. Hoadley's PhD *Social Class, Pedagogy and the Specialization of Voice in Four South African Primary Schools*, was researched in 2003 and completed in 2005. The thesis is a materialist theoretical and empirical analysis on social class and education. The theory essential to the research methodology is difficult. The data and its clarity will make Hoadley's work a classic in studies on our post-apartheid education system.
38. The study compared four primary schools in Cape Town, two former Model C (or white) schools and two former Department of Education and Training (or black African) schools in Khayelitsha. Grade 3 learners and teachers were chosen in each school.

Student/Staff Ratio, Fees and Resources

School name	Socio-economic context	# of students	# of staff	Student: staff ratio	School fees/annum	Average class size Grade 3	Availability of specialist rooms, e.g. library, labs
Lwazi	Working-class	1325	35	38:1	R70	41	Yes
Uxolo	Working-class	1492	46	32:1	R30	44	No
Rhodes	Middle-class	550	55	10:1	R7040	28	Yes
Arbor	Middle-class	738	52	14:1	R6500	19	Yes

39. The Model C suburban schools were racially mixed

with twice the number of teachers provided by the Department of Education because of the ability to charge school fees. The working African township schools were profoundly different. Many learners had health or nutrition problems.

40. The Hoadley thesis also demonstrates the gap in financial resources between middle and working class schools. Take a step back and try to remember that in 1975, the apartheid state's education expenditure was marked by racial discrimination. Then, the state spent **R500.00 on a white child**, only **R106.00 on a Coloured child** and a miniscule **R25.00 on an urban African child** for their education. (SAIRR:1975)
41. Today, the inequality in financial, physical and human resources is greater. Under apartheid, the expenditure on a white child's education was at least 20 times more than that of an urban African child.
42. In post-apartheid period, parents could not afford **school fees of R70.00** in an African working class township whereas in non-racial middle class public schools they could be **R7040.00 per year**. Apart from the "equitable state expenditure share" on each child, the state school through private fees spent a hundred times more on a middle-class learner than that on a working class learner in a state school.
43. The state is progressively abolishing school fees for working class and poor children in the state system. This policy is long overdue.
44. However, the policy choice of middle-class people such as ourselves, cross-subsidising each other is a systemic intellectual dispossession of working class and poor children. This undermines their dignity as human beings. I speak here of the children of my own brothers and sisters in Mitchell's Plein who cannot afford to go to Model C schools. This is morally wrong and constitutionally untenable.

45. It does not follow that as a consequence of the fees policy that allows this inequality, therefore that fee-paying state schools must be abolished. The quality of outcomes and the esteem that a Model C learner must become the reality in all schools.
46. I am confident that the mass of decent middle-class people who send their children to model C schools would agree that an equitable fund should be established. **30% of all fees over R2000,00** could be allocated to fixing schools, establishing libraries and training librarians, funding reading campaigns through after-school care. **This tax must also include private schools.**
47. Over a decade or two, significant inequalities could be eliminated. It is our moral and constitutional duty to call for a reasonable fees policy based on an equity fund and to ensure its realisation within two or three years.
48. Eliminating resource inequality in education demands active citizenship stated differently ethical persons, citizens, activists and leadership who act on the basis that every child has the right to dignity. We need Mandela Rhodes Scholars to do the math and economics of this and to use their moral stature to write opinion pieces. To agitate on FaceBook and to mobilize communities and students on these demands.

INEQUALITIES IN OUTCOMES

49. Hoadley's standardised testing illustrates the inequalities in outcomes between these working-class and middle-class schools and their learners. The results of Grade 3 testing conducted by the Western Cape Education Department in 2002 are presented in the table below. They show the percentage of Grade 3 students at each school who could achieve the standards set for Grades 1 through 4.
50. At the **Model C** schools, **80%** and more of the **Grade**

3 learners already performed properly for Grade 4. However at the **township schools**, black working class children **fewer than 40% of Grade 3 learners could manage Grade 2 work.**

PERFORMANCE AND OUTCOMES

% of Grade 3 learners achieving at...	Rhodes	Arbor	Lwazi	Uxolo
Grade 1 level	100%	100%	71%	96%
Grade 2 level	100%	100%	12%	37%
Grade 3 level	97.5%	80%	0%	0%
Grade 4 level	85%	80%	0%	0%

51. Another indicator of unequal outcomes is the Western Cape Education Department data on standardized numeracy tests for Grade 6 learners (2005). In Model C schools, **65 out of 100** learners could count for their age. In working class Coloured township schools, **3 out of 100** learners could count for their age and in working class African township schools, only **2 out of every 1 000** Grade 6 learners could count for their age.
52. The following proposition is not an exaggeration. Reliable evidence demonstrates that by Grade 3 and confirmed by Grade 6 that the **majority of children in post-apartheid South Africa have been condemned to a social death by our education system.**
53. The intellectual dispossession entrenched by apartheid now constitutes a material reality in democratic South Africa on a scale that no-one could have imagined and our government did not intend.
54. In the main, African and Coloured working class children as well as their vulnerable Indian and White counter-parts receive an inferior education that makes them unemployable. Above all, their right to a free, equal and dignified life is destroyed by the education

system.

LANGUAGE AND INTELLECTUAL DISPOSSESSION

55. After 1976 and until the later 1980s, I refused except in limited circumstances to use my mother-tongue Afrikaans. Our generation of activists wanted to ensure that English was used as a medium of instruction to build a common identity. This was a mistake. Linda Chisholm correctly identifies language as an instrument of intellectual dispossession.
56. In 1995-96, as part of contributing to the work of the National Language Project led by veteran socialist intellectual Neville Alexander, I learnt about the centrality of mother-tongue education and multi-lingualism as a class-room medium to learning and culture. I researched and directed a documentary produced by Jack Lewis on the history of Afrikaans and discovered that I could reclaim my mother-tongue.
57. The movement to develop the Afrikaans language is instructive for the role of ordinary people and intellectuals in making education social property. Citizenship and equality was indistinguishable from the movement to recognise Afrikaans as an official language with English.
58. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Dutch settlers were oppressed by the English colonial administration at the Cape. After crushing the Afrikaner republics and creating the Union of South Africa in 1910, this oppression continued in more or less open ways. Since colonial times, the English had denied language equality for Afrikaans or Dutch-speaking people.
59. Every white Afrikaans-speaking citizen was mobilized from infants singing Afrikaans lullabies in concentration camps to children refusing to buy from shops where only English was spoken, ordinary

women and men participated in this movement. This was not in the first instance a movement to promote Afrikaner domination. Afrikaans as a language became the badge of dignity and equality. Progressive intellectuals and activists contributed to this movement.

60. White Afrikaner workers in progressive socialist unions aligned to the ANC and SACP such as the Garment Workers Union led by Solly Sachs and Johanna Cornelius translated and composed worker songs. In 1938, the small Trotskyist Workers Party of South Africa with leaders such as Clair Goodlatte and Gana Makabeni translated the Communist Manifesto into Afrikaans with the most beautiful opening line: “’n Skrikgedaante loop in Europa rond. Die skrikgedaante van Kommunisme.
61. A genuine peoples’ movement constructed Afrikaans and forced Afrikaner business to finance the movement. Education of Afrikaans-speaking people was the most significant achievement of this movement. A tremendously rich literary culture was developed. Progressive writers such as C. Louis Leipoldt, I.D. du Plessis and later Uys Krige, Ingrid Jonker and Andre Brink wrote for an audience of Afrikaners who resisted apartheid.
62. I.D. du Plessis who later sold out to the apartheid established the oldest indigenous gay and lesbian literary tradition in South Africa. He was followed by great Afrikaans writers and poets from Koos Prinsloo to Joan Hambidge.
63. Nationalism did not prevent the Afrikaans literature movement from translating Dutch, German and English texts. Classics were translated. Today Harry Potter is available in Afrikaans, Mandarin Chinese and Hindi but not Zulu.
64. Textbooks in all subjects including technical ones such

as science, law, engineering and economics were translated and later written in Afrikaans. This contributed later to significant economic development in apartheid South Africa.

65. Right-wing Afrikaner conquest of the state through apartheid suppressed the equal development of Black African languages.
66. In the post-apartheid period, we have contributed to the intellectual dispossession of all our children through language policy and practice.
67. In 2005, the Nelson Mandela Foundation published ***Emerging Voices: A Report on Education in South African Rural Communities*** (HSRC:2005).
68. This study illustrated the inequalities based on language in South African society. Our eleven official languages are all recognised as the basis for mother-tongue instruction until Grade Four.
69. From Grade 4, rural schools teach in English or Afrikaans mediums, despite the fact that this is not the mother tongue of either the teacher or the learners. The study determined that in the schools surveyed not one of the teachers had English or Afrikaans as her first language.
70. As a consequence, all learning is constrained and actively undermined because of a medium that is unfamiliar to teachers, learners and no doubt parents and communities. (2005: 94, 113).
71. The researchers provide an illustration of this harm to learning in an unfamiliar language medium. They visited a KwaZulu-Natal rural school. A class was asked to recite a English wall-chart: 'When they were finished we asked them what the chart was saying.

They did not know. We asked if any of them knew. None of them knew. We took some of the words in the chart, like “vet”. We discussed the word in English and Zulu. They say they had not understood what the word meant’ (89).

72. The study found that even in **mother-tongue medium education** in African rural schools **42% of learners had difficulty comprehending their teacher’s language-use**. 27% could not comprehend mother-tongue textbooks. (2005:88).
73. The causes of the finding that learners could not understand their teachers or textbooks in their mother-tongue are complex. They include: failure to standardise African languages or even to seriously debate the amalgamation of Nguni and Sotho languages. Rural dialects of all languages differ from town and township dialects. And, spoken and written language diverge.
74. We need great linguists from among scholars such as yourselves. Activist leaders who understand that language is central to dignity and identity must emerge from your generation
75. A language movement that struggles not for exclusionary nationalism but for Enlightenment values. Today, the Afrikaans language movement in our schools is a dangerous form of apartheid nostalgia.
76. A movement for multilingualism including Afrikaans in our society and the development and modernisation of Black African languages is necessary. Such a movement must promote freedom, equality and dignity through education.

ETHICAL ACTIVIST LEADERSHIP, CITIZENSHIP AND INTELLECTUALS

77. Edward Said argues correctly that there have been no modern revolutions or counter-revolutions without intellectuals. Nothing less than a peaceful social revolution will transform our education system.
78. Students, community and trade union organisers, academics, leaders of faith communities and other public figures who engage ideas and ethics are intellectuals. We fulfill different public roles but all of us are committed to ideas and learning.
79. Nelson Mandela is both an intellectual giant and a leader who sets an ethical standard that all of us strive to attain every day.
80. Cecil John Rhodes was an ambitious capitalist with a great intellect. However, he was amoral in his politics.
81. Olive Schreiner, one of the greatest African woman writers and political activists was one of the first people to expose Rhodes' racist colonialism and opposed his support for a law that demanded public flogging for African and Coloured "servants".
82. While Rhodes' ethics must always be publicly critiqued, his ambition and drive to create a united Africa should be what underwrites our ethical ambition. Mandela and Rhodes are an indivisible part of our histories and our identities as activists, leaders, public servants and intellectuals. We cannot escape either one of them.
83. Said's classic definition of an intellectual must be rendered fully to appreciate it and to realize that it also encompasses ethical leadership. He writes:
- ...I also want to insist that the intellectual is an individual with a specific public role in society that cannot be reduced simply to being a faceless professional, a competent member of a class just going about her/his business. The central fact for me is, I think, that the intellectual is an individual**

endowed with a faculty for representing, articulating a message, a view, an attitude, philosophy or opinion to, as well as for, a public. And this role has an edge to it, it cannot be played without a sense of being someone whose place it is publically to raise embarrassing questions, to confront orthodoxy and dogma ..., to be someone who cannot easily be co-opted by governments or corporations, and whose *raison d'être* is to represent all those people and issues that are routinely forgotten or swept under the rug. The intellectual does so on the basis of universal principles: that all human beings are entitled to expect decent standards of behavior concerning freedom and justice from worldly powers and nations, and that deliberate or inadvertent violations of these standards needs to be testified and fought against courageously. (1994:8-9)

84. Said, a professor dedicated to excellence in education died in exile feared by the leadership of the Palestinian movement for his honest criticism of their strategies for national liberation, a movement he helped build. Even in his death, Said's words unsettle the rulers of the State of Israel for his fearless speech and his abilities to inspire new generations. From his activism and leadership, all of us can develop an ethical practice: decent standards of behavior that promote freedom **and** justice for all people. He was a true educator.
85. Following Said, it is our duty in the struggle for equal education to say that the education of African and Coloured working class children today is worse than under apartheid. This is not to score a cheap point because it is also our duty to acknowledge that government wants this to be different. We have the evidence for the proposition and that compels all of us to action.
86. Ethical citizenship demands courageous testimony that the intellectual dispossession of our children must no longer be tolerated. And, it must fight this intellectual dispossession with clarity and courage. Our freedom and democracy achieved at great cost

demands the exercise of citizenship.

87. Democracy has at least four elements that define citizenship. These include deliberation, participation, representation and constitutional enforcement of rights. Today, I want to address two elements of democracy – deliberation and participation.
88. From Immanuel Kant one of the first great modern philosophers we learn that deliberation and the use of reason is indispensable to democracy. In one of philosophy's most used and influential essays: "*What is Enlightenment?*" Kant argues that:
- ...a revolution can overthrow autocratic despotism and profiteering or power-grabbing oppression, but it can never truly reform a manner of thinking; instead, new prejudices, just like the old ones they replace, will serve as a leash for the great unthinking mass.**
- ...The public use of one's reason must always be free, and it alone can bring about enlightenment among mankind**
89. Public use or abuse of reason constitutes the daily deliberation that occurs within all societies. Deliberation or argument is, in my view, the most important element in any democracy. In town squares, on river-banks and on radios, in halls, newspapers, magazines, small or large meetings and countless spaces, in many different forms and languages, we use our arguments to convince the public of **"a message, a view, an attitude, philosophy or opinion"**.
90. Deliberation is necessary for participatory democracy to be effective but it can exist independently of the formal political process. Participatory democracy is the use of a citizen's voice through their singing, speaking or even shouting to make invisible oppression visible injustice.
91. An ethical citizen is prepared to use their body as an instrument of freedom to picket, march, occupy or break unjust laws or policies. The use of one's body

for peaceful resistance is a positive, creative and ethical form of activism when aimed at the elimination of inequality. A person's political body is necessary to participate in the reconstruction of our society through the engagement in our communities. I encourage all of you to become activists or to work in public service.

92. Participatory democracy is linked to representative democracy but is much larger than what Lenin called "parliamentary cretinism". Parliament is essential to modern life but it cannot work without active and ethical citizens.

93. *Doctors for Life* one of the most important judgments of our Constitutional Court defines the relationship between participatory and representative democracy. Justice Sandile Ncgobo on behalf of a unanimous Court held that the state had a legal duty to facilitate public participation in the parliamentary process not only in elections. He wrote:

... the representative and participatory elements of our democracy should not be seen as being in tension with each other. They must be seen as mutually supportive. General elections, the foundation of representative democracy, would be meaningless without massive participation by the voters. The participation by the public on a continuous basis provides vitality to the functioning of representative democracy. It encourages citizens of the country to be actively involved in public affairs...It enhances the civic dignity of those who participate by enabling their voices to be heard and taken account of. It promotes a spirit of democratic and pluralistic accommodation calculated to produce laws that are likely to be widely accepted and effective in practice. ... Finally, because of its open and public character it acts as a counterweight to secret lobbying and influence peddling. Participatory democracy is of special importance to those who are relatively disempowered in a country like ours where great disparities of wealth and influence exist. (2006: para115)

94. In *Doctors for Life*, Justice Sandile Ncgobo, the Chief Justice-designate demonstrates the universal human

right (and I would argue duty) to democratic participation in the governance of society. Where do we start in education when principals are gunned down, learners' meals perhaps their only bread is stolen, how do we overcome the intellectual dispossession of working class and poor children?

95. The late Uncle John Vollenhoven demonstrated through personal example that limited formal education is not a barrier to learning and teaching science and building community food gardens in his community and using his body and voice to protest when necessary. This must be done in education and in our country there is what the legendary African-American leader Bayard Rustin called "a small band of angelic trouble-makers" taking on this task.

GET ORGANISED

96. In the 1980s, one of the political slogans we used was "Get Organised!" .
97. The realisation of the right to education is part of a permanent struggle for equality, freedom and dignity. The inequalities in resources and outcomes can only be eliminated through active citizenship.
98. A couple of years ago a few of us spoke in an organized way of starting a campaign for Equal Education. Two of the most promising young leaders in South Africa who had completed seven years of study for BA and LLB degrees at UCT actually decided to do the work. Doron Isaacs recruited a fellow student Yoliswa Dwane from rural Eastern Cape and they went to organise. Yoliswa was the only black South African woman in his class and she worked throughout her degrees to support herself while living and studying in a shack in Khayelitsha.
99. The value both Doron, a privileged white Jewish youth leader and Yoliswa, a working class black woman placed education led them to an ethical activism with other comrades.

100. First, they read Hoadley, Chisholm, the Mandela survey and everything they could lay their hands on that pertained to education. They worked with TAC members in Khayelitsha and recruited learners from high schools. They also support the effort in Grahamstown of the group "Save Our Schools and Community".
101. From the inception of the ideas, in one year they went to the implementation of a campaign for Equal Education. Building on the idea of ethical deliberative and participatory democracy through learner and parent activism they helped fix a school where five hundred windows were broken for almost six years. They helped prevent riots in Khayelitsha Secondary Schools when matriculants were left without textbooks and science teachers for almost three months. In addition, they organised Saturday classes for the students who were behind in their maths and science.
102. Two milestone public campaigns were also begun. They adopted the slogan – "No to latecoming! Yes to libraries!" They have two ongoing campaigns one against late-coming and another for libraries. Thousands of learners, many parents, many local and other organisations, and few principals in Kraaifontein and Khayelitsha are leading this work.
103. Using these simple slogans, evidence, songs, posters and public education, they affirmed several universal principles: every person can be an autonomous agent responsible for their life and that of their society, They also affirmed the duty that all of us have to join the struggle against the intellectual dispossession of children who are working class and poor and for equal education.
104. I have learnt of the work of UPSTART and I am excited by this initiative and will take back the message to them.

105. Finally, what can you do? Sign the petition, organise autonomous Equal Education groups wherever in your community, join the FaceBook Support Equal Education Cause. Study, learn, research, educate yourself and others. You are our ethical citizens, intellectuals, activist leaders with the duty to ensure that education becomes and remains the common property of all humanity realising our dignity, freedom and equality.

I want to thank Jack Lewis and Dalli Weyers for their help and comments. Thank you for listening.