

Zeitz MOCAA has had to work hard to shake off what Kouoh accurately defines as “institutional arrogance.” Cape Town, colloquially called the “Europe of Africa,” has long been labelled as one of South Africa most racist cities (McDonald 2008). It is a brand that impedes social solidarity, even at a local national level. Not only does Zeitz MOCAA face these extreme polarities and the Whiteness of Cape Town, but it also faces the added challenge of being located in a country plagued by class- and race-based Afrophobia—a phenomenon of scapegoating Black Africans who are deemed not “native” to South Africa. These obstacles encumber the expediency of pan-African solidarity beyond the discursive platforms that are, in general, frequented by mostly middle-class participants. Considering this, the position that museums should be “community- and artist-led” adopted by Zeitz MOCAA is progressive but necessitates cautious navigation of a context that is beleaguered by confounding and often inhospitable internal relations.

Kouoh’s remark about the museum’s civic role, “its responsibility to rebuild citizenship and political engagement,” is pertinent when one considers how state-owned institutions fare when compared to privately owned ones in fostering debates about citizenship. In the context of faltering democracies, a term that

Stuart Hall (2002: 21) sees as “so proliferated [that] it is virtually useless,” the parameters of citizenship and associated rights seem anchored in the racial economies of private property and private philanthropy. Generally, state-owned museums, which should center the objective of rebuilding citizenship, are not always well resourced for projects at a transnational scale, while privately (often White) owned museums in South Africa are not always driven by sincere social justice objectives. Arguably, the private-sector-led revival of democracy vitiates the claim that democracy is about elected forms of public representation. As a not-for-profit museum, termed public but privately owned, Zeitz MOCAA provokes well-timed questions about these imbalances, specifically the implications for how solidarity is conceived and projected in public and private institutions.

In addition to these complexities, Zeitz MOCAA has also had to reestablish its relations with institutions, organizations, and practitioners beyond South Africa, positioning itself as the first museum that “sets out to present, collect, and engage with the artistic and intellectual production in a pan-African and Afro-diasporic scale” and placing emphasis on “mutuality and plurality.” Kouoh defined the inclusion of the entire continent as well as its diaspora as an “urgent necessity” but one with

an older trajectory. She pointed out that

The African continent and its vast diaspora are certainly not novice to ideas of radical solidarity. We build upon foundations laid before us, on the bedrock of radical movements such as Negritude, Civil Rights, Pan-Africanism, Anti-apartheid, Black Consciousness, and countless others that may have had very localized but still pertinent provocations. These earlier forms of solidarity were catalyst for notable arts gatherings such as the 1956 and the 1958 Congress of Black Writers and Artists in Paris and Rome, the Makerere Writers Conference in Uganda where the great Wole Soyinka expressed his Tigritude as an opposition to Senghor’s Negritude, the First International Congress of African Culture in Zimbabwe in 1962, the 1966 World Festival of Negro Arts in Fesman in Dakar, the Pan-African Cultural Festival in Algiers in 1969, the Black Music Festival held in conjunction with the Rumble in the Jungle boxing match between Muhammad Ali and George Foreman in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1974, the second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture, FESTAC, in Nigeria in 1977, the *Art Contra-Apartheid* touring exhibition in the late [19]70s to the early [19]80s and countless, countless more.

This homage to earlier forms of solidarity codifies the bases for contemporary pan-African solidarity. It points to an era dedicated to the anticolonial gathering of critical thought

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