FROM ASKIY TO THE SEA

a solidarity reading list on settler colonial contexts

Yellowhead School
May 2024
Struggle defines the most fragile and beautiful aspects of life, which are lost when our differences and ways of being are destroyed. All structures and modes of containing humanity are challenged when thinking of the human in relation to the land.

WANDA NANIBUSH
FEATURED IN CANADIAN ART FALL 2016
REPOSTED ON INSTAGRAM 2023 NOVEMBER
PREAMBLE

WEEK 1
land & identity

WEEK 2
settler colonialism

WEEK 3
solidarity & relationality

WEEK 4
gender & sexuality

WEEK 5
art & creative work

WEEK 6
intellectual traditions & interdisciplinary formations

WEEK 7
liberation

REFERENCES

CREDITS
“From the River to the Sea, Palestine Will be Free,” has become a popular rallying call, imagining the liberation of Palestine from Israeli occupation.

These six words have also stirred debate and even been outlawed in the U.S., U.K and Germany. But for Indigenous people outside of Palestine, the call resonates and has even been adapted. “From Askiy to the Sea” is one that links our struggles and offers solidarity in the face of settler colonialism. Askiy is a Cree word that roughly translates as ‘earth’ or ‘land’ and like “From the River to the Sea” affirms Indigenous peoples’ inviolable relation to our homelands and offers a promise of liberation.

This Reading List is one modest reflection of that shared struggle and desire for solidarity, meant to make links between Palestine and other settler colonial contexts in order to understand and explain this relationship better. By no means is this reading list exhaustive or comprehensive, this offering curates some texts and media by Palestinian and Indigenous peoples from what is sometimes called Turtle Island – along with a few allied writers – conversing with one another about land and identity, settler colonialism, solidarity, poetry and liberation.
At the core of all Indigenous resistance is the inextinguishable desire to live on and with our homelands, as Indigenous people.

But settler colonialism flattens this collective identity and relationship to land in order to facilitate conquest and domination. Dian Million (2013) describes the racialization of distinct Indigenous polities to more easily categorize and contain as a settler mechanism of surveillance and control. Steven Salaita (2016) adds that Indigeneity is a political category determined by pre-colonial inhabitancy and emerges in the context of settler colonialism. “Indigenous” is a useful term for organizing a critical mass of distinct peoples who share conditions of displacement, dispossession, and domination under settler occupation.

Before we were named Indians, First Nations, Métis, Inuit, Aboriginal, Native American, or Arab Israeli, we named ourselves in accordance with our own cosmologies and ontologies. Our identities and relationships to our homelands are older than settler colonialism and, no doubt as J. Kēhaulani Kauanui (2018) maintains, will withstand and endure beyond settler colonialism.
Suspended in settler states of exception for sacrifice, we found each other from the river, across seas, and on the mountain. An enchanting climate to learn and practice breathing freedom in together.
INTERVIEW

The Indians of Palestine
Gilles Deleuze and Elias Sandbar 1998.
(Timothy S. Murphy, Translation).
Original work published 1982

ARTICLE

Let Gaza Change You
Uahikea Maile, 2023 November 18
The Red Nation

INSTAGRAM

About Land
Wanda Nanibush, 2016
Canadian Art, Fall Issue
reposted on Instagram,
2023 November

ARTICLE

A Blow to the Snake Here
Leanne Betasamosake Simpson
2023 December 1
The Red Nation
Palestinians repeatedly state that Israel's genocide on Gaza did not begin on October 7, 2023.

Rather, Israel's latest aggression is part of an ongoing Nakba, a catastrophe that led to the violent expulsion of 750,000 Palestinians and the death of 15,000 more as part of the creation of Israel. The formation of this settler nation-state can be traced back even further still to Britain's Balfour Declaration, which claimed Palestinian territories for its establishment in 1917. Palestinians living under Israeli occupation face ongoing settler encroachment, displacement, control, and terror.

This history of conquest and domination is familiar to Indigenous peoples living under Canadian and United States settler colonialism. All three settler states have been assembled through a steady encroachment of white settlers, displacement of Indigenous peoples, bureaucratic and militarized elimination tactics and techniques, and the establishment of settler institutions.
PODCAST
Israel's Tools of Occupation Are Tested on Palestine and Exported Globally
Kelley Hayes, 2023 October
In Movement Memos. A Truthout Podcast

YELLOWHEAD BRIEF
A Brief History of Canada's Role in the Colonization of Palestine
Lucy El-Sherif, 2023
Yellowhead Institute

BOOK
Speaking of Indigenous Politics: Conversations with Activists, Scholars, and Tribal Leaders
Kauanui, J. Kēhaulani. 2018
Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

ARTICLE
Settler Moves to Indigeneity: From Canada to Israel
Megan Scribe, 2023 November 14
Yellowhead Institute

ARTICLE
Canaanites, Cowboys, and Indians: Deliverance, Conquest, and Liberation Theology Today
Robert Warrior, 1989
Christianity and Crisis

ACADEMIC ARTICLE
Malice Enough in their Hearts and Courage Enough in Ours: Reflections on US Indigenous and Palestine Experiences under Occupation
Waziyatawin, 2012
Settler Colonial Studies, 2(1), 172-189
**YELLOWHEAD BRIEF**

The Architecture of Anti-Palestinian Elimination: Legal Fallacies, False Analogies, and Inverted Realities
Azeezah Kanji, 2023 October 25
Yellowhead Institute

*additional relevant briefs by azeezah kanji*

→ The Genocidal ‘Civilized’ vs the Erased Colonized: Gaza at the International Court of Justice

→ The ‘Civilized World’ and its Genocides: Gaza’s Colonial Precedents

→ Settler Moves to Innocence: A Transnational Legal Glossary

→ Canada and Israel: Partners in the ‘Settler Colonial Contract’

→ A How-To Guide for the Settler Colonial Present: From Canada to Palestine to Kashmir

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**BOOK**

Canada as a Settler Colony on the Question of Palestine
Jeremy Wildeman and Muhannad M. Ayyash, 2023
Edmonton: University of Alberta Press
Free Palestine is an Indigenous movement, it is a liberation movement, it is an environmental movement, it is a feminist movement, it is a decolonial movement. Free Palestine demands a free land. It goes without saying that this land can be a home for many. It goes without saying that this land does not exclude, it does not discriminate, but it is also meant not to be possessed.

IMAN ABID
FEATURED GUEST IN THE PODCAST.
VIGIL FOR PALESTINE: WE MOURN AND CONSIDER WHAT SOLIDARITY DEMANDS OF US;
MOVEMENT MEMOS, 2023 NOVEMBER
When solidarity between Palestinian and Indigenous peoples in Canada and the United States emerges to respond to the dynamics of settler colonialism, it is grounded by deep respect, reciprocity, inspiration, and collaboration.

While there were historic attempts at solidarity, those efforts were blocked by colonial states and a more concrete commitment to a shared struggle emerged in the 1970s during the nascent years of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The PLO offered support to AIM’s armed occupation of Wounded Knee in 1974. Palestinians protested in solidarity with the Mohawk people during the 1990 siege of Kanehsatà:ke and Kahnawake — that seventy-eight day standoff between Mohawks, provincial and federal law enforcement, and the Canadian armed forces. The late Lee Maracle, in an open letter protesting the Assembly of First Nation-Israel delegation, wrote, “I have been a consistent and clear supporter of the rights of the Palestinian people to their homeland free of Israeli occupation and annihilation since 1972…It does not take too much historical digging to find out that Israel is the newest colonizing settler state in the world.” Indigenous and Palestinian solidarity has only strengthened since October 7, 2023, as collective, grassroots movements to end Israel’s genocide continue to grow.
From Kanien’kehà:ka to Palestine: The Familiar Refrain of Colonial Violence and the Cost of Silence
Katsi’tsakwas Ellen Gabriel, 2023 October 23
Ricochet Media

Blockades and Bail Conditions
Rabble Rousers’ Cooperative, 2024 May 9
In Blueprints of Disruption

Vigil for Palestine: We Mourn and Consider What Solidarity Demands of Us
Kelly Hayes, 2023 November
Movement Memos. A Truthout Podcast

One Occupation
Kēhaulani J. Kauanui, 2012
Social Text

Palestine Playlist
The Red Nation Podcast
ARTICLE

From Jerusalem to the Grand River, Our Struggles are One’: Challenging Canadian and Israeli Settler Colonialism
Mike Krebs and Dana M. Olwan, 2012
Settler Colonial Studies, 2(2), 138-164

LETTER

Lee Maracle to AFN
Lee Maracle, 2006 January 1
Canadian Palestine Association

ARTICLE

Solidarity with Palestine from Diné Bikéyah
Melanie K. Yazzie, 2015
American Quarterly, 67(4), 1007-1015

WEBSITE

Indigenous Solidarity with Palestine
A common Zionist retort to women and 2SLGBTQQIA+ solidarity with Palestine is, “Hamas would kill you in Palestine.”

This is a not-so-subtle suggestion that women and 2SLGBTQQIA+ solidarity is misplaced with Palestinians uniformly labeled sexist, misogynistic, homophobic, and transphobic. But this assertion relies on Orientalist stereotypes depicting Palestinian women and 2SLGBTQQIA+ people as victims who need to be rescued from their barbaric hypermasculine men (Razack 2004). The selective and highly suspect concern about gender and sexuality is a discursive tactic meant to discourage solidarity and even justify genocide (i.e. “these people are savages”).

Further, the claim that Palestine isn’t a safe place for 2SLGBTQQIA+ peoples belies the recent history and contemporary criminalization of queer and trans identity in Israel, Canada, the United States, and other Western nations. In the U.S. and Canada, the aggressive suppression of sexual expression and gender diversity is foundational to the formation of the two white settler societies. Israel’s pink-washing campaign, Brand Israel, for instance, is a multi-million dollar campaign intended to revitalize Israel’s international reputation through selective engagement with queer and transgender communities. This homonational strategy simultaneously asserts Israel’s progressiveness while depicting Palestinians as backwards.
If history has shown us anything, it is the authoritarians who get to decide how the rule of law is applied. They decide who is a criminal, who is a terrorist, and who is worthy of having their human rights protected.

But what is the real truth, what is justice, and where are the stories of the dispossessed in history?

KATSITSAKWAS, ELLEN GABRIEL
FROM KANIEN'KEHÁ:KA TO PALESTINE: THE FAMILIAR REFRAIN OF COLONIAL VIOLENCE AND THE COST OF SILENCE. RICOCHET MEDIA
2023 OCTOBER 23
STATEMENT

Justice for Palestine: A Call to Action from Indigenous and Women of Color Feminists
Rabab Abdulhadi et al., 2011 July 13
Jadaliyya

BOOK CHAPTER

National Security and Homonationalism:
The QuAIA Wars and the Making of the Neoliberal Queer
Patrizia Gentile and Gary Kinsman, 2015
In O. H. Dryden & S. Lenon (Eds.), Disrupting Queer Inclusion: Canadian Homonationalisms and the Politics of Belonging (pp. 133-149). Vancouver: UBC Press

BRIEF

Decolonizing Peace:
Notes Towards a Palestinian Feminist Critique
Sarah Ihmoud, 2022 May 25
Peace Policy

ACADEMIC ARTICLE

Queer Settler Colonialism in Canada and Israel:
Articulating Two-Spirit and Palestinian Critiques
Lauria Scott Morgensen, 2012
Settler Colonial Studies, 2(2), 167-190
In 1976, Mahmoud Darwish and Lee Maracle each recited their poetry during Darwish’s visit for the UN Habitat Conference in Vancouver, British Columbia.


Palestinian and Indigenous artists and writers continue to find inspiration in one another and use their creative works as vehicles for freedom dreaming and social transformation.\(^1\)

\(^1\) Freedom Dreaming was coined by Robin D. G. Kelley
NEWS ARTICLE

A Native American Poet Excavates the Language of Occupation
Natalie Diaz, 2017 August 4
New York Yimes

BOOK

Bent Box
Lee Maracle, 2000
Penticton: Theytus Books

BOOK

Talking to the Diaspora
Lee Maracle, 2015
Winnipeg: ARP Books

BOOK

Whereas
Layli Long Soldier, 2017
Minneapolis: Graywolf Press

INSTAGRAM

The entire time I worked on my collection for Native Fashion Week, Gaza was under attack
Carrie Wood, 2024 May
Instagram

VIDEO

Hope
Frank Waln, 2023 November 11
YouTube
I worked with a couple Palestinian people who live here in Santa Fe to create this look. I wanted to make sure they were part of this and that it was done in a respectful and collaborative way. I want them to feel the unique love, solidarity, and support that we, Indigenous people of North America, have for them due to this common and continued struggle against colonialism.

CARRIE WOOD
INSTAGRAM, 2024 MAY
Indigenous and Palestinian intellectual traditions are crucial to our respective resistance movements and solidarity.

While we can’t think our way free without corresponding activism and active resistance, thinking alongside one another can help break the path to liberation.

In 2016, Steven Salaita offered inter/nationalism, an interdisciplinary approach aimed to bring Indigenous and Palestinian scholars into conversation. He explains inter/nationalism less interested in comparative analyses and more so interested in establishing critical dialogue and collaborative analyses of settler colonialism and decolonization with the view of shared liberation. He powerfully concludes, “The first order of business is the acknowledgement that all peoples of American and Palestine must, of geopolitical necessity, be liberated together, and that our scholarship should be an asset toward that goal” (p. xix).
ACADEMIC ARTICLE

Writing/Righting Palestine Studies: Settler Colonialism, Indigenous Sovereignty and Resisting the Ghost(s) of History
Rana Barakat, 2018
Settler Colonial Studies, 8(3), 349-363

ACADEMIC ARTICLE

The Israel/Palestine Field School: Decoloniality and the Geopolitics of Knowledge
Alex Lubin et al., 2013
Social Text, 31(117), 79-97

BOOK

Inter/nationalism: Decolonizing Native America and Palestine
Stevent Salaita, 2016
Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

NEWS ARTICLE

‘Redwashing’ Panel Follows Academic Associations’ Boycott of Israel
Gale CoureyToensing, 2018 September 12
ICT News
Palestinian and Indigenous peoples turn to one another in mutual recognition.

Sometimes Indigenous people regard Israeli military occupation as if witnessing our ancestral history; sometimes Palestinians look upon Indigenous conditions as one possible outcome. The reality is that our struggles are in many ways distinct and occurring along different settler colonial time horizons. But nonetheless, this Reading List is a reflection that we see ourselves in one another and that has also meant that we increasingly turn toward each other to find our liberated futures.
PODCAST

Palestinian Organizers: We Honor Our Grief by Practicing Hope
Kelly Hayes, 2023 May
Movement Memos. A Truthout Podcast

PODCAST

Palestine is About Living in Spite of Everything
Kelly Hayes, 2023 December
Movement Memos. A Truthout Podcast
...solidarity is not a rhetoric...I’ve come to learn that solidarity is about love and loving each other and finding ways to actually express that love through political connections.

RANA BARAKAT
FEATURED GUEST IN THE PODCAST, “PALESTINE IS ABOUT LIVING IN SPITE OF EVERYTHING”
MOVEMENT MEMOS, 2023 DECEMBER


Salaita, Steven. 2016. Inter/nationalism: Decolonizing Native America and Palestine. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.


ABOUT YELLOWHEAD SCHOOL

Yellowhead School brings together and expands on the educational infrastructure and programming at the Yellowhead Institute, which is rooted in Indigenous pedagogy, knowledge, and commitment to a decolonial future. Our mission is to build on the collaborative research model to train the next generation of Indigenous leaders: to build capacity for a future where Indigenous people and communities design their worlds according to their values.