



# 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**



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**"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, 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.**

**UAHIKEA MAILE**

**FROM LET GAZA CHANGE YOU, THE RED NATION**

**2023 NOVEMBER 18**

**”**

**INTERVIEW**

**The Indians of Palestine**

Gilles Deleuze and Elias Sandbar 1998.  
(Timothy S. Murphy, Translation).  
Discourse 20(3), 25-29.  
*Original work published 1982*

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**ARTICLE**

**Let Gaza Change You**

Uahikea Maile, 2023 November 18  
The Red Nation

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**INSTAGRAM**

**About Land**

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

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**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

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**YELLOWHEAD BRIEF**

**A Brief History of Canada's Role in the Colonization of Palestine**

Lucy El-Sherif, 2023

Yellowhead Institute

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**BOOK**

**Speaking of Indigenous Politics: Conversations with Activists, Scholars, and Tribal Leaders**

Kauanui, J. Kēhaulani. 2018

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

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**ARTICLE**

**Settler Moves to Indigeneity: From Canada to Israel**

Megan Scribe, 2023 November 14

Yellowhead Institute

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**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**



# week 03: solidarity & relationality

**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-Israeli 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.

**NEWS ARTICLE**

**Why Some Indigenous Advocates and  
Palestinians Feel They're 'Natural Allies**

Richie Assaly, 2024 May 6  
Toronto Star

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**NEWS ARTICLE**

**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

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**PODCAST**

**Blockades and Bail Conditions**

Rabble Rousers' Cooperative, 2024 May 9  
In Blueprints of Disruption

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**PODCAST**

**Vigil for Palestine:  
We Mourn and Consider  
What Solidarity Demands of Us**

Kelly Hayes, 2023 November  
Movement Memos. A Truthout Podcast

**ARTICLE**

**One Occupation**

Kēhaulani J. Kauanui, 2012  
Social Text

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**PLAYLIST**

**Palestine Playlist**

The Red Nation Podcast

## **WEEK 03: solidarity & relationality**

# **readings & resources**

### **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

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### **LETTER**

#### **Lee Maracle to AFN**

Lee Maracle, 2006 January 1  
Canadian Palestine Association

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### **ARTICLE**

#### **Solidarity with Palestine from Diné Bikéyah**

Melanie K. Yazzie, 20215  
American Quarterly, 67(4), 1007-1015

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### **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 nation-states. 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?**

**KATSI'TSAKWAS, ELLEN GABRIEL  
FROM KANIEN'KEHÀ: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

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**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

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**BRIEF**

**Decolonizing Peace:  
Notes Towards a Palestinian  
Feminist Critique**

Sarah Ihmoud, 2022 May 25  
Peace Policy

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**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.**

Maracle read an English translation of Darwish's poem "Write Down, I am an Arab." In 2015, in memoriam of the great Palestinian poet, Maracle dedicated "Talking to the Diaspora" to Mahmoud and the children of Gaza. The collection contains a poem entitled "Remembering Mahmoud."

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.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 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 Times

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**BOOK**

**Bent Box**

Lee Maracle, 2000  
Penticton: Theytus Books

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**BOOK**

**Talking to the Diaspora**

Lee Maracle, 2015  
Winnipeg: ARP Books

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**BOOK**

**Whereas**

Layli Long Soldier, 2017  
Minneapolis: Graywolf Press

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**VIDEO**

**O Canada**

The Bearhead Sisters  
2023 November 13  
Facebook

**INSTAGRAM**

**The entire time I worked on my collection for Native Fashion Week, Gaza was under attack**

Carrie Wood, 2024 May  
Instagram

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**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**



# Week 06: intellectual traditions & interdisciplinary formations

**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).

## WEEK 06: intellectual traditions & interdisciplinary formations

# readings & resources

### 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

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### ACADEMIC ARTICLE

#### The Israel/Palestine Field School: Decoloniality and the Geopolitics of Knowledge

Alex Lubin et al., 2013

Social Text, 31(117), 79-97

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### BOOK

#### Inter/nationalism: Decolonizing Native America and Palestine

Stevent Salaita, 2016

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

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### NEWS ARTICLE

#### 'Redwashing' Panel Follows Academic Associations' Boycott of Israel

Gale Courey Toensing, 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

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**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**



Al Jazeera. 2017 May 23. The Nakba Did Not Start or End in 1948. *Al Jazeera*.

Assaly, Richie. 2024 May 6. Why Some Indigenous Advocates and Palestinians Feel They're 'Natural Allies.' *Toronto Star*.

Canadian Palestine Association. 2021 November 11. In Memory of Lee Maracle. *Canadian Palestine Association*.

Gabriel, Kats'itsakwas Ellen. 2023 October 23. From Kanien'kehà:ka to Palestine: The Familiar Refrain of Colonial Violence and the Cost of Silence. *Ricochet Media*.

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

Kelley, Robin D. G. 2022. *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination*. Boston: Beacon Press.

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

Million, Dian. 2013. *Therapeutic Nations: Healing in an Age of Indigenous Human Rights*. Tuscan: University of Arizona Press.

Razack, Sherene. 2004. Imperilled Muslim Women, Dangerous Muslim Men and Civilised Europeans: Legal and Social Responses to Forced Marriages. *Feminist Legal Studies*, 12(2), 129-174.

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

Scher, Isaac. 2022 April 5. "The Right of Return is Landback." *Jewish Currents*.

Winstanley, Asa. 2017 March 30. The Failure of Brand Israel. *Memo: Middle East Monitor*.

**AUTHOR**

Megan Scribe

**EDITOR**

Hayden King

**RESOURCE CONSULTANT**

May E.

**DESIGNER**

Yumi Numata

**FEATURE IMAGE BY**

Tania E. Tabar

Photo from the Watermelon Coalition tent at the People's Circle for Palestine, University of Toronto encampment. 2024 May.

**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.

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