



FROM ASKIY TO THE SEA

**a solidarity reading list
on settler colonial contexts**



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

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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, 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.**

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

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

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-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

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

PODCAST

Blockades and Bail Conditions

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

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

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

LETTER

Lee Maracle to AFN

Lee Maracle, 2006 January 1
Canadian Palestine Association

ARTICLE

**Solidarity with Palestine from
Diné Bikéyah**

Melanie K. Yazzie, 20215
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 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

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.

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.¹

¹Freedom 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

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

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

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).

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 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

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*.

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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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COALITION



Political
Theory

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