'From Jerusalem to the Grand River, Our Struggles are One': Challenging Canadian and Israeli Settler Colonialism

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This article explores the possibilities and histories of indigenous solidarity struggles against the settler colonial states of Canada and Israel. Throughout this work, we examine activist and political movements from Canada that make connections between the struggles of indigenous peoples in Canada and Palestine. We ask: In light of efforts to usurp indigenous identities in the service of settler colonial states, how do Palestine activists in Canada create lines of solidarity with indigenous peoples? And how can we foster global solidarity with Palestinians that are attuned to local native struggles for sovereignty and self determination? We attempt to address these questions by utilising a comparative framework that addresses the gendered and racialised aspects of the settler colonial projects of Canada and Israel.

In 2005, Phil Fontaine, former National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations in Canada, and Ed Morgan, founding National Chair of the Canadian Academic Friends of Israel, co-authored an opinion piece entitled 'Aboriginals, Jews Stand Together'. Published in the Canadian daily, *The Globe and Mail*, and circulated widely through the internet, the article redresses the controversy surrounding the anti-Semitic statements made by David Ahenakew, former national chief of the Assembly of First Nations.[1] Throughout the piece, the authors offer examples of solidarity and alliance that challenge the perception of a 'negative' relationship between aboriginal and Jewish communities in Canada.[2] While issuing a strong condemnation of

racism and anti-Semitism, Fontaine and Morgan emphasise the similar histories of dispossession and dispersal between Jewish and aboriginal people. In order to strengthen alliances and solidarities amongst the two communities, the authors suggest 'exploring the possibility of shared study missions, both to the state of Israel and to First Nations communities in Canada'.[3]

Shortly after the publication of this article, a group of native men and women traveled to Israel from Canada on a trip funded by the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC). In a heavily distributed media release that boasted about the significance of the mission, the CJC highlighted the 'educational' aspect of this trip and listed some of the planned excursions to cultural, religious, and historical sites in Israel. The trip also included a meeting with Moshe Kastav, former president of Israel, and Donald Sinclair, Canada's ambassador to Israel at that time.[4] In their joint statement to the press, Fontaine and Morgan emphasised the importance of aboriginal and Jewish resilience in the face of racist threats. Building on the claim to shared histories, the official media release extended Fontaine and Morgan's political call for affinity between Jewish and native communities living in Canada in order to construct a *naturalised* relationship of alliance between natives and 'the people of Israel'.

This article opens with a discussion of the AFN visit in order to explore how settler colonial states usurp indigenous identities. We are invested in exploring the possibilities and histories of indigenous solidarity struggles against the settler colonial states of Canada and Israel and in ongoing efforts to reclaim indigeneity as a site of mutual struggle and ongoing solidarity. Throughout this work, we examine activist and political movements from Canada that make the connection between the struggles of indigenous peoples there and in Palestine.[5] In our political desire to connect solidarity struggles between indigenous peoples, we ask: How do Palestine activists in Canada create lines of solidarity with indigenous peoples? How can we foster global solidarity with the Palestinian people while addressing native struggles for sovereignty and self determination? We ask these questions while addressing the gendered and racialised aspects of the Israeli and Canadian settler colonial projects.

RECLAIMING INDIGENEITY

The 2006 visit to Israel by the Assembly of First Nations took place against an erased backdrop of normalised Israeli violence against the Palestinian people. It was a political coup for Zionism in Canada, Israel, and beyond. In an article published in the Israeli newspaper, *The Jersualem Post,* Gil Zobar highlighted the significance of the visit, writing that it fostered a 'common language' and encouraged 'dialogue' between the '18 aboriginal leaders' and the Israeli state. On the question of the Israeli occupation, Zobar asserts: 'The group largely refrained from discussion of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict', even though the aboriginal leaders were 'intrigued by the plight of the Beduin [sic]'.[6] Several years after the visit, the Israeli embassy in Ottawa continues to dedicate a page on its website to celebrate the alliances and solidarities between native people and the Israeli state which such visits inevitably suggest and seek to foster.[7]

Marketed as cultural visits that are based on the assumption of natural solidarity between native peoples and Israelis, these developments make clear how these alliances are secured at the expense of indigenous peoples and their struggles against settler colonial states. In the various interviews given after the visit, for example, Phil Fontaine constantly refuted the connection between natives and Palestinians, arguing, instead, that it is with Jewish people and the Israeli state that native peoples have most in common. In one interview, he states the following: 'The purpose of our trip was not to delve into the Palestinian situation. We came here to learn about the Jewish experience and witness very directly the transition of this country [... Jewish People have] secured their homeland against tremendous odds'.[8] While these statements flip the categories of settler and colonial, coloniser and colonised, they also operate by obscuring the material and historical legacies of colonialism in both Turtle Island and Palestine. Moreover, these visits provide important opportunities for both the Canadian and Israeli states to extend the logics and powers of settler colonial states.

Although its success was claimed and celebrated in Canadian media and on Zionist websites, this visit garnered strong opposition and negative responses from pro-Palestine solidarity activists and

native allies in Canada. To understand this opposition, one needs to contextualise the extent of Israeli occupation and systemic colonisation in the year 2006 when this visit took place. In its summary of annual statistics for the year 2006, B'Tselem, the Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, reported that between January 2006 and December 27, 2006 Israeli forces had killed 660 Palestinians, demolished a total of 334 homes in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, held 9,075 Palestinians in custody, including 345 minors, and that it maintained 54 permanent checkpoints and 160 'flying checkpoints'. Commenting on the issue of restrictions of movement in the West Bank and Gaza, the report also noted that Israel had erected various barriers, dirt piles, and trenches that impeded Palestinian movement.[9] In light of this context of the deepened colonisation of Palestine, a context which the AFN leaders refused to acknowledge or witness, it is not surprising that Phil Fontaine's remarks and the AFN's visit have been so heavily criticised by indigenous and Palestinian activists engaged in solidarity work between indigenous peoples.

In an 'Open Letter' issued to the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) by Hanna Kawas of the Canada Palestine Association (CPA) that was signed by over thirty organisations across Canada, the CPA stated the following: 'We are saddened, hurt and shocked by the visit of a delegation of the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) to Israel'. Strongly worded and impassioned, the letter makes direct references to the settler colonial projects that led to the establishment of Canada and Israel. It invokes long and shared histories of genocide, ethnic cleansing, and land theft and provides the 'chiefs, elders, and leaders of the Assembly of the First Nations' a very explicit account of the history of the Zionist movement and its European settler colonial predecessor. The letter delivers an unequivocal moral condemnation of this visit and ends with the cautionary note that 'indigenous peoples must never be a party to genocide' against any 'oppressed people'.[10]

In a similar vein, influential native author Lee Maracle's 'On the AFN Visit to Palestine' speaks of the author's 'shame and chagrin' at the visit. Maracle questions the AFN leaders on their desire to share 'language and culture' and asks: 'Just exactly what values is the AFN sharing?' Likening the act of visiting Israel to

placing a wreath on apartheid South Africa's President Balthazar Johannes Vorster's grave or joining the Custer Committee to celebrate the massacres of native people at Wounded Knee, Maracle's letter offers a damning critique of the visit from an indigenous perspective. Leaving no doubt about her support of Palestinians and their struggles, Maracle ends her letter with the following:

> The traditional values we hold dear are freedom, the end of oppression and justice for all...We want to assure the 'Indians of the middle east' that we will continue this support despite the bizarre behaviour of the AFN puppets.[11]

In her writing, Maracle makes a clear link between fighting apartheid in South Africa and Palestine and the liberation and self-determination of native people. More than that, her letter names Palestinians as the 'Indians of the Middle East', thus extending indigeneity as a site of solidarity, commonality, and shared struggle. Her letter thus echoes the sentiment raised in the CPA letter, as they both invoke settler colonialism as a paradigm for linking indigenous peoples from one context to another.

What is striking about such statements is the ways in which indigeneity becomes a principal tenet of solidarity. Such accounts both limit and extend what it means to be indigenous. To be indigenous, they claim, is to stand in solidarity with other indigenous peoples. It is to resist their occupations and the conditions of injustice to which they are subjected. It is to recognise, understand, and resist settler colonialism in its various manifestations and to make historical links between its interconnected racial logics. It is to refuse to support, enable, or sanction settler colonialisms in any context. It is precisely through an appeal to this shared history of struggle and indigeneity, an appeal that the AFN's visit undercut, that solidarity between indigenous peoples is enacted in these statements.

SETLER COLONIALISM FROM TURTLE ISLAND TO PALESTINE: THE DEFINING LOGICS

In order to explore our interest in solidarity movements and struggles between Turtle Island and Palestine, we will define what we mean by settler colonialism. In an article on the long histories of U.S. and Israeli colonialisms, David Lloyd and Laura Pulido define settler colonialism in this way:

> Settler colonialism is the practice of conquering land and then populating it with the victorious people, the settlers. Such a population shift may be triggered by the need for space for an expanding population, or it may be prompted by the need to assert economic and political control in the new territory; regardless, it results in the dispossession and often the extermination of large parts of 'native' populations and the subsequent cultural, economic, and political subordination of the remainder.[12]

Lloyd and Pulido's definition helps provide a framework for understanding how settler colonialism functions in various contexts. It is important to identify the systemic and interconnected nature and histories of the practices of settler colonialism that work to erase native populations and make room for settlers. While it dispossesses native peoples if their lands, it simultaneously asserts 'a *right* of possession, legitimated by appeals to manifest destiny, divine dispensation, or merely a civilizing mission', and enacted through force and violence.[13]

We find this definition helpful for understanding how settler colonialism functions and for analyzing how this complex process shapes our experiences as indigenous peoples. Yet this definition ignores how the process of settler colonialism is both gendered and sexualised and that it is reproduced along the interconnected axes of gender, race, sexuality, and class. In what follows, we will provide some general similarities between the settler colonial projects of Canada and Israel while recognising that settler colonialism does not

operate independently of the histories and legacies of genocide, gendered and sexual violence, cultural appropriation, and land confiscation. While we focus on the similarities of the settler colonial projects of Canada and Israel, we do not seek to underplay the differences or to suggest that settler colonialism articulates itself in identical ways from one context to another.

The first and defining aspect of both Canadian and Israeli settler colonialism is the displacement of indigenous people from their land, and theft of that land and all its possible resources for the use and benefit of the settler population.[14] In the case of Canada, this was done through the establishment of the reserve system. In most of what is now 'Canada' the British and the Canadian governments established treaties to demonstrate that they had seized sovereign control over the lands of indigenous people by diplomatic means and with the 'consent' of indigenous people. However, there are also areas such as the majority of the province of British Columbia where the colonisation of indigenous lands and the establishment of reserves took place with very few treaties. This is one of the ways in which the process of colonising indigenous land by the Canadian government and corporations continues. In British Columbia, for example, 'modern day' treaties are settled through the permanent extinguishment of inherent aboriginal land rights in exchange for fee-simple reserve lands.[15]

Israel's colonisation of Palestine also proceeds crucially through land theft. Zionist settlement began in earnest during the first decades of the 20th century, a process culminating with the 1948 Nakba (the Arabic word for 'catastrophe') which saw the displacement of over 750,000 Palestinians from what then became the state of Israel. This trajectory of land theft deepened after 1967 with the expansion of Jewish-only settlements in the occupied territories, which continues in the present and includes interconnected and highly-developed policies of land confiscation, annexation, alteration, and fragmentation.[16] In 2001, this process of 'spatial regulation', as John Collins labels it, 'became increasingly sophisticated and calibrated'. One of its most 'visible' markers is the creation of the apartheid wall which '[snakes] into the West Bank in order to effect a unilateral annexation of the territory occupied by Israeli settlement colonies'.[17] In both Palestine and Canada,

struggles against settler colonialism continue to be defined by ongoing settler land appropriations and thefts.

Importantly, land theft from indigenous communities often was secured through the terrorising of indigenous girls and women and their subjection to the technologies of sexual harassment, intimidation, punishment, and rape. The rape and murder of indigenous women in Canada was part and parcel of colonialism and was a 'tool of genocide'. In her crucial work on gendered and colonial violence, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*, Andrea Smith explores how colonialism was enacted and maintained through regimes of sexual violence. Smith's work demonstrates that acts of gendered and sexual violence are not singular, coincidental, or exceptional occurrences in the logics and actions of settler colonial states. They are, instead, constitutive and foundational aspects of settler power, control, and domination that work hand-in-hand with colonial practices of land theft, cultural and linguistic genocide, environmental racism, and spiritual appropriation. In her extensive writing on gendered violence as a tool of conquest and domination, Smith reminds readers that 'It is through sexual violence that a colonizing group attempts to render a colonized people as inherently rapable, their lands inherently invadable, and their resources inherently extractable'.[18]

In Canada, colonial power was maintained through both explicit and implicit acts of sexual and gendered violence against indigenous peoples. Colonial domination depended upon a legacy of past and ongoing violence against native men, women, and children buttressed by discriminatory, racist, and sexist legislations and laws, collectively known as the "Indian Act." As various indigenous activists and scholars have shown, the Indian Act not only structured native life in Canada but also shaped and delimited it by defining indigeneity according to 'Indian status' and then exerting the power to assign or revoke it. Writing on the gendered effects of the Indian Act on native peoples, Bonita Lawrence demonstrates how as early as 1869 native women who married white men were stripped of Indian status and band membership through the 'Gradual Enfranchisement Act'.[19] This law, which was not modified until 1985, meant that by that time at least 100,000 native women and their descendants were left without legal status as indigenous persons.

Their subsequent denial of band membership and access to indigenous lands also for many people resulted in alienation from native cultures and ways of being.

Cultural genocide in the case of Canada also depended on the residential schooling system. Through its extensive state networks and apparatuses, indigenous children were stolen from their families and cut off from their communities, languages, and cultures. As various testimonies have revealed, sexual violence against indigenous children occurred throughout residential schools, with the last school closing its doors in Canada in 1996.[20] And, as the late Patricia Monture writes, 'it is notable, that as the prominence of the residential schools began to decline, the child welfare system began to scoop more and more aboriginal children'.[21] Today, the percentage of indigenous children in child welfare systems ranges from 60% to 78% in some provinces and territories.[22]

Such examples reveal how cultural genocide is maintained not only through the use of brute force but also through the application of egalitarian and liberal conceptions of the law, ostensibly designed to protect the very subjects it deems dangerous and unworthy or ones it simultaneously scripts as nonexistent. The move from explicit to more implicit forms of colonial violence, however, must not obfuscate the reality that sexual and gendered violence against native peoples are still practiced in Canada. As Andrea Smith reminds us, 'while the era of Indian massacres in their more explicit form has ended in North America, the wholesale rape and mutilation of indigenous women's bodies continues'.[23] Although they may be less apparent, with the aid of laws that facilitate land confiscation, denial of services, and ghettoisation, they also have become more insidious, less visible, and thus more routinised and pervasive. The case of the over 580 missing and murdered native women in Canada is evidence of how the legacy of sexual violence against indigenous women continues to shape the ways in which indigenous bodies are targeted for disappearance and death while indigenous experiences of violence are erased.[24]

Similarly, in colonised Palestine, land theft was secured not only by military force but also by laws that sanctioned the terrorising of indigenous Palestinian girls and women and subjected them to the technologies of sexual harassment, intimidation, punishment, and

death. This is why acts of gendered and sexual violence often accompanied the various massacres committed by Israel, including the massacre of the village of Deir Yassin where at least 300 Palestinian villagers were murdered at gun point by Zionist forces in 1949. In this massacre, Palestinian women were molested, raped, and then killed. In one example of such gendered and sexualised violence, the womb of a nine months pregnant Palestinian woman was cut open before she was murdered. In her study of Palestinian history, Rosemary Sayigh notes that this act reflects how 'an atrocity particularly calculated to horrify' was used to send a message to Palestinian men who 'now had to choose: their country or their family'.[25] The message was simple but with considerable political consequence. The use of women to break local patriarchal rule and facilitate the colonisation of lands and peoples of course is not new. As the anti-colonial psychologist and theorist Frantz Fanon explains, the targeting and collective punishment of women is 'a precise political doctrine', one that is intended to break the political and social fabric of a colonised society and diminish its capacity for resistance.[26]

Although they now take less explicit forms, tactics of gendered and sexual violence continue in Palestine today. In addition to effectively eroding the gendered ties on which Palestinian life has depended for decades, Israeli colonialism has subjected Palestinian women to a double patriarchal rule that renders them susceptible to violence outside and inside their homes. As a report published by the World Bank states,

> Violence in the public sphere – through checkpoints, body searches, settler violence, and so forth – has intruded into the domestic sphere, and men and women have had to cope under conditions of tremendous anxiety and incertitude to ensure family survival.[27]

While the report addresses the politics of gendered patriarchal violence in Palestinian households, it also makes clear that private acts of violence are shaped by public, historical, and political circumstances created first and foremost by the conditions of Israeli

occupation. These acts include restrictions placed on Palestinian movement via the building of apartheid walls, the destruction of livelihoods, the confiscation of lands and natural resources, and the military prison complex which in 2012 incarcerates, according to Addammer, Prisoner Support and Human Rights Organization, at least 4,659 Palestinian men, 6 women, 192 Palestinian children – 36 of whom are under the age of 16.[28] Together, these interconnected webs of public and private acts of gendered violence reveal how Israeli colonialism, subjugation and control are continually secured.

A second crucial tool from the early stages of Canadian settler colonialism was the control of movement of indigenous people through what was known as the 'pass system'.[29] Enacted in 1885, it dictated that indigenous people required written permission from the local Indian Agent to leave their reserve. This written permit stated the reasons for moving from one place to another. The pass system was put into place during the Northwest Rebellion of 1885, and was justified by the Canadian government as a means by which to monitor indigenous people who were potentially participating in or supporting the rebellion. The pass system, though initially described as a temporary measure by the Canadian government at the time, was in fact used against indigenous people at least until the 1940s.[30] This model of restricting the basic human rights of indigenous people to mobility within their own lands lives on today in Palestine. This includes the extensive systems of permits, checkpoints and the apartheid wall restricting and regulating movement of Palestinians in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, along with the hermetic siege of Gaza as the most extreme expression of control over movement from and within Palestinian reserves.[31]

Another element of settler colonialism in Canada that has been perfected by Israel is the use of 'negotiations' as a means to entrench occupation and control of indigenous lands and resources. To give but one example from Canadian colonial history, when Treaty 7 was negotiated between the Canadian government and representatives of the Blackfoot confederacy, Tsu Tiina nation, and a number of Nakoda and Assiniboine communities, the Crown representatives brought a sizeable contingent of Northwest mounted police who pointed their cannons directly at the indigenous encampments and occasionally fired them as a show of force. In an

oral account of the signing of Treaty 7, Stoney Nakoda elder Morley Twoyoungmen recalls: 'The chiefs said, "You talk of peace while there are guns pointing at me. This is not peace, please lay down your guns"'.[32]

Besides making indigenous people 'an offer they couldn't refuse' with this particularly dubious form of peace negotiations, another colonial approach used by the Canadian government involves granting of permits or licenses to corporations. These licenses authorise the exploitation of natural resources from traditional indigenous territories prior to consulting with or gaining the consent of local communities. If native communities mount effective opposition and resistance to such projects, be it by direct action in the form of blockades or more conventional forms of registering opposition (band council activity or court cases), the Canadian government will begin 'negotiation' processes or public consultations. Such processes usually only serve to tie up the community in directionless negotiations that do not address its actual demands, while the theft of land and resources continues unabated.

One of the most notorious examples of this is that of the Lubicon Cree, who have been fighting for recognition from the Canadian government and reserve lands, and against oil and gas exploitation on their traditional territory, for over a century. The Lubicon Cree, whose traditional territory is located in Northern Alberta, were not included in the negotiations of Treaty 8 in 1899, and as a result the Canadian government never recognised the limited rights and establishment of reserve lands afforded to surrounding Cree communities. The Lubicon Cree applied for a land settlement in 1933, and the Canadian government agreed – after extensive negotiations – to grant them a reserve in 1939. As of 1952, however, when the provincial government started granting rights to conduct oil and gas exploration on Lubicon territory, no agreed-upon reserve lands had been established. By the 1980s gas and oil were being extracted from Lubicon territory at an alarming rate. In 1985 the provincial government averaged $1.2 million a day in royalties earned from the extraction of resources from Lubicon's traditional territory.[33]

After decades of consultations, judicial inquiries, court hearings, and a blockade of access roads by the Lubicon, the provincial government initiated yet another round of negotiations in 1988, which yielded neither a ratified agreement nor a halt to oil and gas exploitation.[34] The last attempt to negotiate a settlement between the Lubicon and the federal government on territorial rights, compensation, and royalties for resource extraction ended in 2003 after the federal government withdrew from talks. Throughout this time and up to the present day, the exploitation of gas and oil resources by multinational corporations has continually intensified, and the result has been decades of destruction of Lubicon Cree lands, health, and traditional way of life.[35] In the case of the Lubicon, and in many other indigenous communities across Canada, this use of endless negotiations has not only thwarted and circumvented assertions of rights over traditional lands, but ultimately assisted in extending the power of the settler colonial society and furthering its national and corporate interests.

Israel has employed the tactic of negotiations as an extension of war and settler colonialism with similar success at the expense of Palestinian aspirations. We can look at 'Oslo 1', 'Oslo 2', the 'Roadmap to Peace', the 'Annapolis conference', and other 'peace processes' sponsored by the US, EU, and 'The Quartet': in each case, not only does the Israeli settler project continue in its colonisation, war, brutality, and murder of Palestinian people in their lands, but the most basic demands articulated by Palestinians – ending the occupation, guaranteeing the right of return, granting equal rights for Palestinian Citizens of Israel – are invariably left out of the negotiations. Writing on the meaning of Oslo for Palestinian independence, Joseph Massad explains:

> What Oslo aimed to do, therefore, was change the very goal of Palestinian politics from national independence from Israeli colonialism and occupation to one where Palestinians become fully dependent for their political and national survival on Israel and its sponsors in the interest of peace and security for their occupiers.[36]

Subsequent negotiations after Oslo also utilised this political model, producing similar linguistic, national, and international effects. Displacement of the language of colonialism and occupation among Palestinians by the language of statehood and recognition effectively squelched Palestinian resistance, reframed and weakened Palestinian solidarity movements against Israeli occupation, and shifted Palestinian attention from civil mobilisations and anti-colonial struggle to focus, instead, on the promise of statehood.[37]

A final example we wish to examine here is the ways in which both Israel and Canada are guilty of the crime of apartheid. The definition of apartheid as laid out by the Rome Statute can be applied to Israel.[38] The same holds true when comparing Canada and Israel and their similar but different uses of apartheid as part of their settler colonial projects. The Rome Statute, the international treaty which allowed for the establishment of the International Criminal Court, lists apartheid as a crime against humanity 'committed in the context of an institutionalised regime of systematic oppression and domination by one racial group over any other racial group or groups and committed with the intention of maintaining that regime'. This is undoubtedly a fitting description of the basic logics of both Israeli and Canadian settler colonialisms.[39]

SOLIDARITY IN CANADA: NATIONAL AND GENDERED FRAMEWORKS

Illustrating the similarities between the settler colonial regimes of Canada and Israel helps Palestinian solidarity work. The history of solidarity work against apartheid South Africa undeniably serves to advance and inform the BDS-centered approach of solidarity work with Palestine.[40] Given, however, that this solidarity work against settler-colonial Israel is being performed within a 'fellow' settler society, the movement doesn't necessarily need to reach to an example as spatially- and temporally-distant as South African apartheid. Moreover, failing to inform Palestine solidarity work in Canada with an understanding of native struggles is inherently detrimental, both to amassing effective support for the Palestinian struggle and to advancing liberation struggles within Canada for indigenous and non-indigenous people alike.

An example of how failing to challenge Canadian settler colonialism can negatively impact Palestine solidarity work appears in the tendency of groups in Canada to rely on non-Palestinian speakers when organising local public forums and national tours. The lack, or at least underrepresentation, of Palestinian voices in educational work about Israel in Canada leads to solidarity work being less directly informed by the aspirations of Palestinians themselves. It is important to note that this phenomenon is experienced along gendered lines as well. Often, white male allies are asked to speak on behalf of the Palestinian cause in Canada. Women's voices remain few and marginalised. We argue that questioning this mode of representation is crucial because the lack of Palestinian voices both reflects and reinforces the normalisation of settler colonialism through its exclusionary gendered, racialised, and national logics.

Fortunately, and to the credit of both local indigenous and Palestinian activists living within Canada, connections between the two struggles have been articulated at least since the 1970s in ways that inform political organising. In Vancouver, for example, there was a working relationship between the Canada Palestine Solidarity network and the Native Study Group as member groups of the Third World Peoples Coalition. In recent history, Palestinian solidarity groups across Canada, including Solidarity for Palestinian Human Rights (SPHR), Coalition Against Israeli Apartheid (CAIA), and Students Against Israeli Apartheid (SAIA), have worked hard to establish links between indigenous struggles of Turtle island and Palestine. Palestinian solidarity activists have also physically supported various indigenous struggles. This section examines an example of concrete support in the work of SPHR, CAIA, and Niagara Palestinian Association, who in 2006 offered material and physical assistance to Six Nations occupiers during the Haldimand Tract Reclamation. We interpret this political moment as a key example of the gendered political of transnational solidarity among indigenous peoples in the Americas and Palestinians.

The 2006 Haldimand Tract Reclamation

On February 28, 2006 the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy became involved in a dispute with Henco Industries Ltd. when a group of native protesters from the Grand River Territory reserve occupied the construction site. The company had planned to develop Douglas Creek Estates, a housing development on lands that were part of an unresolved land claim. Susan M. Hill describes the history of this land reclamation struggle in this way:

A small group of Six Nations people moved onto a construction site on land between the contemporary boundaries of the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory and the town of Caledonia. The land had been municipally approved for a housing development. But long before Henco Industries' suburban vision formed, the land was part of Haudenosaunee Territory, recognised by the British Crown in the Haldimand Proclamation of 1784 and the 1701 Albany Treaty. This parcel and thousands of other acres in the Grand River Territory are part of land claims clearly articulated to the Crown, in some cases for over two hundred years. [41]

The struggle to reclaim the Six Nation land unfolded into a long encounter involving the Canadian state, the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP), the non-indigenous residents of Caledonia, and the indigenous communities and non-indigenous communities that joined this struggle. The occupation of the Grand River Territory and the Six Nations' opposition to urban sprawl quickly became a national news story. Various media reported that the Six Nations land reclamation struggle challenged the authority of the Ontario government and carried ramifications on indigenous resistance in North America and beyond.

In an article on the different types of solidarity enacted at the site of the occupation, Tom Keefer notes:

> With the people of Six Nations fighting to regain ownership of the 950,000 acres of the Haldimand tract originally granted to them by the British crown in 1784, the outcome of the struggle at Douglas Creek Estates has major implications for white settlers, the Canadian state, the Iroquois Confederacy, and indigenous peoples throughout North America.[42]

The Crown's recognition of the authority and power of the traditional government of the Grand River Haudenosaunee, including the central role of the Haudenosaunee clan mothers within the traditional longhouse system, signalled that the state would have to contend seriously with land claims and contestations. How it interacted with this would also have consequences for future encounters with indigenous struggles in Canada. The land reclamation struggle intensified on April 20, 2006, when the OPP raided the occupation site, and attacked, tasered and pepper sprayed protesters. This attack by state officials was met with resistance from native activists who eventually drove the OPP off the occupation site and called for reinforcement and solidarity from native and non native allies.

While providing a longer discussion of the history of this land reclamation struggle falls beyond the scope of this paper, there are two important dimensions of this reclamation that concern us here. The first is the gendered process inherent to both the colonisation of Haudenosaunee lands and the resistance to settler colonialism posed by the reclamation of the Haldimand Tract. Second, we use this moment to speak about the ways in which Palestinian solidarity activists responded to this call for solidarity and how their response posed a challenge to the actions of the Canadian state against Six Nations peoples.

The Role of Indigenous Women in Reclaiming the Land

One of the key aspects of the Canadian colonisation of the Haudenosaunee people and their lands was the imposition of the Indian Act band council system by force in 1924, which directly undermined the status of Haudenosaunee women (and weakened their society as a whole) by removing the positions of authority they previously held. A 2008 report by the Six Nations Traditional Women's Council Fire And Haudenosaunee FORWARD, submitted to the United Nations Committee to End All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), clearly articulates this process:

> The Clan mothers traditionally wield great influence in the well-being of their Clans and Nations [...]. [I]t is to be a matriarchal society as women are sacred as they are life givers, are title holders to the land, and that women instinctively know the price of war. With the European Contact, their roles were almost diminished with the genocidal policies of the European oppressive systems of law, politics, and social inequalities towards their women. With that, a lot of our men started practicing inequalities towards our women.[43]

Rather than viewing the imposition of European patriarchal values as a by-product or incidental result of the colonisation of the Haudenosaunee people, the process of undermining the power of Haudenosaunee women is understood to be inherent to colonisation, a necessary aspect of imposing Canadian settler colonial rule over their lands. Further, this passage directly relates the day-to-day inequalities Haudenosaunee women experience within their own communities due to the process of colonisation.

Given that the imposition of Canadian settler colonialism was an inherently gendered process, it is not surprising that the Haudenosaunee authors of the report also see their project of resistance to the continued theft of their lands as one where the empowerment of Haudenosaunee communities starts with, and depends on, the reassertion of power and decision-making by Haudenosaunee women:

> The governments of Canada do not recognize the Clan mothers' legitimate and equal role in traditional politics, for example in the Six Nations Confederacy which is a matriarchal society. However, because women are the traditional leaders, it is women who are leading many of the current struggles for land rights in Canada. As a result, women are disproportionately affected by the police brutality and other forms of repression with which the state targets these struggles.[44]

Here the role of Haudenosaunee women are positioned within struggles against Canadian settler colonialism, not simply as equal partners alongside indigenous men, but in providing unique perspectives as indigenous women that enables them to occupy particular leadership roles. This results in Haudenosaunee women being disproportionately feared by the Canadian government as a threat, and become more likely targets of state violence.

The central role of the Clan mothers in the Six Nations reclamation also disrupts understandings of resistance to settler colonialism that fail to incorporate a gendered analysis. The Clan mothers' roles challenge the commonly held perception of the 'Native standoff' as being led by (or exclusively) a male-dominated, militaristic 'warrior' style organisation. In a *Toronto Star* interview of one of the spokespeople for the reclamation, the report addresses how 'mainstream society misunderstands the term "warrior"', associating it with gun-toting males. 'The warrior spirit is in all of us', the spokesperson says. 'It's not a male thing. It's not a female thing. It's about love. It's about harmony'.[45]

From Six Nations to Palestinian Solidarities

The Six Nations reclamation that started in 2006 is also significant because of the ways in which connections between Canadian and Israeli settler-colonialisms were directly highlighted through the support provided to the reclamation by Palestine solidarity organisations. On May 3, 2006, the Niagara Palestinian Association (NPA), a southern-Ontario based coalition, responded to the call for support from the reclamation organisers by visiting, and later occupying, the site with indigenous men and women. With them, the Palestinian solidarity activists brought food and reinforcements to support the indigenous occupiers. In addition to such assistance, the group provided Palestinian scarves and a Palestinian flag. This flag was presented to 'Onkwehonweh clan mothers, chiefs, braves and [the] solidarity community who are camped out at the blockade'.[46] Shortly after, the Palestinian flag was raised on the same pole below a Mohawk flag. The symbolic significance of this moment of solidarity was enormous in that it showcased how indigenous peoples

and Palestinian solidarity activists in Canada supported each other and that their struggles are aligned.

Speaking at an event entitled 'The Politics of Six Nations-Palestinian Alliances' held in 2008 at McMaster University, Jamilla Ghaddar, former member of SPHR and one of the occupiers at the site, recounted her feelings of pride at this display of solidarity:

> One of the proudest moments in the lives of the McMaster SPHR and of my life and the Palestinian solidarity movement was the day the Palestinian flag was raised over the reclamation site. That day the Niagara Palestinian Association along with the Haudenosaunee people hoisted and raised the Palestinian flag along side the flag of Haudenosaunee... In the months following, through cold and mud, moments of exhaustion and worry, we would raise our eyes to the swaying of the flags and think, we are one, and the winds carry our colours together from Jerusalem to the Grand River [...] Our struggles are one.[47]

As an Arab woman witness, leader, supporter, and active participant who put her body on the line at the Six Nations reclamation site, Ghaddar reveals the importance of solidarity in thoughts, deeds, gestures and actions. Her moving words have consequence for settler colonial states and our solidarity struggles against them. By connecting the struggles of indigenous people at the Six Nations reclamation site with those of Palestinians, Ghaddar and others challenge the assumption of the Canadian state's innocence and link its actions to those of other settler colonial projects at a global level.

THE POSSIBILITIES AND CHALLENGES OF SOLIDARITY STRUGGLES

The example we discuss above does not contest that Palestinian organising in Canada has a long way to go by way of supporting indigenous struggles and forming real alliances that do not mimic or reproduce settler colonial relationships between colonisers and the colonised. There is still some resistance to making explicit

connections between these struggles within Palestine solidarity circles in Canada. It is also our view that Canadian Palestinians have not yet confronted their own relationship to settlement in Canada and have not yet clarified how they position themselves in relation to the European settler project here.[48]

Although some Palestine solidarity organisations in Canada have made efforts to employ a comparative analysis of settler colonialism when fighting Israeli apartheid and have fostered alliances with indigenous peoples, these efforts have not always been successful. For example, it is now common to invite indigenous allies to speak at Palestine events. While we believe this is an important and necessary turn, we are concerned that the inclusion of indigenous spokespersons at Palestine solidarity events can, at times, be tokenistic. What does it mean to issue such invitations and what material consequences do they have on the organisational structures of Palestine solidarity efforts in Canada? Do the current directions and initiatives incorporate a gendered analysis of Canadian or Israeli settler colonialism? Are these inclusions and invitations accompanied with serious analytic and structural changes in Palestinian solidarity organising? These questions are complex and do not have singular answers. It is our view that, although in many ways Palestinian solidarity in Canada has attempted to forge important and necessary alliances with local indigenous struggles, it has done so unevenly and to varying degrees of success. These alliances need to be improved and deepened, because we believe that solidarity between indigenous and Palestinian struggles is paramount for challenging the settler colonial states of Canada and Israel.

Throughout this article, we have attempted to state the importance of a comparative framework for indigenous struggles from Turtle Island to Palestine. We have argued that Palestine solidarity work in Canada has, to some extent, recognised the importance of forging connections and alliances and between indigenous struggles of Turtle Island and Palestine. We have provided a few examples of solidarity to show how these moments are part of long and continuing efforts to create meaningful and sustainable solidarities between indigenous peoples. We are aware that these alliances must be meaningful, because we know that

'weak, fractured groups trading hollow noises about each other's pain will not move us forward'.[49] Our motivation in writing this piece is to further the conversation between solidarity activists about the importance of centering indigenous alliances.

To be effective, this conversation must begin by asking difficult questions about the gendered and racialised politics of current solidarity efforts. An example of how this conversation can begin is the 2011 visit to Palestine by a delegation of Indigenous and women-of-colour feminists who went to Palestine to witness Israeli colonialism and stand in solidarity with Palestinian men, women, and children. In their commentary on what they witnessed, the authors drew links between life in Jim Crow South, apartheid South Africa, and Indian reservations in the United States. The group also issued a statement expressing their support for the Palestinian call for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS).[50] The group's visit, which included forming alliances with women academics and women's organisations throughout Palestine, signals an important shift in women-of-colour and native feminist organising in the academy. Since the issuance of their call, the women activists and academics have organised and participated in speaking tours across American university campuses and at major feminist conferences, including the National Women Studies Association Convention held in Atlanta in November 2011. They have raised awareness about the Palestinian cause and reiterated their commitment to the principles of BDS.

In explaining the reasons behind her joining this delegation, Waziyatawin, a Dakota scholar and activist currently based in Canada, writes,

> I traveled with the delegation as an Indigenous woman living under US occupation seeking to understand how another Indigenous population struggled under settler colonialism. Sometimes it takes seeing the suffering of others to realise the full magnitude of our suffering.[51]

Waziyatawin demonstrates the power and significance of indigenous solidarities against settler colonialisms. Her visit to Palestine puts into motion a politics of solidarity attuned to the complexities of

race, gender, citizenship and belonging. Waziyatawin's comments reveal how a comparative approach to settler colonialism can enable indigenous people to better understand their own struggles. Her partaking in this solidarity visit is instructive as it reminds us of the importance of fighting settler colonialisms wherever they exist and stands in stark contrast to the AFN visit we discuss at the beginning of this paper. For us, this form of indigenous solidarity is crucial because it enacts both a comparative gendered analysis of settler colonialism and contests the racialised logics and politics of solidarity efforts. It is therefore a critical example of international solidarity and resistance between indigenous people.

Commenting on the significance of Six Nations reclamation struggle, Jamilla Ghaddar has said, 'A victory for the American Indians of Palestine is a victory for the Palestinians of North America, and a victory for the Palestinians of North America is a victory for the American Indians of Palestine'.[52] We want to celebrate these hard earned victories in the Canadian context. We want to join hands in struggle. But we do not want this at the expense of asking difficult questions of one another or demanding respect, recognition, and reciprocity. We want to build solidarity without reproducing and enacting the same colonial logics and asymmetric relationships of power on which settler colonialisms hinge. We believe that our futures are connected and that we are especially powerful when we enact solidarity by words and actions. To expect solidarity, we must be willing to give it, share it, and maintain it. To do otherwise is to risk producing solidarity on the very colonial terms that our movements seek to challenge and undo. As Jamal Juma wrote in 'An Open Letter to the People of Six Nations', we believe that 'the future will look substantially better than the past only when the people of the world stand together united by their solidarity'.[53] This is our small contribution to beginning the difficult work of making indigenous solidarities.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Mike Krebs is an indigenous activist of mixed Blackfoot and European descent who is currently focused on Palestine solidarity work as a member of the Boycott Israeli Apartheid Campaign. He resides on the unceded Skwxwu7mesh, Sel'it'wetulh, and Xwmetskwiem territory known as Vancouver, BC in 'Canada'.

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NOTES

[1] Phil Fontaine and Ed Morgan, 'Aboriginals, Jews Stand Together', *The Globe and Mail* (12 July 2005). Available at: http://www.law.utoronto.ca/documents/Morgan/Globe-Fontaine0507.pdf Accessed: 10/11/11.

[2] For an overview of consequences of statements made by Ahenakew, see 'Ahenakew stripped of Order of Canada', *CBC news*. Available at: http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2005/07/11/ahenakew050711.html Accessed: 29/06/12. Also, for news on Ahenakew's acquittal of hate crime in second trial in 2011, see Troy Fleece, 'Ex-First Nations head acquitted in hate trial'. Available at: http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/article/591647 Accessed: 29/06/12. It is important to note that this the connection between the controversy surrounding Ahenakew's statements and the visit was made in an article published in *The Jerusalem Post* which notes that the visit took place six months after Ahenakew was stripped of his Order of Canada. Quoting Jewish Congress President Ed Morgan, the article states, 'If that [David Ahenakew's sentence] was a catalyst for our communities getting to know each other, then there's a silver lining' (sic). See Gil Zohar, 'Finding a common language'. Available at: t: http://www.jpost.com/LocalIsrael/InJerusalem/Article.aspx?id=14899 Accessed 29/06/12.

[3] Fontaine, Morgan, 'Aboriginals, Jews Stand Together'.

[4] Moshe Kastav resigned from presidency in July 1, 2007 due to allegations of rape. He has been convicted of two counts of rape and other sexual offenses and sentenced to seven years in prison. This conviction has been upheld by the Supreme Court in Tel Aviv in November 2011. See Yanir Yagna and Tomer Zarchin, 'Legal sources: Unlikely that former Israel President Katsav will be pardoned'. Available at: http://www.haaretz.com/news/national/legal-sources-unlikely-that-former-israel-president-katsav-will-be-pardoned-1.395938 Accessed: 06/11/11.

[5] Within this article we use the term 'Turtle Island' to refer to indigenous North America. Though originally rooted in the belief systems of indigenous Algonquin and Haudenosaunee people, 'Turtle Island' has over time also taken on a distinct 'pan-indigenous' meaning as a way in which to conceptualise the continued existence of indigeneity in North America. We have thus chosen to use Turtle Island at times to describe the traditional land of indigenous people living in what is now 'Canada' to reflect the need to challenge the legitimacy of the settler state that we live in/under (as opposed to the highly problematic and paternalistic language of 'Canada's indigenous people'), which is additionally necessary when taking into account that the traditional territory of many indigenous nations stretches far across both sides of the Canada-US border. We recognise that this pan-indigenous use of 'Turtle Island' is also problematic and not universally recognised among indigenous people (both within and outside of the Algonquin/Haudenosaunee traditions from which the term originates), but within the ongoing project to redefine our indigeniety and how we reassert our rights to this land it is currently the most useful anti-colonial term.

[6] Zohar, 'Finding a common language'.

[7] The website of the Israeli embassy in Ottawa lists the AFN visit under examples at 'Bilateral Relations: Israel and the First Nations'. Available at: http://ottawa.mfa.gov.il/mfm/web/main/Print.asp?DocumentID=144612 Accessed 02/11/11.

[8] Hilary Leila Krieger, 'Native lands', *The Jerusalem Post*, 05/03/06. Available at: http://www.jpost.com/Features//Article.aspx?id=20699 Accessed 01/07/12.
[9] B'Tselem, '683 people killed in the conflict in 2006', 26/12/06. Available at: http://www.btselem.org/press_releases/20061228 Accessed: 28/10/11. While generally reliable, it is important to note that the report neglects to include statistics on the construction of the apartheid wall and the illegal Israeli settlements.
[10] Canada Palestine Association Vancouver, 'Open Letter by CPA to the Assembly of First Nations', 06/03/06. Available at: http://www.cpavancouver.org/index.php/2006/03/06/an-open-letter-by-cpa-to-the-assembly-of-first-nations Accessed: 01/07/12.
[11] Lee Maracle, 'On the AFN visit to Palestine'. Available at: http://www.cpavancouver.org/index.php/2006/01/01/lee-maracle-to-the-afn Accessed 25/06/12.
[12] David Lloyd, Laura Pulido, 'In the Long Shadow of the Settler: On Israeli and U.S. Colonialisms', *American Quarterly*, 62, 4 (2010): 795-809.
[13] David Lloyd, Laura Pulido, 'In the Long Shadow of the Settler': 797.
[14] This is not to imply that there are not schisms within Israeli or Canadian settler society (including but not limited to those along lines of class, gender, and/or race). It is certainly arguable, however, that when it comes to colonial approaches towards the indigenous population, under most circumstances the need for 'inter-settler unity' proves greater than the very-real contradictions within the settler society. For an analysis of class politics in Israel, see Moshe Machover and Akiva Orr, 'The Class Character of Israel', *International Socialist Review*, 23 (2002). Available at: http://www.isreview.org/issues/23/class_character_israel.shtml Accessed: 02/11/11.
[15] For a comprehensive analysis and critique of the modern BC Treaty Process, see Arthur Manuel, 'New Relationship or "Final Solution" – An Analysis of the Certainty Provisions of the Final Agreements Initialled Under the BC Treaty Process', *First Nations Strategic Bulletin*, 4, 12 (2006). Available at: http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/201/300/first_nations_strategic_bulletin/2006/index.html Accessed: 31/10/11.
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[17] John Collins, *Global Palestine* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011): 90.
[18] Andrea Smith, 'American Studies Without America: Native Feminisms and the Nation-State', *American Quarterly*, 60, 2 (2008): 312.
[19] Bonita Lawrence, 'Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity in Canada and the US: An Overview', *Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy*, 18, 2 (2003): 3-31.
[20] 'A History of Residential Schools in Canada', *CBC News*, 16/05/2008. Available at: http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2008/05/16/f-faqs-residential-schools.html Accessed 05/11/11.
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[22] See Canadian Child Welfare Research Portal, 'Frequently Asked Questions'. Available atL http://www.cecw-cepb.ca/faqs Accessed 3/11/11.
[23] Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Cambridge: South End Press, 2005): 22.

[24] The Native Women's Association of Canada has documented 582 cases of missing and murdered indigenous women in Canada. For more information, see: http://www.nwac.ca Accessed: 4/11/11.
[25] Rosemary Sayigh, *The Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries* (London: Zed Books, 2007): 77.
[26] Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism* (New York: Grove Press, 1994): 37.
[27] See 'Checkpoints and Barriers: Searching for Livelihoods in the West Bank and Gaza/Gender Dimensions and Economic Collapse', Sustainable Development Department Middle East and North Africa, February 2010: xv. Available at: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWESTBANKGAZA/Resources/GenderStudy-EnglishFeb2010.pdf Accessed 06/05/ 2012.
[28] See 'Addameer Monthly Detention Report – 1 June 2012', *Addameer: Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association*. Available at: http://addameer.org/etemplate.php?id=488 Accessed 07/06/2012.
[29] See F. Laurie Barron, 'The Indian Pass System in the Canadian West, 1882-1935', *Prairie Forum*, 13, 1 (1988): 25–42.
[30] Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council with Walter Hildebrandt, Dorothy First Rider, Sarah Carter, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996): 147.
[31] For more information on Israel's systematic restrictions of Palestinian movement, see B'Tselem, 'Background on the restriction of movement'. Available at: http://www.btselem.org/freedom_of_movement Accessed: 29/06/12. See also Occupy Palestine, 'OCHA: Movement restrictions in occupied West Bank affecting 200,000 in #Palestine', 10/10/11. Available at: http://occupiedpalestine.wordpress.com/2011/09/10/ocha-movement-restrictions-in-occupied-west-bank-affecting-200000-in-palestine Accessed: 29/06/12.
[32] Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, *The True Spirit and Original intent*: 117.
[33] John Goddard, 'Last Stand of the Lubicon', *Equinox*, 21 (1985): 67-77. Available at: http://nisto.com/cree/lubicon/1985/equinox.html Accessed: 14/07/12.
[34] Olivia P. Dickason, *Canada's First Nations* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press Canada, 1997): 368-370.
[35] See Amnesty International, 'Canada: From homeland to oil sands: The impact of oil and gas development on the Lubicon Cree of Canada', 16/06/10. Available at: http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/AMR20/002/2010/en Accessed: 13/07/12.
[36] Joseph Massad, 'Oslo and the End of Palestinian Independence', *Al Ahram Weekly Online*, 982, 21/10/10. Available at: http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2010/982/re7.htm Accessed 28/10/11.
[37] See Josseph Massad, 'The State of Recognition', *Al-Jazeera English Online*, 15/10/11. Available at: http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/09/20119158427939481.html Accessed: 05/11/11.
[38] See Hazem Jamjoum, 'Not an analogy: Israel and the crime of apartheid', 03/04/09. Available at: http://electronicintifada.net/content/not-analogy-israel-and-crime-apartheid/8164#.TsnoM-YtjvR Accessed 26/10/11.
[39] 'Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court'. Available at: http://untreaty.un.org/cod/icc/statute/romefra.htm Accessed: 01/11/11.
[40] For a detailed account of this BDS-centered approach to Palestinian solidarity struggle, see Abigail Bakan and Yasmeen Abu-Laban, 'Palestinian Resistance and International Solidarity: the BDS Campaign', *Race and Class*, 51, 2 (2009): 29-54.
[41] Susan M Hill, 'Conducting Haudenosaunee Historical Research from Home: In the Shadow of the Six Nations–Caledonia Reclamation', *The American Indian Quarterly*, 33, 4 (2009): 479-490.

[42] Tom Keefer, 'The Six Nations Land Reclamation', *Upping the Anti*, 3 (2006). Available at: http://uppingtheanti.org/journal/article/03-the-six-nations-land-reclamation Accessed: 03/11/11.
[43] Six Nations Traditional Women's Council Fire And Haudenosaunee FORWARD, 'Report to the United Nations Committee to End All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW): Canada's Flagrant and Scurrilous Human Rights Violations Against Ogweho:weh Ago:weh (First Nations Women)': 2. Available at: http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/ngo/FSNTWCFH_Canada_cedaw42.pdf Accessed: 25/10/11.
[44] Six Nations Traditional Women's Council Fire And Haudenosaunee FORWARD, 'Report to the United Nations Committee to End All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)': 6.
[45] Peter Edwards, '"The warrior spirit is in all of us"; Clan mothers play significant role', *The Toronto Star*, 22/04/06. Available at: http://sisis.nativeweb.org/actionalert/updates/060422torontostar-a.html Accessed 25/10/11.
[46] 'Palestinian Flag Raised in Support of Caledonia Land Claims Dispute', 03/05/06. Available at: http://mostlywater.org/node/5718 Accessed: 28/10/11.
[47] Jamilla Ghaddar, 'The Politics of Six Nations-Palestinian Alliances'. Available at: http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=2265945400799139914 Accessed: 15/11/11.
[48] We are aware of the academic debate regarding the value, relevance, and usefulness of the term 'settler of colour'. See, for example, Bonita Lawrence and Enakshi Dua, 'Decolonizing Anti-Racism', *Social Justice*, 32, 4 (2005): 120-143, Nanditha Sharma and Cynthia Wright, 'Decolonizing Resistance, Challenging Colonial States', *Social Justice*, 35, 3 (2008-2009): 120-138. Our paper focuses on indigeneity as a means of fostering solidarity. We believe it is crucial to interrogate the uneven and asymmetric relationship of people of colour to the European settler colonial project manifested in the Canadian state. To foster solidarity between native peoples in Canada and Palestinians, that relationship needs to be stated, acknowledged, and clarified.
[49] Taiaiake Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999): 87.
[50] See 'After witnessing Palestine's apartheid, Indigenous and Women of Color feminists endorse BDS', *The Electronic Intifada*, 12/07/11. Available at: http://electronicintifada.net/blog/ali-abunimah/after-witnessing-palestines-apartheid-indigenous-and-women-color-feminists-endorse#.TtWFWOYtjvQ Accessed: 05/11/11.
[51] Waziyatawin, 'Malice Enough in Our Hearts and Courage Enough in Ours: Reflecting on US Indigenous and Palestinian Experiences Under Occupation', *Settler Colonial Studies*, 2, 1 (2012): 172.
[52] Ghaddar, 'The Politics of Six Nations-Palestinian Alliances'.
[53] Jamal Juma, 'An Open Letter to the People of Six Nations', *The Electronic Intifada*, 05/03/07. Available at: http://electronicintifada.net/content/open-letter-people-six-nations/6789#.TssSo3GQ3-Q Accessed: 15/11/11.