JANUS UNBOUND

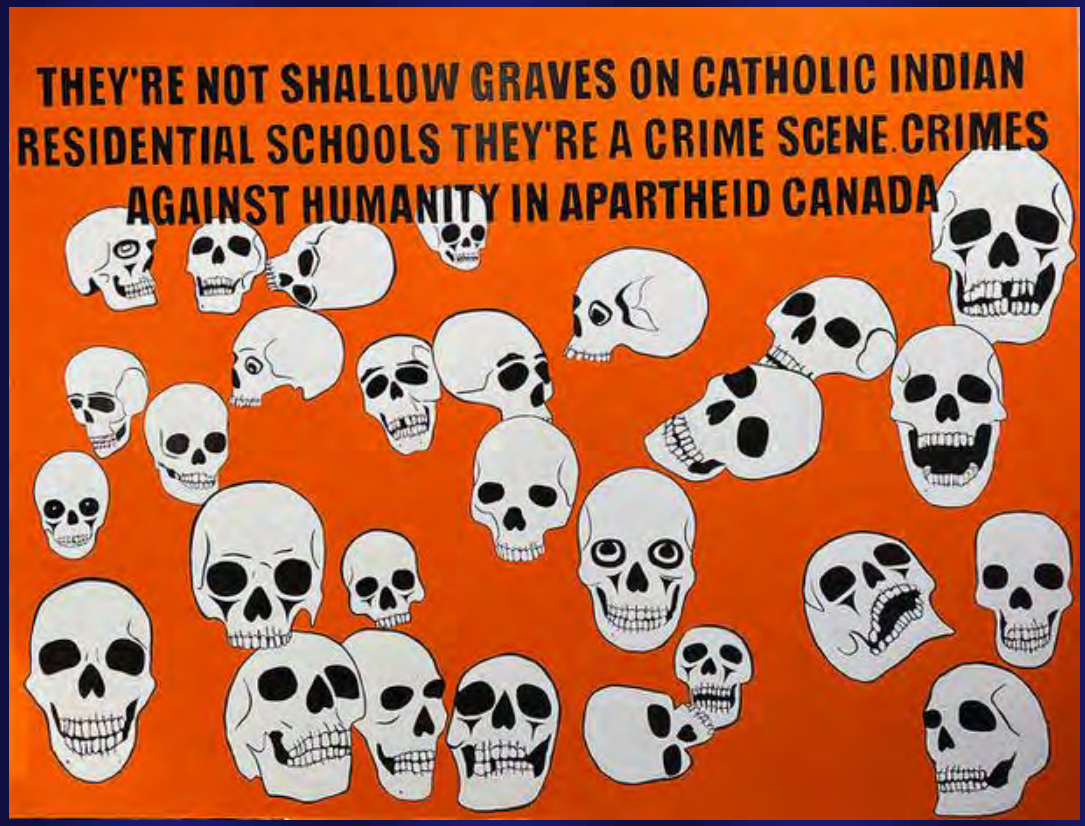
CONTENTS

Published by MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY

Janus Unbound: Journal of Critical Studies Volume: I Number: II Issue: Spring

JANUS UNBOUND

E-ISSN: 2564-2154



Cover Image "Fuck you colonial Fucks you murdered our children at the residential concentration schools. Everyday is a orange day With no justice (2022)" by Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun

Edited by Peter Trnka

"Settler-Colonialism and Indigenous Communities"

I (II)

Published by MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY

JANUS UNBOUND
JOURNAL OF CRITICAL STUDIES

Edited by
Peter Trnka

If Not Now, When?

In affiliation with Open Space

Published by

Memorial University of Newfoundland • St. John's
E-ISSN: 2564-2154 (Online)

Settler-Colonialism and Indigenous Communities

Volume 1 • Number 11 • Spring 2022

Theme chosen by
Danine Farquharson and Tahrir Hamdi

Copyedited by
Danine Farquharson, Peter Trnka, Joshua Royles, Charles Ferrall, Zach Swirski, and Luka James Carroll

Typeset and designed by
Michael Broz, Abigail Broughton-Janes, and Maxim Sizov

Proofread by
Peter Trnka and Joshua Royles

Cover Image "Fuck you colonial Fucks you murdered our children at the residential concentration schools. Everyday is a orange day With no justice (2022)" by
Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun

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Published 2022
By Memorial University of Newfoundland
230 Elizabeth Ave, St. John's, NL A1C 5S7

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF SPONSORS

Janus Unbound thanks all of our generous sponsors:

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Open Space

Janus Unbound thanks also all those involved in the writing and editorial production of this issue, including all editors, associates, assistants, Editorial and Advisory board members, subeditors, associate assistant, and trainees, as well as all of our referees.

Janus Unbound acknowledges, with respect and veneration, the territory on which we are anchored as the ancestral homelands of the Beothuk, and the island of Newfoundland as the ancestral homelands of the Mi'kmaq and Beothuk. *Janus Unbound* also recognizes the Inuit of Nunatsiavut and NunatuKavut and the Innu of Nitassinan, and their ancestors, as the original people of Labrador.

Moments in Continual Imperialist Colonial Capital Exploitation and Oppression: Letter from the Editor

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E-ISSN: 2564-2154
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Peter Trnka

Preambling

This time the cover tells the whole story. What more can I add to Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun's "Fuck you colonial Fucks"? What should I add? Nothing, absolutely nothing, except agreement. And circulation, share the thought, tell others.

Turning writing into not writing, teaching into not teaching.

Thematizing

Some of us have always been nomads. Wanderers. Spiritually, that is, intellectually, and materially, geographically. There is constant migration. Perpetual and continual.

There is perpetual also colonization and recolonization. Folding the margin into the center and the centers into margins—displacement at will to rotate circuit flows. Perpetual return to originary (primitive) capital accumulation. New areas, multitudes, resources, and services. Extension and intensification of capital modes of production and exchange and life. Formal and real subsumption of labour by capital, as set out by Karl Marx (*Capital* Volume 1; *Grundrisse*) and focused in Antonio Negri (*Marx Beyond Marx*). Capital recapitalizes as rapidly and continually and violently as is necessary.

Never speaking for anyone or anything. In expressing making a difference. Becoing invisible—education as an art of becoming invisible. Becoming, going elsewhere. Distraction, displacement. Best moments are when the teacher slinks outside or falls under the desk. A collective midwife or facilitator—architect or carpenter of platforms—shadow gatherer.

Don't attempt to set the frame for everything. Hubris of intellectuals. Instead: humility. Context. Webs of social and natural relations (peoples/groups, lands, worlds). All my relations.

Archiving

Too many moments to ever pretend to represent an adequate understanding. We've collected some, touching on the here and now. Where the here is a more extensively and more intensively globalized or world-wided (or widened) world and the now is an evermore hyper-manufactured, simulated, so-called synchronous "real time" impossible event with infinite sheets of repressed history and forgotten future possibility. A world with centuries-long, millennial perhaps, patterns of colonization and imperialist expansion. With accompanying racialized, gendered, classed, and otherhow socialized violence, antagonism, hatred, and killing. Altogether exploiting the multitude, the masses, the poor and downtrodden, subaltern and *lumpen*-proletariat, ever more increasingly the near entirety of the working-to-be-living mass of humanity.

A few somewhat clear glimpses in the storm (theoretical guides). One line: Marx (Schlomo Avineri ed., *Marx on Colonialism and Modernisation*), V.I. Lenin (*Imperialism: the Highest Stage Capitalism*), Rosa Luxemburg (*The Accumulation of Capital*), Samir Amin (*Unequal Development*). Continuing a perhaps still young history of capital as a world-wide exploitation system of commodity production and exchange where imperial colonization is a constant feature at the margin, at the relatively less capitalized, less commodified border. Guides to map wandering in the storm.

Thrilled with the writing, the art, the editing—so many new ways and levels of reading, new speeds and slownesses. All is on theme without much trying. Works from collective members and from new friends in northern Big Turtle Island and Malaysia.

To start, however, our cover and first piece are thanks to Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun, his painting "Fuck you colonial Fucks" and accompanying artist statement. Thank you Lawrence Paul, and thank you Deborah Root our Art Editor.

Celeste Pedri-Spade and Brock Pitawanakwat's "Indigenization in Universities and its Role in Continuing Settler-Colonialism" exposes the current Canadian (and more global) phenomenon of major nation-state semi-corporate institutions paying lip service to the ideology of indigenous affirmation, at the same time as closing programs, becoming more autocratic as bodies, and attempting to sequester themselves from any public accountability, scrutiny, or criticism. As Pedri-Spade and Pitawanakwat write: "Canada's reluctance to support full self-determination of Indigenous institutions of higher education is a microcosm of the colonial control that the settler state continues to wield over Indigenous peoples" (17). The analysis is extremely current and pressing, as any semi-self-aware academic working in "so-called Canada" (to follow the Poetry Editor) should know:

> A timely example of the severity of the neoliberal settler-colonial capitalist regime in Indigenous academics is the 2020/2021 closure of the Indigenous Studies program at the University of Sudbury, a federated partner of the Laurentian University. ... [T]his program was terminated during a 'restructuring phase' as a result of Laurentian's insolvency filing under the Companies-Creditors Arrangement Act (CCAA). This was the first time that the federal courts approved the application of this Act, intended for corporate, for-profit companies to a Canadian university. (18)

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Casualties in addition to Indigenous Studies: Labour Studies, Gender Studies, Environmental and Social Justice programs, and Philosophy and Political Science (12).

Unbound's Book Review Editor Louis Brehony's "Genius in the People" points to prisoners groups as revolutionary vanguards by way of analysis of instrument making amongst Palestinian, Syrian, and Irish political prisoners. Instrument making—notably from gaming boards, particularly chess and backgammon—means also playing, singing along with, and all of the very many things that come with that (escape, lines of flight, song worlds, resistant artistries) in revolutionary becomings: the "revolution is a process" (47). The journal's Poetry Editor Andreae Callanan in "Writing to right the wrongs" gives us a personal piece on autism, meltdowns, "heaving cellular grief"—cultural appropriation, story-telling, cultural and regular genocide in Canada and: "I am left asking myself: where does 'using my privilege' end and 'talking for others' begin?" (55). We then return to Palestine and Israel in Aladdin Assaiqeli, "The Ethical Cleansing of Palestine in Israeli and Palestinian Narratives": naming, renaming, violating, and reviolating; "Colonial discourse technologists have always resorted to language to find a way to enact and sustain domination" (70). Reviews by Liam Ó Ruairc of books on the career and life of Edward Said, by Timothy Brennan among others, and Nathan Richard Williams on African sovereignty, complete our scholarly sections.

Thank you Douglas Walbourne-Gough for your poem "This All Happened?" and Public Studio for the Road Shot images. We hope always to feature more better art.

Unbinding Collectively

Thank you for your time, attention, life, work—care, thank you for your care. Solidarnosç. We are a dynamic collective—welcome Tayseer Abu Odeh, Abigail Broughton-Janes, Crystal Fraser, Md Sahidul Islam, and Krushil Watene. Thank you all, writers, artists, editors, readers, for your respect, trust, opportunity, support, solidarity, criticism.

Thanks Danine Farquharson and Tahrir Hamdi for the theme of settler-colonialism and indigenous communities. We continue anti-colonial decolonization themes, variations with difference, with no predetermined *telos*—how community grows. Rhizomatic adventure exploration. Where and when will DISPLACEMENT, FLIGHT, MIGRATION take us in issue three?

(A personal comment on Russia, or Moscow. Or a tyrant accommodating Russian political economy and a Putin. My grandfather Viktor Dobřický, on my mother Nina's side, was from Ukraine, lived in Odessa before running from the Bolsheviks, to Prague, shortly after WWI. The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 displaced myself as a four year old with my sister and parents to England. The short histories of the lives of nations.)

Cosmopolitan. All my relations.

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Biography

Peter Trnka is Associate Professor of Philosophy at Memorial University. He has taught at Karlova University, Prague as well as Toronto and York. He has published scholarly philosophical and transdisciplinary articles in various international journals, as well as poetry and a cookbook. He also edits *Cogito: Student Journal of Philosophy and Theory* with Max Sizov.

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Artist's Statement

Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun

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This painting is about what happened to Native children in this country, that was a sanctioned government culling, murder, cultural genocide, just pedophiles, torture, abuse, beatings. A lot of things that happened at residential schools, reports of girls getting pregnant and priests throwing babies into furnaces—so these are real things that happened in this country. Canada claims that it's a very beautiful country, in the top 10 in the world, one of the best countries to live in in the world, but us Native people, we don't think so because throughout its history, under the Indian Act—or in creating the Indian Act, which is a white supremacy act of Canada, and so it's never acknowledged, this apartheid. Why did the South African government come to the Department of Indian Affairs to see how they were dealing with Indians, because the Department of Indian Affairs had already resolved the issue of how to deal with people you don't consider. Why I say this is that we were never given citizenship in this province [British Columbia]. There were treaties in other provinces, and then they created the Indian Act and started to take our children and send them to these schools.

I went to the Kamloops Indian School. Out at the very front there was a swimming pool, but right beside it was a graveyard. That was the official graveyard that they would admit to how they killed or why they died. The Department of Indian Affairs at the time would not give any health benefits to children. The school should have been closed down but they kept them open and more kids got sicker and sicker and died. So as far as the Canadian government, Department of Indian Affairs, this white supremacy had little children dying, [these were] the consequences of their actions. This is why I say that Canada is responsible for killing these children, that Apartheid Canada murdered these children, that this government murdered these children in this country. And we are still living under the Indian Act, which is a very oppressive legislation that Natives never agreed to, that never wanted it. [Native people] were denied citizenship up until 1960, they were not allowed to leave the reservation, they had to have passes. This is very much a history of a segregated country.

Let's not kid ourselves what colonialism is. Colonialism is to come to a country, kill as many people as you can, destroy their culture, give them Christianity, brainwash them, kill the ones who don't want to listen to you, and leave the rest. And so they purposely gave smallpox to this province, intentionally, to kill as many Native people as possible. This is a part of Canada. When you are the victors you never

write the truth, [it is] in the eyes of the beholders as though it was some gigantic romantic process of taking this country. But how do you kill 50 million indigenous people on a continent in a blink of an eye, in a short period of time? So, these are events that have happened, they are real. And you can't believe the books that are written on paper in a library, as much as you cannot believe the things that are on the internet because they are both untrue. They only see it from their own position, their glorification of their success.

Why kill that many children? They killed our future because they know that the population of Native people would increase. They didn't want that. They wanted to take it all. They wanted to exterminate us. They thought that we'd all die off. If you kill all the children, or as many as you can, there'd be very few children left that would survive, which was true. So it was a very successful undertaking by the Canadian government, by the Catholic Church, [with] all other aspects of the church to completely genocide aboriginal people. So this is the burden that Native people have to carry. Canadians really hate Native people. I'm telling the truth about this because this is Canada. You don't have to go down south to the United States this way. You don't have to go down south to look at being burnt. You have the Department of Indian Affairs, which is the KKK of Canada, and ruling over us. It is like being under martial law in this country for aboriginal people, to be put on reservations and in the province that we've never signed any treaties with—so this is very much apartheid. How do you emancipate Native people from this colonial agenda? And that is a real problem that people have about emancipating Native people. You have reservations, and you define reservations in this country, and it means that you put Native people on reservations and they live there, permanently. Like the Gaza Strip, or anywhere else that is a segregated concept. Reservations are a permanent POW concept. We are prisoners of this colonial concept. We are not free. We are allowed to live on them but we cannot go off of our reservations and live on our own land, wherever we want. These are some of the things that are being enforced by the police, by the Canadian army, by CSIS Canada, by local police enforcements. They're here to destroy everything. They're not here to fix.

Justin Trudeau has decided he wanted a pipeline, and Native people are going to jail, and being arrested now, and their rights are being taken away, because he wants a pipeline when we're trying to stop warming. His government, his philosophy for the rich and wealthy to become more wealthy—this is a throwaway country. They came from foreign lands, they have no interest whatsoever, there is no salvation in a concept of that history in terms of Environment Canada ... they have their histories, they have their own flags. So they come here as destroyers of all, and kill. 400 million down to 40 million, since contact. They're exterminators. They're destroyers.

You have no interest whatsoever in saving this planet earth. You're here as colonialists, and all you want to do is get rich and richer, and fill your pockets, and contaminate the land, kill everything, cut down as many trees as you can, place all the dioxins and pulp mills, all the mine tailings that are contaminating the lands over places and they're overflowing and contaminating rivers. This is Canada ... it's all greed. So that's what is happening and so we have to sit on these reservations, or abide by these rules and be nice, or they will arrest you if you try to protest and

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say anything about this government, that what it's doing is wrong. And all the colonialists that are here benefit, and they really don't give a flying fuck either about what Indian rights are, because they're not here for our rights, they're here for their own benefit. And that means I will kill it all before I would even think of freeing a Native person. Canadians have no interest whatsoever. They hate Indians. All we've ever got from this country is hate.

And this country only wants to represent propaganda, colonial propaganda in saying we're really getting along. While they turn around in their culture and hunt down and murder Native women. One of their leaders said when he was asked the question, "what do you think of the missing and murdered Native women in Canada?", that prime minister said, "it is not on my radar." This type of ideology and thinking, of what they think of Native women, is what this country really is about, that you have a right, as colonialists, to hunt down and murder Native women. So we have continuously over the years been trying to stop this murdering [of] Native women. So this is a Canadian culture. Canadians feel that it is their right as colonialists … it is ok to murder Native women because their prime minister didn't give a shit! It was like a green light to say ok. Look, he even said it, he doesn't care. So this is what these leaders are like, this is what Canada is. And they come across like "it's a great country." But when you start to say these things to them, they don't want to hear it because it's not their women that are being murdered. They don't hunt down their women and murder them, they're mostly hunting down Native women. So these are some of the problems that we have in our lives, the fear that we have every day that I have to wake up to with my five daughters, and fearful that their lives are at risk every day in this country. And every Native woman in this country … fearful for their lives. That this is how we are being treated, this is how we are being looked at: that our women are expendable, that they can exterminate, that they can kill and murder at their leisure. This is what Canada is about. Because they are Native women. Yes, [they] say that this is wrong, but they're still teaching their people to do this—because people hate Indians. Canadians hate Indians.

This is a segregated country sometimes.

I went to Winnipeg just recently. I went to a Keg restaurant. I said "dinner for three." Big place. We went in there. They took us to the very corner of the room, a cubbyhole, and sat us down and said, "Here. Have dinner," because they didn't want us to sit in the open with white people. I mean, what the fuck? I'm a paying customer. I don't care if they have a problem with the colour of my skin. It's their problem. But why do I have to pay the consequences of their fucking racist fucking ideology of Canada? That just happened last week. So let's not talk about how great this country is, this is a fucking redneck country, and they're a bunch of fucking assholes. And that's just the way they are. We don't need Trump, we already have the Department of Indian Affairs. Truth and Reconciliation is a joke in this country. When we asked the world to come for help—where are they? We asked for the United Nations to come and intervene and look at how many kids have been murdered. But this is the G20. Can't do that. They're powerful, they wouldn't allow it,

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E-ISSN: 2564-2154
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that's why they're not here. Not one person has ever been charged with murder for all the kids that have been killed. They never will be charged, this country does not want to separate church and state, they're protecting. 25% of the Native people are Christian, why did that 25% go over to see the pope? I sure as hell don't need him, he should be banned from coming to this country ever again because of what they did.

I don't know what [is] wrong with those Indians. When you brainwash them to a certain point. And thinking that saying sorry and apologizing for what they've done is the satisfaction that [they would] accept. Every day that I breathe I have suffered the consequences from that residential school. And you know exactly what I mean because I am talking to you in your language, because mine was taken away, and so was my father's and so was my grandmother's, so was my grandfather's. This is very hard for me to accept, the Christian ideology. It's a war. And I don't like them, I don't like what they did, I don't like how many children they killed, I don't like what they stand for. They're not good people. They're ugly. They're murderers. They're exterminators. They're serial killers. So is the Canadian government. The Department of Indian Affairs. They are serial killers. This is what this country really is, at this time in history.

When I went to that school I know kids died because I was there and went to a funeral. We were marched down to the graveyard and I watched them bury our schoolmate and then they marched us back to the class and all the girls were crying. Our friends, crying for the loss of their classmate. We had to listen to that as kids and understand that she wasn't coming back, that they have graveyards at residential schools. They don't have graveyards at public schools, I know they don't, because I went to public school when they changed the law, I was the first person to go to a public school. And I went around that school that day and I came home and Dad asked me, "how was school today?" and I said I went and looked around at all the kids and around the school grounds and everything and I said, "how come there's no graveyard?" He looked at me and he said, "son, they don't do that to their people," and I understood then what it meant when I was standing at the graveyard when they were burying my friend what those people are really like. I understood how dangerous colonialists are and how evil they can be. You can't trust them. I'll never trust anyone, because I know what they're capable of, and I know what they did, and I've seen all those graves, because I was there and I seen it.

So that's why I made this painting, just to remind this country of how fucking evil you are, how racist you are, how creepy you are, how ugly you are, how unkind, how evil, just barbarians, barbaric. They have no remorse. And that's just how they feel, and they just feel this way, they felt that they had a right to kill us, because they're colonialists. But I don't think that they should call themselves a democracy. They could call themselves fascists. Fascist Canada? Apartheid Canada comes more close. But I think when you start to have that many shallow graves, and exterminate that many children, you are no longer a democracy. Canadians don't like to hear this, they don't want to hear it, they don't want to think of themselves as fascists. But they are. My rights were taken away, my lands were taken away, my ancestral lands are under occupation. I'm not free, I'm a national security risk. My phones are tapped, they know everything that I do, I'm under surveillance all the time, I

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E-ISSN: 2564-2154
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know what this country's like. There's no such thing as privacy in this world anymore, once the internet happened. Everything is under surveillance. There's no such thing as privacy—all your messages, all your photos, everything. It's all under government control. That's just the way it is. How am I to try to stop this world from polluting these lands? How can I stop two more degrees? Two more degrees and there's going to be no more salmon, the creeks will be too hot and they'll all die. That is going to happen. They say that all the mammals will die in 70-something years. It's true. The 1% own this world, and all they want to do is get richer. And they don't care about anything other than their own rich. And they'll kill everything, at any price, and the price of this is this planet. I'm watching it die, right now. It is one of the most sorrowful things to wake up to. Global warming, the greenhouse effect, the ozone, the contamination of rivers, the contamination of oil spills. That's what I have to bear as a person.

And that's why I make art—because I want people to feel these words that I have spoken today. And they're going to hate me for it. But I don't care because they already hate me. They already hate Indians. What's the difference? So even these words in this country, they still believe in their romantic colonial dream, and all it is is just killing the planet. There is no utopia, this colonial utopia is killing the planet. The 1% rule, they'll kill it all before anything, they'll never give up. Globalization is permanently on its path to destruction. You can't stop it. I can't stop it. You keep talking about it, but I've not seen one of any salvation whatsoever that has done anything to stop global warming. I've seen it, and it's just getting hotter and hotter and hotter. That's my experience as a person at this time in history.

We used to carve poles, dance rituals. The Nishga, they burnt all their masks, the priests came in and Christianized them. [They] listened to those priests, burning all their masks and throwing everything away to become Christians so they're no longer heathens. What good did it do them? Nothing. They're still there, cutting down their trees and destroying their land. Like everybody else. So that's the time that I watch, the same as Haida Gwaii, they burnt their masks and threw everything down and thought that that was the good thing that was going to happen and that things would get better. Well, they didn't. They got worse, and worse, and worse. There's so little salmon now that the killer whales are dying. We keep going this way and we're going to have zero killer whales. Our spirit animals that swam on this earth for us. I am not seeing the end of them but I know the end is coming.

It's sad that their greed has to take precedence, that it's their right, that they have the RCMP, the Canadian police, CSIS Canada, the Canadian army—and they're going to kill all the fish. They're not going to do anything. And they're going to starve, just like the buffalo—kill the buffalo, starve the Indian. Here it's just "kill all the fish, oppress the Native people, and not give them any rights, take away their rights, let them sit there on their reservations and watch us." Just watch me. It's their right, they're colonialists, it's their right to exterminate things, it's their power, it's their justification of having their hands around my neck. It's white supremacy. It's their guns pointed in my face. And if I say anything against it, that I don't want you to exterminate the whale. What has he ever done to you? That spirit was with us since time immemorial—and all you want to do is just kill them. What does that

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feel like, watching that for 50 years of my life, watching them slowly, slowly dwindle? These are things that happened. Watching this country exterminate the grizzly bear, and he's only left in this province, and they want it all. So this is what it's really like, as a person gazing upon my homeland.

This is my motherland, this is not your homeland, your motherland. It's your Canadian flag, it's your Canada, but it's not your motherland. Your motherland is somewhere else. England, Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, Scotland, Japan, China, India—those are your motherlands. You were always guests, it was never yours. We were the caretakers of this land—and all they wanted to do was destroy it, kill it. That's all they're doing because they don't care. They don't love this land. I love my homeland. I love my motherland. Canadians don't, because some of them were never born here, and the ones who were born here were taught by people that don't care about this and that don't see it as their motherland. They don't understand, their ideology is only as colonialists. So it's quite difficult to ask this world to be kind. I know that it's going to happen and it's going to be very sorrowful for us when you've done that.

We will never forgive you. I'll never forgive you for all the kids you killed, because all their parents, their mothers and fathers, they went to their graves not knowing where their child is. You murdered them, and I have to grieve for them, because we're just finding them now. Sorrow. Because they did that to our people, and I hope they're happy, I hope you colonialists are really fucking happy now. I don't know what will make you happy, I don't know how many more people you have to kill to quench your thirst for death—to kill us in this country. Stop murdering our women, stop missing and murdered boys. We've had enough. We don't need it anymore. I don't need your hate. I don't want your hate. That's all I have to say.

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Biography

Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun graduated from the Emily Carr School of Art and Design in 1983 with an honours degree in painting. Yuxweluptun's strategy is to document and promote change in contemporary Indigenous history in large-scale paintings (from 54.2 x 34.7cm to 233.7 x 200.7cm), using Coast Salish cosmology, Northwest Coast formal design elements, and the Western landscape tradition. His painted works explore political, environmental, and cultural issues. His personal and socio-political experiences enhance this practice of documentation. Yuxweluptun's work has been included in numerous international group and solo exhibitions, such as INDIGENA: Contemporary Native Perspectives in 1992. He was the recipient of the Vancouver Institute for the Visual Arts (VIVA) award in 1998.

Notes

This transcript has been lightly edited by Deborah Root for length.

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E-ISSN: 2564-2154
1(2) 5-11

Indigenization in Universities and Its Role in Continuing Settler-Colonialism

Janus Unbound: Journal of Critical Studies
E-ISSN: 2564-2154
1(2) 12-35

Celeste Pedri-Spade & Brock Pitawanakwat

Abstract

Canadian universities have accelerated plans to Indigenize their institutions following the release of the 2015 Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's (TRC) *Calls to Action* report. While the TRC report implicates post-secondary institutions in the work of educating society about the legacy of Indian Residential Schools, many universities have expanded this call to include various efforts aimed at increasing Indigenous presence across their respective campuses. Yet, the consequences of said work do not always match the stated goals. In this essay, Pedri-Spade and Pitawanakwat discuss multiple ways that settler-colonialism is carried out within universities, often under the auspice of advancing Indigenization. They first provide a short history of some of the milestones and key challenges related to advancing Indigeneity in the academy from 1960 to 2015. They then turn their attention to more recent advances and struggles, providing examples of how the avoidance and/or failure of universities to reflect local Indigenous cultural values and protocols is often justified through the espousal of Indigenization to neoliberal organizational politics and practices. This section offers critical reflection on advancements in Indigenous education *vis-à-vis* a reconciliatory framework that emphasizes Indigenization as a commitment to add Indigenous bodies and their knowledges within existing architectures that simultaneously contribute to their erasure. Through this process the authors expose the kinds of harms experienced by Indigenous peoples and communities. Moving forward, the authors call for Canadian universities to emphasize processes of decolonization and redress.

Keywords: Indigenization, Decolonization, Truth and Reconciliation in Universities

Introduction

This article invites readers to critically reflect upon Indigenization efforts within universities in Canada by critiquing ways that settler-colonialism is carried out within universities, often under the auspice of advancing "Indigenization." First, the authors provide a brief history of Indigenization in Canadian universities from 1960 to 2015, addressing some of the key challenges and milestone achievements that set the stage for the current phase. We then

move on to more recent advances and struggles providing examples of how the avoidance and/or failure of universities to reflect local Indigenous cultural values and protocols is often justified through the espousal of Indigeneity to neoliberal organizational politics and practices. The article will provide critical reflection on advancements in Indigenous education *vis-à-vis* a reconciliatory framework that emphasizes Indigenization as a commitment to add Indigenous bodies and their knowledges within existing architectures that simultaneously contribute to their erasure.

As Anishinaabe scholars from First Nations in Ontario, it is important to situate ourselves as Indigenous scholars who pursue these goals through a critical Indigenist approach that centres our lived experiences, ideas, interests, and struggles as scholars with a combined 25 years of experience navigating Indigenization within the academy. Dr. Celeste Pedri-Spade (Anishinaabe – Lac des Mille Lacs First Nation) is an associate professor and the Queen's National Scholar in Indigenous Studies at Queen's University, and a practicing artist and visual anthropologist whose current research interests include: Anishinaabe knowledge, critical pedagogies and identity politics, and the role of Indigenous visual/material culture in decolonial praxis. Brock Pitawanakwat (Anishinaabe – Whitefish River First Nation) is an associate professor and program coordinator of Indigenous Studies in York University's Department of Humanities whose current research includes Anishinaabe education, governance, health, labour, and language revitalization. We locate our research within an Indigenous research paradigm that intentionally employs a critical narrativist style as a way of unpacking and working through issues of power and authority that affect Indigenous Peoples, their knowledges and experiences in the academy. While we recognize that opinions vary about the value and merit of Indigenization, our goal is to, indeed, demonstrate some of the inherent tensions around Indigenization. Moving forward, we call for a commitment to decolonize outlining key considerations for universities, which emphasize processes of redress and ongoing commitments to addressing issues of power, authority, and relationship building with Indigenous communities.

What is Indigenization in Canada's post-secondary sector? In the tailwinds of the 2015 federal election campaign, the Canadian Prime Minister promised that his government's most important relationship was with Indigenous Peoples. Reconciliation emerged as a national priority for the first time since the 1990s and the national reckoning that followed the so-called Oka conflict.[1] Universities accelerated their pursuit of "Indigenization" and quickly found themselves scrambling to keep up with one another as they strived to be the first to arrive at the finish line of "truth and reconciliation" (Gaudry and Lorenz; Louie; Vescera). The Indigenization race has many facets. As one university inches forward with a "cluster hire" of Indigenous faculty members, another commits to mandating Indigenous content courses. The number of Indigenous faculty members at many institutions has increased rapidly and many of these individuals have contributed to banks of new Indigenous courses, providing access to Indigenous knowledge to students at every year level regardless of their program of study. Table 1 below provides a summary

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E-ISSN: 2564-2154
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of an environmental scan of Ontario's largest public universities' attempts to Indigenize their institutions since the TRC issued its 94 *Calls to Action* in 2015. The chart clearly shows that Ontario's publicly funded universities responded to the TRC with gestures of reconciliation and commitments to invest more in Indigenous program development, student initiatives, community partnerships, and staff and faculty hiring.

Table 1: Gestures of Reconciliation in Ontario's Publicly Funded Universities

Ontario University	Online TRC Re-sponse	Academic Program Develop-ment	Student Support Initiatives	Commnity Partner-ships	Administrative Hiring	Faculty Hiring
Brock						
Carleton						
Guelph						
Lakehead						
Laurentian						
McMaster						
Nipissing						
OCAD						
Ontario Tech						
Ottawa						
Queens						
Toronto						
Toronto Metro-politan						
Trent						
Waterloo						
Western						
Wilfrid Laurier						
Windsor						
York						

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E-ISSN: 2564-2154
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At the same time, many universities struggle to retain Indigenous faculty members, pointing towards complex, multi-layered reasons for their departures Indeed, we have witnessed a rise in Indigenous faculty who have not only brought in new Indigenous content courses delivered from an Indigenous perspective, but have also taken on a plethora of governance and service duties related to "Indigenous initiatives" within universities. While it is challenging to define what "Indigenization" means within universities because approaches and activities often vary from institution to institution, Cree scholar Shauneen Pete provides this comprehensive definition:

> The transformation of the existing academy by including Indigenous knowledges, voices, critiques, scholars, students and materials as well as the establishment of physical and epistemic spaces that facilitate the ethical stewardship of a plurality of Indigenous knowledges and practices so thoroughly as to constitute an essential element of the university. It is not limited to Indigenous people, but encompasses all students and faculty, for the benefit of our academic integrity and our social viability. (ctd. in Hogan and McCracken)

We define Indigenization as a transformative process that depends on the inclusion of Indigenous Peoples and their respective knowledges and the creation of various spaces where Indigenous Peoples may enact their ways of knowing, axiologies, and ethics. This definition suggests that its occurrence brings intellectual and societal benefits. Of course, Indigenization looks great on the surface, yet during our combined 25 years working as Indigenous academics we have concerns with its limitations. What could possibly be wrong with Indigenization?

Faculty members and students have already voiced important critiques of Indigenization and many of these have addressed the problem with mandating Indigenous courses, exemplifying how this often jeopardizes the education of Indigenous students in spaces where they are frequently forced to both educate non-Indigenous students and professors about their culture while enduring their racist backlash (Gaudry; Kuokkannen; Lorenz and Gaudry). Others have critiqued how institutions have failed to provide safe and collegial work environments when bringing onboard Indigenous faculty and staff through diversity hiring (Pedri-Spade 2020a; 2020b; Sterritt). Indigenous scholars are often marginalized, by both fellow faculty and their students, when sharing critical Indigenous perspectives that draw attention to how education systems and policies perpetuate inequity and settler-colonialism.

Brief History of Advancing Indigeneity in Canadian Universities

Indigenous post-secondary programming is a recent phenomenon in Canada with its first Indigenous-focused program launched at Trent University in 1969. Cree scholar Blair Stonechild's *The New Buffalo: The Struggle for Aboriginal Post-Secondary Education in Canada* (2006) is the most comprehensive study of higher

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education for Indigenous peoples in Canada. Stonechild addresses how Canada's early higher education policy was openly assimilative with automatic enfranchisement, a legal term for forced citizenship and assimilation, for status Indians with university degrees. Enforced enfranchisement of university graduates ended in 1951; however, education for Indigenous peoples remained assimilative. Prime Minister Diefenbaker's government was the first to bring in a sponsorship program for Indian post-secondary education. Stonechild argues that the Treaties secured higher education as a "guaranteed and portable" Treaty Right for First Nations including funding for individuals as well as funding for Indigenous institutions of higher learning (2006 137).

The federal Indian department did in fact begin funding Indigenous centers for higher learning beginning with the Community Development Program, which was launched in the 1960s, but soon cancelled when its politicized students criticized and mobilized against the federal government. The following decade saw the government's establishment of Cultural/Education Centres, the largest of which was Manitou College near Montreal, Quebec (underfunding led to its closure soon after).

By the mid to late 1960s, mainstream Canadian universities began to respond to Indigenous calls for culturally-relevant courses and Indigenous-focused programs of their own. Trent University's Native Studies program was the first in Canada and started in 1969, with Brandon University and the University of Manitoba following in 1975 (Tanner). Trent University's Native Studies program was implemented as the university wanted to further educate those who were not familiar with the issues that surrounded Indigenous populations. During the late 1960s, Indigenous People's movements such as the American Indian Movement and the National Indian Brotherhood began to draw greater public awareness of Canada's colonial past, which indeed challenged many of the white settler-colonial narratives that structured the nation's overall identity (Tanner).

The first federally sponsored status Indian student was Joseph Jacobs in 1910 who enrolled at McGill University. The number of post-secondary Indigenous students remained low for several decades, until 1969, when it was estimated that 125 status Indians were enrolled in Canadian universities (Stonechild 2016). University enrolment of Status Indians grew steadily through the 1970s and 1980s, leading the federal government, in an act of austerity, to reduce its support for First Nations students with a cap on post-secondary support in 1988. The National Indian Education Forum responded in its report that Canada's refusal to adequately fund Indigenous post-secondary students was poor public policy because "it cost $10,000 to put an Indian through a year of university, compared to up to $56,000 per year to house them in a high-security prison" (82). Post-secondary education continued to remain important for Indigenous students during this period, especially within specialized professional programs including social services and teaching. This need reflected a period during which Indigenous struggles for control over child welfare and education intensified, following prolonged periods of colonial violence such as Indian Residential Schools and the so-called "Sixties Scoop."

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Out of these early developments arose important Indigenous critiques illustrating how struggles to advance Indigenous Peoples and their knowledge systems were related to Eurocentric worldviews. Mi'kmaw scholar Marie Battiste has written extensively on Eurocentrism in the Canadian academy:

> Every university discipline, and its various discourses, has a political and institutional stake in Eurocentric diffusionism and knowledge. Yet, every university has been structured to see the world through the lens of Eurocentrism, which opposes Indigenous perspectives and epistemes. The faculties of contemporary universities encourage their students to be the gatekeepers of Eurocentric disciplinary knowledge in the name of universal truth. Yet, Eurocentric knowledge is no more than a Western philosophy invented in history and identity to serve a particular interest. (186)

Indigenous scholars like Battiste advocate for Indigenous scholarship to be rooted in Indigenous languages, knowledges, and worldviews. The establishment of Indigenous spaces in preexisting institutions of higher learning is one of the most important developments in Indigenous higher education in Canada. These Indigenous academic spaces, whether programs, departments, or even faculties, started small, often only with the appointment of individual faculty members, but over time programs, departments, faculties, and even entire institutions have emerged. Examples include First Nations University, First Nations Technical Institute, the Gabriel Dumont Institute, and the Faculty of Native Studies at the University of Alberta. Many of the institutions and programs have steering committees comprised of several Indigenous community members. Despite this growth, all of these institutions remain closely affiliated, federated, and dependent upon established Canadian colleges and universities (Castellano, Davis, and Lahache). They are governed and beholden to non-Indigenous stakeholders whose views and priorities do not necessarily correspond to those belonging to Indigenous peoples. Canada's reluctance to support full self-determination of Indigenous institutions of higher education is a microcosm of the colonial control that the settler state continues to wield over Indigenous peoples.

Our intent in providing this short history of early attempts at bringing Indigenous peoples and their respective knowledges into the academy is to contextualize recent trajectories that followed work still rooted in both assimilationist, exploitive, and consumptive agendas: for example, the importance of educating the "Indian" to be a better Canadian or educating the settler about Indigenous peoples so that they are more equipped to manage Indigenous peoples and their struggles. It is also important to touch upon earlier critical Indigenous scholarship that exposed how these measures were grounded in Eurocentric and colonial worldviews about knowledge itself, Indigenous Peoples, and their respective knowledge systems.

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The 21st Century University: Corporate, Neoliberal, and Settler-Colonial

In this section, we unpack what it means to "Indigenize" within a broader context of the neoliberal university. In her analysis of the neoliberal shift in post-secondary education, Yvonna Lincoln provides key definitions. She argues that neoliberalism represents the politico-economic-social theory from which many of the assumptions regarding the market's power and its presumed ability to determine appropriate arrays of labor, capital, education, and social services, emerge. Within settler-colonial states a form of heightened neoliberalism, referred to as "ordoliberalism," emerges wherein the market also dictates governance and the roles of government in providing services and creating the conditions for the markets to operate freely, as it wishes, with "a minimum of regulation" (Lincoln 11). Within these conditions, institutions like universities behave as corporations, competing to retain and improve their rank in the echelon of post-secondary institutions.

Ultimately, universities that fail to adopt corporate ideology and practices within their institutional ecology, which includes academics and research that support the neoliberal, capitalist system, are deemed "misfit" or dangerous. Lincoln suggests that "the terrorism" of these accountability regimes may be directly related to the very real threats of program discontinuation, contract nonrenewal, failure to tenure and promote, failure to provide merit pay, or the removal of courses from the course catalogue, with its implication that certain topics would no longer be covered in the curriculum (17). Lincoln warns that the most vulnerable program areas are not departments but extra-departmental programs, including critical race and ethnic studies language programs, gender studies, and women's studies. Universities that press to focus on liberal arts education and critical thinking are indeed threatening because they may promulgate serious critiques of the dominant system and the kinds of inequities and injustices it perpetuates.

A timely example of the severity of the neoliberal settler-colonial capitalist regime on Indigenous academics is the 2020/2021 closure of the Indigenous Studies program at the University of Sudbury, a federated partner of the Laurentian University (Gustafson, Lefevbre, and Rowe). Despite its status as one of the oldest Indigenous Studies programs in Canada that offered a range of courses with several hundred students registered every semester, this program was terminated during a "restructuring phase" as a result of Laurentian's insolvency filing under the Companies' Creditors Arrangement Act (CCAA) (Ulrichsen). This was the first time that the federal courts approved the application of this Act, intended for corporate, for-profit companies, to a Canadian university. Indigenous Studies was a casualty along with other critically oriented programs aimed at fostering social and environmental justice. The majority of programs that did survive the dramatic cutbacks were those with direct or indirect ties to local and regional industry (namely mining), whereas terminated programs centered critical, anti-colonial approaches to settler-colonial, extrac-

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E-ISSN: 2564-2154
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tivist industry and their involvement with Indigenous lands and peoples, including Environmental Studies, Gender Studies, Indigenous Studies, Labour Studies, Philosophy, and Political Science (Harp).

Truth and Reconciliation and Indigenization

In 2015 the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) released a summary report that outlined 94 *Calls to Action* aimed at changing policies and programs in various sectors in order to repair the devastation caused by Indian Residential Schools and move forward with reconciliation. The *Calls to Action* report implicated post-secondary institutions in the work of truth and reconciliation, calling for commitments to improve Indigenous programming, increase opportunities for Indigenous language learning, Indigenous research, and enhance supports for Indigenous students. Additionally, another key Call to Action related to equity and diversity, calling upon institutions to ensure that they are hiring more Indigenous employees.

Following the release of the *Calls to Action*, universities and colleges across Canada responded in different ways and at different speeds (Gaudry and Lorenz; Louie). More formalized and structured approaches involved establishing TRC committees comprised of different community stakeholders—Indigenous and non-Indigenous. These kinds of committees or task forces would collectively recommend different actions to university leadership in how truth and reconciliation could be implemented not only through teaching and student support but also through, for example, university operations (e.g., developing public signage that respected Indigenous cultures and their languages). Many of those heavily involved in these committees included Indigenous staff, faculty, and students already engaged in broader institutional Indigenization efforts, inevitably leading to many connections and crossovers, specifically as TRC recommendations related to Indigenous programming and Indigenous student support.

As mentioned previously, the momentum generated by the TRC's *Calls to Action* report led to a period during which universities across Canada launched Indigenous faculty searches, attempting to hire at all levels and in many different Faculties and Schools (Four Arrows; Gaudry and Lorenz; Louie; Sterritt). Thus, truth and reconciliation in universities connects to equity and diversity measures as universities attempt to "Indigenize" through the recruitment of more Indigenous scholars and staff. Taking their cue from the *Calls to Action* report, many universities committed to advancing reconciliation by better educating students about the historical and present-day events and experiences that shape the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples in Canada. The underlying logic is that Indigenous faculty are needed to address the severe underrepresentation of Indigenous Peoples within their respective institutions and are instrumental to "Indigenizing" programs through the delivery of Indigenous knowledge and perspectives.

Not only have Indigenous scholars been tasked with the ongoing development and delivery of new Indigenous-focused course and program development but as minority scholars, they are disproportionately tasked with

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service to enhance the Indigenization efforts of the university as a whole, often to the detriment of their own individual research and academic success. In a recent research report commissioned by Ontario's universities, Indigenous faculty noted that service activities exceeded that of their non-Indigenous peers and was often different in nature (Council of Ontario's Universities). Indigenous faculty cited in the report expressed frustration that they were called upon to serve on all levels of their institutions while also carrying the expectation of maintaining relationships with Indigenous communities outside of the university. The next section will outline some of the key ideological shifts in universities to provide greater context to the broader institutional environment in which this Indigenization takes place.

TRC, Equity and Diversity, and the Politics of Recognition

Universities have been slow to implement Indigenous and Treaty rights to education except when they are able to harmonize them with existing institutional priorities. Many of their institutional priorities are focused on economic development, finance, and extractivism that are antithetical to Indigenous concerns and instead are well-aligned with the Eurocentric and neoliberal conceptualizations of land and society that indeed threaten Indigenous life. This predicament, or rather the inability to confront it, often leads universities to limit their work related to supporting Indigenous rights or Truth and Reconciliation to symbolic Indigenous land acknowledgements and activities that often fall under institutional equity and diversity initiatives such as hiring more Indigenous faculty and staff.

In an analysis of diversity, equity, and inclusion in the postsecondary sector, scholar Penny Burke has critiqued institutional measures to reveal how these measures function within neoliberal practices that prioritize market-driven imperatives and economic outcomes. Burke argues that equity work is often co-opted by the economic and financial priorities of neoliberal universities. Indeed, all universities in Canada receiving federal monies must comply to specific equity and diversity targets outlined in the Federal Contractors Program. This program ensures that contractors who do business with the Government of Canada seek to achieve and maintain a workforce that is representative of the Canadian workforce, including members of the four designated groups under the Employment Equity Act; Aboriginal peoples (Indian, Inuit, and Metis) are one of the four designated groups (Federal Contractors Program). As such, universities must ensure that reasonable progress is made towards having full representation of the four designated groups within its workforce. Universities are required to collect and report on information related to how many Aboriginal peoples make up their workforce. It is unclear how these measures are being enforced and reported by the federal government to hold universities accountable for their Indigenous targets.

Several scholars have outlined how Truth and Reconciliation efforts grounded in a politics of recognition do very little to advance the aspirations and goals of Indigenous Peoples linked to the regenerative and restorative work happening in their respective communities and Nations (Alfred; Cheechoo;

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Corntassel; Coulthard). This is because a politics of recognition reinscribes the very issues of settler-colonial power that limit and threaten Indigenous rights to self-determination (Alfred; Coulthard). It is the state and its institutions that have absolute control and authority in determining what kind of reconciliatory activity/actions will take place and to what extent. One may argue that this politics of recognition is at work within universities and is carried out through neoliberal equity and diversity initiatives. While the recruitment and retainment of Indigenous faculty and staff may be framed as supporting truth and reconciliation within the university, there is an incentive tied to this effort as explained above in discussion of the Federal Contractors Program. Thus universities are positioned with the task of recognizing Indigenous Peoples as distinct members of their workforce. While this may sound like a straightforward task, the work of Indigeneity and Indigenous Nationhood is complex. State-led definitions related to Aboriginality in Canada are often at odds with how respective Indigenous communities and subsequent Nations define who belongs and who has the right to claim citizenship and membership. The next section will address how both the avoidance and failure of universities to uphold Indigenous concepts and practices of belonging and nationhood through their individualistic self-identification processes contribute to ongoing settler-colonial violence.

Problematizing Indigeneity and the Emergence of Ethnic Fraud

In his recent article investigating recent recruitment and tenure and promotion practices involving Indigenous scholars in post-secondary institutions, Dustin Louie states that over the last decade there has been a 40% increase in professors who self-identify as Indigenous in Canada. Moreover, he scanned 15 Indigenous scholar job advertisements from September 2018 to July 2019 and found that 100% of these postings included an expectation for the candidate to hold Indigenous Knowledges and connections to Indigenous communities. Indeed, the race for reconciliation in universities has created different teaching and service responsibilities for Indigenous scholars that place increased pressures on already substantial workloads (Pedri-Spade 2020a; Vescara.)

As mentioned previously, with the corporatization of universities, new full-time faculty positions in North American universities are scarce. At the same time, there is an increased demand for Indigenous scholars given university-wide commitments to advancing Indigenization and the TRC's *Calls to Action*. This situation creates a strong incentive for academic job-seekers to best position themselves to match the job's requirements. Unfortunately, when Indigenous identity is a requirement, in some instances it leads to deceptive practices of ethnic fraud in which the individual applicant is most directly responsible, but the hiring institution is also complicit if it fails to verify the applicant's Indigenous identity claims. Comanche-Kiowa scholar Cornel Pewewardy defined Indigenous ethnic fraud in the American academy as the "inaccurate self-iden-

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E-ISSN: 2564-2154
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tification of race by persons applying for faculty positions at mainstream colleges and universities, or for admissions into special programs, and for research consideration" (201). Unfortunately, Canadian universities frequently fail to verify their Indigenous hires are Indigenous by relying solely on self-identification or honour systems. One of the most recent controversies demonstrating this failure happened in 2021 at Queen's University, where several faculty and staff members' claims to Indigeneity were called into question through a publicly circulated, anonymous report (Miller). After the university quickly rejected the anonymous report, claiming that it trusted the Indigenous protocols it uses to confirm a person's ancestry, a public letter was penned and signed by over 100 Indigenous academics across Canada and the United States. The letter called upon Queen's to retract its statement and uphold its constitutional obligations to First Nations, Inuit, and Metis peoples. Indeed, when universities are only interested in checking a box to meet diversity hiring targets, then their hiring committees and senior administration (which often have little or no Indigenous representation) will often gravitate to the box checker who appears to be the best fit for the settler university. The result is an "Indigenous" academic workforce that has little to no Indigenous community support but instead fits a perceived need in the institution that is conducting the hire.

Moreover, there continues to be much ambiguity around what constitutes "Indigeneity" as a category within settler-colonial institutions. Indeed, an "Indigenous" individual is not recognized with any legal rights according to Section 35 of Canada's *Constitution Act*, which defines "Aboriginal" rights as pertaining to only "Indian, Metis and Inuit" peoples. Considering the diversity of Indigenous Peoples, there is no official definition of "Indigenous;" but, according to the United Nations, Indigenous Peoples are those that: 1) have historical continuity with pre-colonial, pre-settler societies; 2) have a strong link to land/territory; 3) have a distinct culture and struggle to maintain it; 4) are socially and economically marginalized within dominant societies; 5) self-identify as Indigenous at the individual level and are accepted by the community as their member; 6) have distinct social, economic, or political systems; and 7) have distinct language, culture, and beliefs. For Julia Bello-Bravo the meaning of Indigeneity is contested across different legal and scholarly contexts but one of the key elements that typically recurs is a legal and moral right of unlimited self-identification by peoples as Indigenous. However, Jeff Corntassel stresses that while a person may claim Indigenous status, said claim may be deemed invalid by an Indigenous community.

Of course, this is further complicated given how "Indigeneity" is a contested term complicated by formal definitions under domestic and international law and the lack thereof. For example, within the Ontario Human Rights Code, Indigeneity is taken up as simply a matter of individual "ancestry" and "heritage" as opposed to a distinct political identity. Recent scholarship in Indigenous Studies addresses how "Indigeneity" is not an identity but an analytical category, drawing attention to the negative consequences of subsuming tribal and national identities into one global identity. Dakota scholar Kim TallBear (2013) illustrates how trying to link the environmental, cultural, and

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spiritual concerns of Indigenous Peoples globally (or assuming this "global Indigeneity" frame) may lead to the erosion and neglect of unique tribal cultures and histories and may undermine the political ambitions and rights of particular tribal nations. Indeed, this issue presents itself in university governance when, for example, various arts or humanities programs with their own curriculum plans, attempt to advance institutional "Indigeneity" by adding a "global pan-Indigenous" perspective, failing to understand that there is no such thing. What this "global Indigenous" need often translates to is a desire to infuse the program/curriculum with an Indigenous perspective from elsewhere/anywhere other than here. Instead of approaching recruitment with the desire to fill either a local or a global Indigenous position, based entirely on what the program requires, there needs to be a clear consultation with Indigenous communities in order to ascertain what role this kind of "global" addition will take on, including how it relates to or supports the cultural, social, or political aspirations of the tribal peoples upon whose lands and territories they are located. Without such consultative work, further marginalization and displacement of Indigenous Peoples may result where the specific university is located. Some universities have moved to change Indigenous territorial acknowledgements, adding verbiage that recognizes Indigenous claims to specific lands where none existed before (Lee, Sy, and Pedri-Spade). While it is admirable that universities strive to be more inclusive and welcoming different Indigenous groups that make up their respective school communities, it is careless and harmful to revise the way that Indigenous Peoples talk about or relate to their lands, especially when these revisions are in violation of Indigenous sovereignty.

Many universities have failed to develop a mechanism or process beyond self-identification for determining what "Indigeneity" actually means, including who can be considered an "Indigenous" employee or student. This failure is due to both the contested terrain of Indigeneity itself and, with respect to Indigenous hiring, a lack of clarity regarding what information employers are legally permitted to request of Indigenous hires and how to collect this in a culturally appropriate and respectful manner. The conundrum here is that while Indigenous Peoples would agree that neither a State nor its institutions play a part in determining who does or who does not belong to their respective Indigenous nation/community, universities (as well as other public organizations), are required to create job positions for Indigenous people and thus, must develop a process that sees this through. As mentioned previously, when the ability to self-identify as "Indigenous" is the dominant and sometimes only requirement, this creates the condition for outright cultural/ethnic fraud to take place and also for a more subtle misappropriation of Indigenous identity through claims to Indigenous ancestry. The recent prominent case of Carrie Bourassa exemplifies the risk of relying only on self-identification for academic appointments. Dr. Bourassa resigned in disgrace as a university professor months after being fired as scientific director of the Institute of Indigenous Peoples' Health when it was revealed that she had provided inaccurate information claiming to be of Anishinaabe, Tlingit, and Metis ancestry to her univer-

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sity and federal employers (Leo). This type of fraud has real emotional and material consequences as Anishinaabekwe scholar Geraldine King explains:

> (Indigenous identity fraud is) a really sick form of settler-colonialism. We've already had everything taken from us and then here's this trauma that is connected to land and displacement … all that's left is this trauma and these horror stories (ctd. in Williams and Allan).

At times university norms equate ancestry with Indigeneity. Yet, just as Indigeneity is not an identity, having Indigenous ancestry does not automatically make one "Indigenous." TallBear (2013) addresses the settler phenomenon of claiming Indigenous identity through online DNA testing sites and family genealogy sites. TallBear illustrates that even if you chose a specific group, having some matching genetic markers from ages ago does not mean you have the lived experience to become part of that community. Moreover, she states that people who are not members of an Indigenous community will tend to define Indigeneity as a racial category. In a similar vein Darryl Leroux's work on race shifting and self-defined "Indigeneity" explores how white individuals discover an Indigenous ancestor born 300-375 years ago and use this as the sole basis to shift into an "Indigenous" individual. It is important to note that his research is not about individuals who have been displaced by colonial policies including invasive child welfare practices and are struggling to reclaim their kin and community. Rather, his work is about how white settler peoples see an opportunity to gain access to specific rights, resources, or opportunities through appropriating Indigeneity and use settler-colonial strategies and institutions to do so.

The issue with conflating Indigenous ancestry with identity within universities is that it creates the conditions whereby someone who just discovered an ancestor from 300 years ago can access an Indigenous position displacing an Indigenous person who is connected to and claimed by a living community/Nation of people. Moreover, Indigenous scholars within universsities play key roles in advising on a plethora of Indigenous academic and administrative issues and must have lived experience in order to contribute information that reflects the kinds of cultural, political, and socioeconomic realities facing Indigenous Peoples. A key teaching from Anishinaabe Elder Alex Skead reminds people that if they speak about things they do not know about, they could do much harm to others: "I will upset everything if I start talking about something that I don't know" (ctd. in Kulchyski, McCaskill, and Newhouse). There are examples of "Indigenous" research carried out by researchers with tenuous claims to Indigenous identity that are presently widely contested as they undermine the sovereignty and nationhood of First Nation, Inuit, and Metis Peoples in Canada. One recent example was the Canadian Federation of the Humanities and Social Science's 2020 Prix du Canada Award, which prompted the resignation of the Federation's entire Indigenous Advisory Circle. The Indigenous Advisory Council made it clear that they had no role in the adjudication process and when they were finally consulted by the

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E-ISSN: 2564-2154
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Federation, "a lot of things were said but advice was not really followed up" (Congress Advisory Committee on Equity, Diversity, Inclusion and Decolonnization). Moreover, when professors who falsely claim to speak from a lived Indigenous perspective enter classrooms full of Indigenous students with actual lived experiences, it further marginalizes students (Cheechoo).

While it is widely acknowledged that Indigenous identity can be complicated given the decades of intergenerational colonial trauma aimed at severing family and community ties, the move to conflate ancestry with Indigeneity among students can be problematic. While Indigenous initiatives aimed at supporting Indigenous students are fundamental to Indigenous student success, universities must be mindful of how some activities may, albeit unintentionally, create the conditions for students to seek institutional validation for misclaims to Indigenous identity *vis-à-vis* "settler nativism" (Tuck and Yang). Settler nativism is when settlers locate or invent a long-lost ancestor who is rumored to have had "Indian blood," and they use this claim to mark themselves as somewhat blameless in the attempted eradications of Indigenous peoples. This instantaneous claiming of Indigenous identity through a newly discovered Indigenous ancestor is a settler move to innocence because it is an attempt to deflect a settler identity, while continuing to enjoy settler privilege. There are often financial academic awards reserved for Indigenous students that rely heavily on grades and there have been examples where students who have benefitted from the privileges of living their lives as non-Indigenous people, begin their journey of connecting with their Indigenous roots and apply for these awards and are successful. This, of course, may further marginalize and oppress racialized Indigenous students who have not shared the same kinds of privileges in their educational journey. While universities can certainly play an important role in providing various Indigenous cultural supports for students that are tantamount to not only Indigenous student success but also contribute to the creation of a more culturally respectful and inclusive school community, the responsibility and work of reclaiming kinship ties must come from and be led by Indigenous communities and Nations.

Moving towards Decolonization

In 2018, during an Indigenous Research conference hosted by a northern Ontario university, Unangax̂ scholar Eve Tuck delivered a keynote talk in which she posed the question "Do we mean 'indigenization' or 'decolonization'?" Here, she was pointing to how individuals within universities often use these terms interchangeably and how they are not the same. Decolonization within universities happens when people commit to identifying and changing systems and processes rooted in colonial ideologies and white supremacy that continue to oppress Indigenous peoples and their knowledges. Decolonization recognizes that trying to "Indigenize" without dismantling systems of oppression changes nothing and actually creates conditions where Indigenous Peoples are further marginalized in ways that are gendered and racialized (Pedri-Spade 2020a). Decolonization is a process that requires committed efforts from both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and the resources to support these

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efforts. Elina Hill points to the risks of institutional Indigenization efforts that focus on adding Indigenous faculty and knowledges into colonial spaces that remain unaltered. The author suggests that while Indigenization always sounds like an admirable goal, there is a very real risk that certain university stakeholders will exploit Indigenous people and their knowledges in pursuit of their settler-colonial goals. Indeed, Maori scholar Linda Smith argues that Indigenization efforts within settler-colonial systems will only benefit Indigenous Peoples if the systems themselves change and that "Indigenization" is only one of several initiatives that fall under the work of decolonization.

The question then remains: what are the changes needed within universities to move towards decolonization? In her landmark study, *Colonized Classrooms*: *Racism, Trauma and Resistance in Post-Secondary Education*, Anishnaabe-Kwe scholar Sheila Cote-Meek interviewed Indigenous university students and faculty to better understand the impacts of colonialism and anti-Indigenous racism in university classrooms. She identified at least three institutional changes for decolonizing university classrooms:

- hire Indigenous faculty in a range of disciplines;
- provide them institutional support;
- establish an anti-racist institutional culture among all staff; and,
- recognize that all levels of education in Canada are affected by ongoing colonialism and anti-Indigenous racism.

Institutional support includes:

- acknowledging service requirement will be greater for Indigenous faculty;
- avoiding scenarios of Indigenous faculty members working alone in silos;
- providing teaching reductions and seed grants for research support; and
- offering mentorship by senior faculty.

The first point recognizes that decolonization cannot happen without a concerted investment in Indigenous educators but, as indicated previously, hiring Indigenous professors can be a challenging and complex endeavor for more than the mere fact that they are in high-demand. In a recent post on social media Kim TallBear (2021) shared something very useful to the work of bringing in Indigenous faculty to the academy. She stated that instead of focusing on "Indigeneity" as a self-proclaimed identity, which may be easily misappropriated, Indigenous pushback to this would center Indigenous "relations." She argues that "identity" privileges individualism and inherited property(ies) and is a poor substitute for relations. Relations (as opposed to identity) confirm the people and places that, for example, an Ojibwe or Cree professor, are constitutive of, and thus, accountable to.

Centering relations as opposed to self-identity entails creating processes that show how someone is situated within a host of kin/community/land relationships that best prepare them to advance Indigenous initiatives through an informed perspective connected to other Indigenous people and places.

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Centering relations in hiring processes, for example, would entail establishing policies and procedures that privilege Indigenous involvement. This involvement should happen not only at a faculty level; it should be real engagement with leaders and Elders from local Indigenous communities. It would encourage universities to adopt policies that respect how Indigenous nations have always determined who (and who does not) belong as well as who (and who does not) have a right to claim citizenship within their respective nation. Centering *relations* as opposed to *identities* also has implications for other Indigenous initiatives including student support services and Indigenous programs that can help people understand what it means to be, as our Elders would say, "in good relations" with each other and the land. Encouraging students to explore what it means to be "in good relations" moves beyond simply encouraging them to "self-identify." It would entail supporting students through the work of understanding and critically reflecting on their own positionality, their own lived experiences, the lived experiences of those in their family and community that helped shape them, etc. Centering relations moves beyond teaching or encouraging anyone claim an Indigenous identity based simply on learning they have a long-ago ancestor. Centering relations rejects the urge to "claim," as claiming is grounded on the logic of individual rights and extractivism more so than on relational accountability.

Cherokee scholar Jeff Corntassel's work in decolonization stresses the importance of what he calls "daily acts of resurgence," which are the often unnoticed and unacknowledged actions that promote Indigenous community health and wellbeing. He illustrates how these acts that take place at individual, family, and community levels are critical for deepening our understanding of the restorative and transformative work that happens apart from state-led processes of reconciliation. Corntassel suggests resurgent acts are key to decolonizing our systems, including education, yet, as Louie demonstrates, they go unrecognized in formal evaluative processes (e.g., tenure) for Indigenous faculty within universities, despite the fact that these activities are tantamount to their roles and responsibilities within their respective Indigenous communities. Thus, one of the key changes that can be made to better support Indigenous faculty across the university are policies and processes within formal evaluations that clearly privilege their contributions to the restorative and regenerative work they do with Indigenous families and communities. The institution needs to address the obvious irony in supporting processes where an Indigenous scholar would receive greater rewards or accolades for writing an academic journal article on the importance of intergenerational Indigenous language revitalization than for the time and effort said Indigenous scholar must commit to in order to support their family and community in developing and running such a program.

Pedri-Spade (2020a) argues that institutions advancing decolonization must work at de-centering everything in the university that is constantly working against Indigenous Peoples—all of the ineffective policies that do not contribute to or restore the safety and wellbeing of Indigenous Peoples. This work requires institutions to commit to taking a hard look at how settler-colonial

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logic is often immediately employed in response to Indigenous perspectives around what changes need to happen in order to contribute to a safer, culturally relevant, and equitable learning and teaching environment. Non-Indigenous decision makers hesitate to make changes that support Indigenous wellbeing within settler-colonial institutions and will draw on a range of excuses, financial or otherwise, in order to justify their lack of action. However, Pedri-Spade illustrates that this hesitation is more often than not grounded in the need to constantly recenter themselves and their own comforts and privileges. Linda and Bret Pardy illustrate how decolonization is in a way counterintuitive to white settlers because why would anyone want to change a system that has worked so well for them? Thus, decolonization requires non-Indigenous peoples to make what is familiar to them, strange. It requires them to see how what is so familiar to them, and what works so well for them, does not work, and actually harms, others. As several scholars have illustrated, this work is challenging because it requires people to reevaluate what a "good" person who actually helps others is and does (Dion).

Moving towards Anti-Racism

Cote-Meek's second and third recommendations point to the importance of situating decolonization alongside broader institutional commitments related to anti-racism. Linda and Brett Pardy stress the significance of fostering an institutional environment and culture that supports anti-racist education and self-engaged transformation. They provide strategies and tools to carry out this work, emphasizing faculty and student commitments to engaging with critical pedagogies in spaces where individuals are supported to share openly without formal assessments attached to their contributions. In addition, they suggest that educators utilize a range of resources that brings in multiple perspectives including films and podcasts.

Current research demonstrates that effective anti-racism initiatives must help individuals (students, faculty, and staff) understand their own forms of privilege (e.g., racialized, gendered) and how privilege functions at a systemic level to lift some individuals up and keep some individuals down (Collins and Watson). Universities must invest in opportunities for various groups (e.g., departments, research centers) to unpack the layers of privilege that are "unseen" in order to understand how they guide decision making and influence overall governance. Christina Torres stresses the importance of members not falling into the trap of "white guilt" or "privilege guilt," which can prevent them from arriving at a place of action. How can they reframe their understandings of privilege so that they stop prioritizing hegemonic ideas of success and worth in order to make space and support the work of decolonization?

Well-known activist Harsha Walia stresses the importance of supporting the efforts of Indigenous peoples who are exercising traditional governance and practices in opposition to settler-colonial violence and who are seeking redress for acts of genocide and assimilation, such as residential schools. Centering "redress" in university settings requires taking action to remedy and rectify injustices or a past wrongs. It involves identifying the kinds of things within

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your institution that were, and still are, harmful to Indigenous Peoples. Recent examples of redress in Canadian universities include the action taken at Queen's University to remove the name of Sir John A. Macdonald from its law school (Pedri-Spade 2020b), and the recent commitment of Toronto Metropolitan University to the creation of a taskforce to take more meaningful actions in addressing Egerton Ryerson's connection to Indian Residential Schools. It should be noted that meaningful and respectful initiatives aimed at redress should reflect deeper ongoing commitments of universities to developing relationships with the many Indigenous stakeholders that are part of their school community. Moreover, redress should privilege spaces for local and regional Indigenous community members. Universities are physical entities that are built on and thus occupy lands belonging to specific Indigenous Nations. At a university we both worked at, the main campus was built over the traditional winter hunting grounds of a specific local Anishinaabe family. Elders residing within the nearby reserve community still held stories about this dispossession. Within Anishinaabe worldview, hunting is a form of Anishinaabe knowledge; thus, a form of knowledge that was displaced by the settler institution. The work of redress at this university would involve privileging spaces for the reclamation and resurgence of Anishinaabe thought and practice.

Lastly, redress also involves revisiting and rethinking relations between and within Indigenous and Black struggles within settler-colonial states and institutions. In a recent policy brief, Afro-Indigenous scholar Etanda Arden addresses the erasure of Black Indigenous identity in Canadian education. As a Black Dene woman Arden reflects on her experience growing up in a northern Ontario city, "More than 20 years later and I'm still struggling with the fact that the shade of my skin provokes anti-Black racism within my peers that keeps me in the margins of Indigenous society" (para. 2). Arden eloquently demonstrates what it means to navigate setter-colonial spaces as both a Dene woman *and* a Black woman. Yet, in institutions like universities, minority peoples are often placed in or accounted for within a single group or category. Yet, these binaries do not reflect, and thus further ostracize and marginalize, many individuals who cannot conform to them based on their lived experiences and histories.

In their recent scholarship that analyses the relationship between Indigenous genocide/settler-colonialism and anti-blackness, Tiffany King, Jenell Navarro, and Andrea Smith illustrate the historical disconnect between Indigenous and Black struggles for liberation. They observe how Indigenous Peoples in North America have expected and received solidarity from Black organizations but often failed at reciprocating the support received. This was due, in part, because Indigenous Peoples were under threat of disappearing and had no time to help others. Yet this position undermines their own agency and political effectiveness. Arden (2021) calls upon Indigenous communities to address how their liberation struggle attends to their complicity in the oppression of Black Peoples. Thus, decolonization must create spaces for what Hotylkuce Harjo calls radical sovereignty: reordering Indigenous Black relations beyond simply connecting the dots between Indigeneity and Blackness, and, instead, attending

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to the many ways that the relation between indigeneity and blackness itself helps to constitute its terms: Indigeneity and Blackness. Decolonization of academic spaces requires a determined intellectual critique of both anti-Indigenous and anti-Black racism. Colonialism has profoundly negative impacts on Black and Indigenous nations; addressing those harms must continue to be a collective effort.

Conclusion

The struggle to advance Indigeneity within Canadian universities presents many unique and complex challenges that, if unaddressed, may further perpetuate settler-colonial violence and undermine the rights and aspirations of Indigenous Peoples and their respective nations. This article revealed the ways that institutional "Indigenization" risks several negative outcomes that include the misappropriation of Indigenous identities and the misrespresentation of Indigenous experiences and knowledges that are integral to culturally respectful research, teaching, and learning. While it may appear that these consequences remain within the institution, they trickle outward in ways that undermine the restorative and regenerative work taking place in Indigenous communities—work that is about kinship and care, the maintenance of Indigenous governance and upholding Indigenous sovereignties. As scholars Emily Grafton and Jérôme Melançron state, "decolonization is an emancipatory response to colonial oppression and thus demands not only actions and the development of relations toward new, free political opportunities but also new ways of acting and relating" (141).

In order to avoid settler-colonial re-inscription, these new ways of acting and relating must decenter settler-colonial privileges and comforts that oppress Indigenous wellbeing, and redress past harms and injustices Indigenous peoples have suffered and continue to suffer. Moreover, decolonization efforts must involve anti-racism and address the erasure of Black Indigenous identities within institutions. While the race toward "Indigenization" can be appealing because it offers, at times, a shorter path, the work of decolonization is challenging and not so straight-forward. At the heart of this work will remain the importance of kinship, of *being in good relations* with one another and the lands and waters as our living relatives.

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Notes

1. *The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (RCAP) investigated and proposed solutions to the challenges affecting the relationship between Indigenous Peoples, the Canadian government, and Canadian society with its Final Report released in 1996. It was RCAP that outlined that the future must include a place for those affected by Indian Residential Schools and that led to the Gathering Strength Action Plan, which included a Statement of Reconciliation.

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Genius in the People: On Collective Resistance and Musical Instrument Making in the Jails of the Colonizer

Janus Unbound: Journal of Critical Studies
E-ISSN: 2564-2154
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Louis Brehony

The great escape of five Palestinian political prisoners from Gilboa Prison in September 2021, through a tunnel dug with jailhouse spoons, captured the imaginations of many supporting the Palestinian cause. Though they faced recapture and severe punishments, their actions spoke the truth of a line once sung by Umm Kulthum: "Patience has its limits."[1] Israeli jails have become a frontline of struggle, driving those captured towards self-education and collective political culture, serving to redefine concepts of *sumud* (steadfastness) and anti-colonial resistance. That music is central to such processes is shown in other examples of the grassroots ingenuity bred among "those-in-*sumud*."[2]

Imprisoned at Gilboa in 2010, Fida' al-Shaer, a Syrian musician from the occupied Golan, led his cellmates in a clandestine project to build an oud, the central instrument in many Arab musical traditions. Crafting the oud out of everyday objects and smuggling in strings, the inmates expanded established practices of political prisoner songwriting and orally transmitted singing connected to their daily struggles, treading paths comparable to other prison struggles in anti-colonial movements. Following the musical narratives of al-Shaer, and Meari's definition of *sumud* as signifying a "revolutionary becoming" (2014), I turn to the often overlooked contributions to Marxism of Fidel Castro,[3] whose thoughts on the Cuban process and the development of a "genius people" find parallels with other anti-imperialist histories. Adopting the notion of genius as a collective phenomenon in revolutionary processes, I return to discuss the oud's symbolic power as a motivating tool of national liberation.

Introduction: the Palestinian Crisis and Schools of Revolution

> Oh Naqab, be strong, be glorious and pioneering
> Become a sword, a teaching
> From the lessons of the intifada
> —Salah Abd al-Ruba, "Ya Naqab Kuni Iradi" (Oh Naqab, Be Strong)

The movement of *asra* ("political prisoners"; singular *asir*) in Zionist prisons finds enduring resonance among Palestinians, with a little context needed to find out why. Despite the release of Palestinian political prisoners in the 1990s being claimed as a victory of the Oslo "peace" process,[4] Israeli forces arrested 120,000 Palestinians between 1993 and 2019, with growing yearly numbers of child prisoners in the 2010s.[5] Three decades on from the 1991 Madrid Conference, which poured water on a popular intifada, kickstarted the Oslo negotiations process, and rubber stamped Israeli colonization the collaborationist Palestinian Authority (PA) born through the process remains deeply unpopular, and is exposed as totally complicit in Israel's violent repression.

Prominent arrests involving PA collusion include the January 2002 capture of Palestinian Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) leader Ahmad Sa'adat, later transferred with British imperialist connivance to Zionist detention (MacIntyre), and the September 2016 arrest of activist Basel al-Araj, who was subsequently murdered on 6 March 2017 by Israeli "border police" in al-Bireh, near Ramallah. Anti-corruption figure Nizar Banat was arrested and killed by PA police on 24 June 2021. Actions in solidarity with prisoners of Zionism—and the actions of the prisoners themselves—therefore work counter to both Israeli colonization and the Palestinian elite class presiding over the impasse felt by those resisting on the ground and in exile. Steadfastness, critique, and the fight for an alternative path have formed part of the song worlds of new generations of Palestinian musicians.

Despite Zionism's overwhelming, imperialist-sponsored militarism,[6] felt most sharply in aerial assaults on blockaded Gaza, the war on Palestinian resistance remains unwinnable for Israel. Yet, notwithstanding the symbolic victory gained by the May 2021 Unity Intifada and international mass identification with the Palestinian struggle, the crisis of leadership over the national movement is debilitating, described in class terms by Khaled Barakat as aborting popular uprisings and preventing victory.[7] The latter is arguably compounded by the Syrian crisis and de facto acceptance of Israel's Golan occupation by the dominant global powers.

That the "frontlining" of political prisoners' resistance in national liberation movements reflects both the crises facing such struggles and the vanguard roles played by many of those imprisoned is reflected in waves of anti-imperialist confrontation in Ireland, which appears in several analogies in this essay.[8] Seen in this way, the determination and *sumud* of political prisoners held by the Zionist entity serve as a reminder to comprador bourgeois collaboration with the politics of "peace" processes and "security" collaboration. At a time of a crisis, campaigners have seen solidarity with those in Israeli confinement as a way of rebuilding the Palestinian Revolution.[9]

The story of musician Fida' al-Shaer told in the next section serves as a graphic reminder that Syrians from the occupied Golan form a sparse but important contingent of those locked up in Zionist jails, in a context where crisis and proxy warfare in Syria since 2011 has included frequent Israeli bombings.[10] The dichotomy of national crisis and heroic prison struggle alluded to above may have currency in the presence of Syrians within the Israel prison system. The movement for the liberation of the Syrian Golan faces its own complex challenges and continual Zionist encroachment, yet Syrians-in-*sumud* also offer a clear rallying cry: Majed Farhan al-Shaer, the father of Fida', was hailed as a national hero in Damascus upon his release from Gilboa in January 2016 (Mijo). The narrative of his son hints at the

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daily solidarity forged by Palestinian and Syrian political prisoners inside Israel's regime, while hinting at wider creative practices and resistant artistry under colonialist regimes.

Zionist prisons have long been training grounds for those captured by the occupation regime, with music culture forming an important component of daily and periodic resistance, a tool of education, and providing methodologies for the transmission of collective and revolutionary narratives. Harking back to the days of British occupation, repertoires of prisoner struggle include "Min Sijn 'Akka" (From Akka Prison), attributed to Nuh Ibrahim in the wake of the 1930 British execution of three anti-Zionist activists, and "Ya Zulam al-Sijn Khayyam" (Oh Darkness of the Prison Over Us), written by Syrian poet Najib al-Rayes during his imprisonment in a French occupation jail in 1922. Both songs are widely sung by Palestinian political prisoners on days of protest on the inside. The ingenuity of prison songwriting, without instruments and recording technologies, requires a particularly communal commitment for its transmission, especially when melodies are attached to the words. The poem "Ya Naqab Kuni Iradi" by Salah Abd al-Ruba was composed and sung collectively inside Naqab prison camp during the 1987 prisoner uprising and has become an anthem in the years since, with performances both in and out of prison.[11]

Also referring to "Ya Naqab," the narrative of released longstanding *asir* Asim al-Ka'abi reveals the preservation and re-transmission of sung poetry composed in earlier moments of struggle. Describing Palestinian presence in Zionist prisons as "graduating through the school of revolution," his own 18-year journey was shaped by becoming a leading organizer, entering into and helping to further collective political culture and cross-factional cooperation on the inside.[12] Though few *asra* consider themselves musicians, al-Ka'abi indicates that singing is an essential practice, inseparable from a calendar of protest and commemoration:

> On Prisoners Day, we always sing "Ya Zalam al-Sijn Khayyam." When a prisoner is released we sing "Itla'na Wa Qaharna al-Sijjan" (We Rose Out and Conquered the Jailor).[13] Every occasion has its own specific songs. There are new songs that we learn after years in prison, coming via new prisoners, and we memorize them, and add them to the lists of songs we sing on specific days.

These occasions include Yowm al-Asir (Political Prisoners' Day), Nakba day and other commemorations, and campaigns of action tied to current conditions on the inside. Al-Ka'abi reports that all new detainees join a political faction and become part of a cell and cross-prison organization. It was from comrade al-Ka'abi that I first heard a prisoner account of the story of Fida' al-Shaer, which had gained renown among inmates shunted through the Zionist jail network: an oud built in a prison cell and a collective commitment to build and guard the instrument.

Meari's political prisoner ethnographies point to prison singing as part and parcel of building *sumud* culture, where anti-colonial activity *becomes* revolutionary through emergent inventions, social forms, and the development of knowledge production:

> *Sumud* is a possibility that is actualized in particular moments and rises up as a potentiality in others. It is materialized through a complex web of relations

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> to the self, comrades, the revolutionary political organization, and the community, as well as the colonizer. (Meari)

Arguments on the acts of revolutionary becoming are present in histories of confrontation outside prison, as well as inside other colonial and imperialist jails. For political prisoners moreover, as leading *asira* Khalida Jarrar states in reflection of her own imprisonment and fight for the right to education of women under the Zionist regime, "Prison stakes out a moral position that must be renewed daily and can never be put behind you" (Baroud and Pappé 175).

From the vantage point of a developing socialist process and a tightening US blockade of Cuba after the fall of the Soviet Union, former political prisoner Fidel Castro could find that "the most important resource this country has is the investment it has made in the minds of the people" (Castro 1992), with culture and education central to the survival of the revolution. Though Cubans had succeeded in wielding national sovereignty in ways that inspire many, including Palestinians, who continue to suffer colonial conditions, political culture and the idea of the masses as "resource" and "solution" to the nation's problems find intriguing relevance. Themes of mass ingenuity and communalized political vivacity will be expanded on below, following the story of the Gilboa Prison oud maker.

Fida' al-Shaer and Collective Oud-making in Gilboa Prison

> I imagined that these notes would scream beauty and melody, and break down the prison walls so that people could hear them. A cry for freedom and hope ... to conquer the jailor. (Al-Shaer)

Figure 1. Fida' al-Shaer returns to perform in France following his release from an Israeli prison, February 2014. Photo supplied by the performer.

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Paris, April 2010. Grainy audience footage of a solo oud improvisation shows Fida' al-Shaer in calm concentration, performing in a low-lit theatre in front of black and white moving images of land and sea; not the rural coast of a Bilad al-Sham country, but the 1929 silent film *Finis Terræ*, filmed off the Brittany coast. Occasionally he glances at the projection, but the sense is that he knows the film footage, alert to a sense of temporality and space despite the improvised nature of the performance.

Recorded shortly after, Fida' would perform a Paris event for Palestinian Political Prisoners' Day, 11 April. The self-composed instrumental piece "Baladi" (My Country), played in front of another black and white film, this time blending imagery of wounded children with defiant protesters waving Palestinian flags, displays techniques developed earlier during Fida's training at the Damascus Conservatory. The double stops also hint at his fondness for Iraqi player Naseer Shamma. He'd performed Shamma's "Ishraq" (Sunshine) at the Star of Golan contest in May 2009, and the seven-course oud Fida' played in France, made by Egyptian luthier Mohammad Ali Ja'far, replicated Shamma's own model. Little would he know that three months later this finely crafted instrument would be confiscated, and himself thrown into an Israeli prison, spending the following three Political Prisoners' Days in confinement and protest.

Hailing from Majdal Shams, any route in and out of Fida's hometown in the northern Golan requires navigating Israeli border controls and airports: the site of his immediate arrest upon returning from Paris. Holding travel documents, rather than passports,[14] and facing extremely poor chances of acquiring foreign visas compounds the daily realities of Zionist colonial rule. However, having tread the unusual path for a Syrian in occupied Golan of studying in the capital was only one factor in the vindictive claim of the Israeli authorities that Fida' had had contact with a "foreign" country. His father, an anti-occupation poet, would be imprisoned on the same charge.

My interviews and informal discussions with Fida' showed the artist to be highly committed to a Syrian national identity maintained in steadfast defiance of—and propelled by—the partition and occupation of his country. Offering the impression of being energetically engaged in local music making, including in the musical education of young Syrians in the Golan, Fida' described his commitment as valuing the nation (*al-watan*) and people (*al-sha'b*) over alignment to particular political party. At the same time, he offered the palpable sense that his fraternal feelings towards the Palestinian people pre-date his imprisonment. Fida' sees his musical and political contribution to Palestine solidarity events in Europe as the real pretext for his arrest:

> There were video presentations about Israeli war crimes, not just in Gaza but in the rest of Palestine. It also aimed to show what was positive about Palestine, the energy and creativity of its people. We spoke about how Zionism had captured Palestine and behaved like Nazis towards its people.
>
> Their reaction was huge and they arrested me as soon as I arrived at Ben Gurion airport. They had no evidence against me so they decided to charge me with being a foreign agent. During the interrogations an officer told me, 'we'll make you forget music once you're in prison.' I told him, 'I'll forget my

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> name before I ever forget music.' The experience made me more determined to take music with me.[15]

Asserting that the oud was a privilege not afforded to Arab prisoners, the Israeli regime refused requests for Fida' to be reunited with his instrument. He would nevertheless compose an impressive 13 musical works during his three year imprisonment at Gilboa, including five pieces for oud, three for piano, and a series of songs set to Palestinian prisoners' poetry. The latter included a fruitful collaboration with veteran *asir* Walid Daqqa,[16] resulting in a musical play, and a birthday song for the grandson of Ahmed Abu Jader. Though Fida's ear training certainly helped—without an instrument, he admitted to feeling "like Beethoven when he went deaf"—a handful of these musical pieces were composed with the aid of an extraordinary instrument built by Fida' with the support of his comrades in Gilboa.

> As soon as I arrived I began to think about how to construct an oud. The Red Crescent would bring in chess and backgammon tables and I ended up using these materials to make the oud. Of course the comrades inside helped me, in gathering materials or in holding the pieces of wood in place, things like that. They taught me how to make glue out of rice, to cook it in a certain way that it would really stick ... There's a process whereby it becomes really sticky, you mash it and extract the sticky part to make glue ...
>
> It was a long thought process and many other prisoners were involved in making the oud a reality: everyone who had a chess table they didn't want brought it to me. I made the sound box relatively easily but then I had to think about how to produce the keys, the head ... Youths started to collect wooden spoons and brought them over. This was great because they were already rounded and could be used as tuning pegs. They would be housed in the bottom part of a sweeping brush, which would form the head of the oud; we had brushes to clean our rooms and I just removed the hair and took the wooden head. I got help from a lot of comrades in the room, and even when we were split and dispersed around the prison wings, others wanted to help without requesting anything in return.
>
> During this process, one of the comrades took apart a metal pan and created a saw for me out of it. At this point it became necessary to have someone play the role of a lookout on the door and give us a signal if we needed to hide everything—it was important that we didn't get caught while we were working. So the comrade would peep through a gap in the door and if they [the guards] came, we'd hear the signal ('*zaghrit*'). And we'd quickly put the parts of the oud inside a backgammon table, making it look like we were playing a game and that there was nothing out of the ordinary going on ...

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> The strings were smuggled into the jail hidden in the seams of clothing. This would have been the most difficult thing to manufacture in prison so once we had the strings inside they were well-hidden in clothes.

Figure 2. A replica of the oud constructed in Golan, built by Fida' al-Shaer in Majdal Shams. Photo by the performer.

Following the observations of 'Ali Jaradat on the uniqueness of collective heroism inside Zionist jails, Meari views Palestinian *asra* illustrating a "singular-collective mode," sharing no familiarity with that liberal ideal, the autonomous individual (553). Adding weight to such experiences, techniques of inside punishment and isolation aim, according to al-Ka'abi, to limit human contact, sometimes resulting in "prolonged period[s] before you meet anyone else. So we are imprisoned in our own country and then separated on the inside." Challenging such willful policies of segregation, the creation of political space forms an important component of *sumud* practice among those-in-*sumud*, challenging restrictions on their gathering and enabling collective action, as noted by Samah Saleh (27), writing on Palestinian women prisoners. The experiences cited are revealing of the dialectics of steadfastness, whereby interpretations of *sumud* as patiently waiting betray its protagonistic, revolutionary qualities, and the roles played by *asra* musicians and poets in helping to mobilize confrontation with the regime.

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It was while the oud was being made that others began to bring poetic and sung ideas to Fida', showing both the excitement and impatience of the *asra* to be involved in producing music. As well as Abu Jader's song, Fida' describes Walid Daqqa arriving in the wing as the oud was being made, quickly sparking a productive partnership of sitting daily to work on *qasa'id* and other pieces.[17] The oud was still a work in progress but there was a keenness to put it to use as quickly as possible. As soon as the strings were in place, Fida' would play the instrument for others in the cell: "I'd play it in the day and hide it at nighttime—the oud had to be put together and dismantled every day so we wouldn't be caught with it during their raids of the cells."

There were limitations on how much playing could be done once the oud was complete (Fida' actually made two ouds, both confiscated and one only partially finished), but Fida' writes in his own reflections that "there were beautiful moments" in the days that passed before the *asra* were caught with the instrument (Al-Shaer). When the oud was found by prison guards, an outstanding act of solidarity saw Daqqa claim the work as his own, but the Zionist authorities didn't believe him and imposed collective punishment. Al-Ka'abi entered Gilboa after Fida' had been freed and learned that the guards had "taken the oud and thrown Walid into an isolation cell for a week. He was fined, mistreated, and transferred to another prison, all because, apparently, making instruments is not allowed."

For the jailers, taking away the makeshift instrument fulfilled the threat of making the musician forget his music. But, in one sense, the damage to the colonial prison regime was done, in the creation of a politically oriented campaign, in the instigation of musical activity, in potentially long-lasting repertoires of music, poetry, and in the retelling of the story by *asra* dispersed routinely around the prison network. Repeating the narrative, argued Edward Said (56), was essential to preventing the Palestinian case from being ignored. Like the September 2021 Gilboa escape, the defeat of this short term battle could nevertheless fuel further resistance on the path to freedom.

In the throes of Arab history, where the destruction of cultural heritage forms one feature of the redivision of the world, where Palestinian cultural and literary artifacts remain under Israeli lock and key since the lootings of 1948 and other Zionist onslaughts, and where forced migration accompanies imperialist warfare across a broad region, the oud could be forgiven for being heard as solely or primarily representing tragedy (Beckles Willson). Palestinian and Syrian wielding of the oud present positive challenges against attempts to colonize it and erase its indigenous role, a factor leading many to protest against Israel's "oud festival" in occupied Jerusalem (Masar Badil). In contrast to the "passive resistance, and even defeatism" seen by Qabaha and Hamamra as signifiers of the normalizing PA strategy in the decades after Oslo (37), the resistance of the political prisoners is vivacious and vital.

Under Zionist interrogation, Fida' refers to a wish to silence him, to make him forget Arab music as much as to forget the physical theft of Majdal Shams. Instrumental confiscation of this kind is an act of disarmament of the oppressed by the oppressor, but what does the turning of the prison cell into an instrument building workshop represent in counter to this act of colonial theft? What is represented by conjuring up an oud apparently from nothing? The following passage theorizes on

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mass ingenuity and implications for "becoming revolutionary" during political imprisonment and beyond.

Revolutionary Becoming and the Development of a Genius People

The late Fidel Castro Ruz was a noted supporter of the Palestinian cause, a staunch critic of Zionism and imperialist intervention in the Middle East, and oversaw Cuban solidarity with the Palestinian liberation movement over the decades of his leadership. During his own imprisonment under the dictatorship of pre-revolutionary Cuba, he famously declared:

> I do not fear prison, as I do not fear the fury of the miserable tyrant who took the lives of 70 of my comrades. Condemn me. It does not matter. History will absolve me. (Castro 1993)

Having graduated with other fighters of pre-revolutionary Cuba through the "fertile prison" of political organization and education after leading the 26 July 1953 attack on the Moncada barracks,[18] Fidel would build on his prison time reading of Marx, Lenin, and a range of other texts to develop foundational cultural perspectives in the revolution's early years. These would prove to be important themes during" decades of socialist construction. Published as "Words to the Intellectuals,"[19] his June 1961 speech at Cuba's José Martí National Library, two months after the US invasion at the Bay of Pigs, noted that, unlike China, Cuba had not yet had its Yen'an conference of artists,[20] but that the economic and social revolutions taking place in Cuba "must inevitably produce a cultural Revolution in our country."[21] Fidel's appeal to artists and intellectuals was broad and cosmopolitan, arguing not in favour of particular forms, but for advocates of each to contribute under the banner of the revolutionary nation.

While Che Guevara's own works were pivotal to the Cuban revolution's early great debates, Che credited Fidel with having an uncanny closeness to the pulse of the people (Yaffe 2009, 131), won through a particular understanding of their interests and a relationship built through mass rallies and debates.[22] Though Fidel drew back on Che, his own Marxism can be charted through the lessons of the revolutionary process, weaved not through treatises on historical materialism but through an abundance of extensive speeches, lectures, interviews, and newspaper columns. Fidel's own genius is proclaimed by both his supporters and detractors, with the former including Palestinian and Syrian figures, and popular opinion. Palestinian Marxist George Habash studied the Cuban example and frequently discussed Fidel's role in popular consciousness (85; 105).

In 1978, during his inaugural speech at the Friedrich Engels Vocational School in Pinar del Rio, Fidel returned to a theme he had explored during his imprisonment in 1954 (Mencía 43), telling an audience of students and medical workers:

> I do not think that, in the world of the future, or in the homeland of the future, there will be any room for great celebrities; because the great celebrities (or so-called geniuses) belong essentially to an era wherein an insignificant minority of the population could attend school or become cultured, and when the masses were ignorant. But in tomorrow's

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> world there will not be one, two or ten people who can become cultured; for tomorrow's world will be a society in which millions can become cultured, in which millions can attend school. Then there will be millions of developed and cultivated intellects, and one individual who has had a great deal of education or who knows a great deal will not seem to be the wise man of the people, because all the people will be wise men. There will not be one or two geniuses, because there will be a genius people. Those alleged super-gifted individuals will not exist, because there will be a super-gifted people (Castro 1978).

Fidel saw the development of "a genius people" in Cuba's rapid achievements in literacy, schooling, and culture which, rather than promoting "elite" mentalities seen under capitalism, was coming to see individual distinction as carrying an obligation to empathize with others, "without humiliating [them] with pretensions to superiority" (Castro 1978).

By the early 1990s, with the fall of the Soviet Union and tightening US blockade threatening Cuba with economic ruin, Fidel would draw on concepts of revolutionary duty and collective achievement, seeing "the solutions to the country's problems" resting "on the investment that the revolution has made in the people's minds" (Castro 2002). Narrating the development of medical schools, polyclinics, agricultural, and technological centres, Fidel referenced the work of Spare Parts Brigades, which had begun as a partly spontaneous movement in 1961 and had become integrated into Cuban institutions. Akin to the Palestinian prisoners' scrambling for scrap wood for the oud, mass brigades of Cuban workers scoured landfill sites and adapted recycled materials to avoid paralysis in metal industries, with the US blockade preventing Cubans from obtaining parts for US-made machinery used previously. Revolutionary magazine *Bohemia* exhorted: "Your machine is also your trench—defend it!" concluding that "the battle of spare parts leads to victory over imperialism!" (Wolfe).

Reflecting on this earlier period, Fidel summarized his thoughts to the Cuban Academy of Sciences:

> I was defending the thesis that genius is nothing without the group, without the society, without others. Without the nation, it is nothing. If a genius is a disinterested and a noble genius, willing to dedicate the intelligence he received from nature to the service of his people, then that genius is nothing without the revolution (Castro 2002).

As part of a youth brigade to Cuba, I was an awestruck witness to Fidel speaking to Cubans and international supporters at Karl Marx theatre, Havana on 26 July 2005. Highlighting the concreteness of Fidel's philosophical contribution, a speech spanning some four hours focused on the achievements of the Battle of Ideas, in the struggle for energy efficiency, and dealing with the threats of the then G.W. Bush regime against the island. Leading Cuba scholar Helen Yaffe argues that this period bore the stamp of Fidel's influence, in "mass, voluntary mobilisation ... reminiscent of the revolutionary fervour of the early 1960s" (2000 70). Blending tech-

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nological progress with youth engagement in door-to-door social programs, the genius envisaged by and attributed to Fidel spoke to his claims on such ideas being meaningless without a committed people willing to put them into action.[23]

In the speeches of Fidel, the concept of genius is both collective and individual, but irrevocably revolutionary, as a break with capitalist notions of elite attainment, and a fundamental shift towards seeing the conscious mass, rather than the superior individual, as the stimulant for change. His evolving reflections spanning over half a century suggest a process in movement—a revolution continually becoming, revolving until victory. In his 1961 "Words to the Intellectuals," Fidel had spoken in first person plural, recognizing "the people" as the essence of the process, calling out to intellectuals and artists to reject privileges and join in forging new generations of human thinkers, at a transcendent moment in world history (Kumaraswami).

There is a revolutionary backstory and philosophy of *inventos* (or producing creatively to deal with shortages) at the heart of Cuban attempts to deal with sanctions and underdevelopment. *Inventos* had meant scrambling for machinery parts with the immediate onset of the US blockade in 1962, but this would later translate into a turn to organic farming with the fall of the Soviet Union, or the late-century street level development of socially conscious Cuban hip-hop, which later won the sponsorship of the socialist government (Jacobs-Fantauzzi). All of these movements echoed Fidel's earlier commitment to define in broad, inclusive terms that artists and intellectuals could develop novel ways of contributing to the revolutionary process (Kumaraswami 540).

The challenges of the continuingly colonized Palestine and Syrian Golan are of course vastly different. However, notions of revolutionary becoming find interesting analogies among those for whom anti-colonial, anti-imperialist struggle are daily priorities. In the Marxism of Fidel, collective genius is aspirational, process-driven and, like the revolution itself, dependent on the masses. Seeing the destination in "tomorrow's world" of socialist society means interrogating the conditions of today, finding makeshift solutions, developing new mentalities, and forging a decisive break with capitalism's self-centred competitiveness.

Decolonizing society in the interests of the oppressed fuses practical and ideational initiatives in movement. Reporting in 1959 on the progress of the Algerian revolution, its challenges, its depiction internationally, and on the brutal lengths to which French imperialism had gone to maintain its foothold in North Africa, Fanon observed that the new human being was "no longer the product of hazy and phantasy-ridden imaginations," but a reality (19). This juncture had as its goal "an Algeria open to all, in which every kind of genius may grow" (7).

Both the Cuban and Algerian examples saw victory in sight, and in the former case, the consolidation of state power in the hands of the revolutionary movement. Fanon and Che were joined in envisioning the new human being of a revolutionary society by Palestinian communist Ghassan Kanafani (2015 484) after the 1967 Arab defeat and Naksa, or colonization of swathes of Palestine and Syria. Voiced alongside his critique of Zionism and Arab reaction, Kanafani called for "new blood," renewed Leninist organization at the grassroots, and creative responses to the crisis. Formed in an era of reaction, this appeal was simultaneously a thought on collective action, an act of foresight, and a view that saw beyond the systemic limits of liberal discourse. Revolution is a process, not merely an event or a year to pinpoint.

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The active process of collective resistance rejects what Kanafani saw as the tendencies of lamentation and withdrawal in some critical views of defeat, which proved its proponents were "less capable of *sumud*" (1990).[24] Further examining the "singular-collective mode," Meari concludes: "In this sense, heroes or icons, the terms Palestinians use to refer to Palestinians-in-*sumud*, do not underpin the liberal subjective state of individual exceptionality" (554). In many ways, the reactionary period in which we are living, and crises which push the political prisoners to the fore as leading anti-imperialist actors and national inspirations does also highlight their exceptional character. Yet the mode of being represented by *sumud* outgrows the straitjacket of liberal universalism and simply being human, as Meari shows, to present revolutionary, liberationist potential for humanity.

With these words, and the social dynamism and time in prison which pushed Fidel towards conceptualizing popular ingenuity, there is logic in conceiving of the organized mass of Palestinian political prisoners as forming a body of collective genius, dealing inventively and with inescapably political force to resist their internal dismemberment by the settler-colonial regime. The actions of the Gilboa *asra* in mounting an audacious escape in 2021 and constructing musical instruments in the time of Fida' al-Shaer's imprisonment respond to the calls of Kanafani, Fanon, and Che for new human beings, and further substantiate Khalida Jarrar's claim that political prisoners form a new moral existence, defiantly taking the future in their own hands and highlighting their own vanguard role. That Syrians are involved also offers glimpses of the kinds of cross-Arab resistance envisaged by Kanafani, Habash, and other key thinkers. In so doing their actions evoke the revolutionary future imagined by Fidel across the horizon of socialist construction.

Producing instruments under colonial incarceration finds confluence in the experience of Irish republican political prisoners in British occupation prisons, where harps were crafted and secret recording sessions took place during the post-1969 struggle.[25] Themes of land, steadfastness, and heroism also found their place in Ireland's rebel songwriting. At the same time, the stories of musical activism offered in this essay carry specificity to the cases of Palestinians and Syrians under occupation, referencing the kinds of guerrilla artistry that have featured in histories of the displaced. It is certainly worth considering whether the extreme energy crises which accompany imperialist and Zionist sanctions on Syria and Gaza spur youth towards embracing acoustic instruments like the oud and buzuq. Oud player Reem Anbar remembers playing at home for family and neighbours in Gaza city during long periods in the dark during power cuts and Zionist bombings; she would record instrumental pieces as a "message ... that Palestine would continue to live."[26] Discussing the role of Palestinian women, Ilham Abu Ghazaleh sees their recognition as heroines reflecting their "ingenuity in developing survival methods under occupation" (Sabbagh 192). Performing on indigenous instruments both challenges their attempted looting and silencing by the colonizer and enables resistant narratives to be voiced through different aesthetic forms. Further highlighted in the prison camps of the occupation, I argue that the alternative paths of communal collectivity and political organization challenge individualist "autonomy" pursued in the profit-driven music industries and Insta-selfie culture promoted in the outside world from which the *asra* are violently isolated.

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Conclusions

Though music forms an established and central component of Palestinian and Syrian anti-colonial histories, instrument making in occupation prisons is rare and attests to a particular,[27] collective drive in moments of confrontation. Fida's narrative suggests being driven towards his role as luthier-*asir* by the jailers themselves, yet the realization that this would require new forms of collective solidarity took shape on the inside. The structures of organization that made this brief experiment possible are embedded in years of cross-factional, mass organizing detailed by al-Ka'abi, whereby the *asra* take control politically of their own social existence and calendar of activities. My brief references to Ireland suggest that there are other examples to be explored, united by a communal will towards political culture among those dispossessed and incarcerated by imperialist and settler-colonial regimes. Overcoming prohibitions and confiscations, as well as casualized torture, separation, and administrative control, political prisoners locked up by Zionism become revolutionary in the process.

The ethnographies and arguments presented here do not intend to glamorize or romanticize life behind bars in conditions to which most of us cannot directly relate. Indeed, Zionist internment debilitates and destroys talent and livelihoods, as the case of former Palestinian footballer Mahmoud Sarsak shows, winning his own freedom in July 2012 after a gruelling hunger strike, his playing career was over. Performing musicians with conservatoire training, like sportspeople, quickly fall out of shape technically when deprived of the means to practice. Since release, Fida' has performed mostly in Majdal Shams, but has travelled regularly to Europe, despite persistent visa issues. It is worth considering that, though he acted in solidarity with (and with crucial support from) imprisoned Palestinians, physical isolation from broader music scenes may be indicative of post-2011 political journeys; reflecting, it may be argued, a limitation of forms of pro-Palestine campaigning in failing to make common cause with the Syrian struggle to liberate the occupied Golan. At the same time, pro-Palestine and anti-occupation Syrian events continue to provide an important platform for the musical contribution of Fida' al-Shaer, with keen audience engagement reflecting activist commitment alongside aesthetic interest in the oud.

The story hints at the creative and political possibilities of collective organization. I have enveloped Fida's narrative with a discussion of genius, not because the *asra* have arrived at the future society or personification of the future human being foretold by Fidel Castro or the other figures quoted here, but because, as Meari writes, the resistance of those in Israeli captivity shows people *emerging* and *becoming* revolutionary through the "anticolonial revolutionary potentiality" of steadfastness (2014 575). Fidel speaks to the potential of liberation to stimulate genius in the people and, conversely, of the propensity of popular ingenuity to forge a liberated future. Building the oud in Gilboa prison presents one counterattack to the repression of indigenous music culture by the forces of colonialism and imperialism, wielded by political prisoners in new ways against these selfsame forces.

History will absolve them.

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Biography

Louis Brehony is an activist, musician, researcher, and educator from Manchester, UK. He is the author of an upcoming monograph on Palestinian musicianship in exile and is director of the award-winning documentary film *Kofia: A Revolution Through Music* (2021).

Notes

1. The 1964 song "Li-Sabri Hdud" was composed by Muhammad al-Mogi to poetry by Abd al-Wahab Muhammad.
2. I adapt this phrase slightly from Lena Meari, who refers to Palestinians-in-*sumud*, towards acknowledging the particular presence of Syrians in Israeli prisons, as expanded on in this article (2014).
3. This statement should be qualified by pointing out that, though Fidel's work is dismissed by much of mainstream academia and many proclaiming themselves to be Marxists in Europe, his unique contribution is not overlooked by other revolutionaries, including those in countries like South Africa, where Cuban solidarity was monumentally important in defeating settler-colonial rule.
4. An Addameer campaign report points out that, although 970 prisoners were released in a "good will gesture" in March 1994, all had served most of their sentence and had not been charged with serious offences. This was followed by the arrests of 2,700 Palestinians in 15-20 April, with 200 subsequently imprisoned under "administrative detention" rules without charge or trial (Addameer).
5. Statistics provided by Abdel-Nasser Ferwaneh, Prisoners' and Freed Prisoners' Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, September 2019.
6. At the time of writing, US "aid" to Israel runs at $3.8bn per year. It also went largely unreported that Israeli programs received $1.45bn from the European Union Horizon program for scientific research in 2020 (Cronin).
7. Barakat writes: "Yes, there is a Palestinian conflict that always exists. Its fire fades and escalates according to the balance of forces and the tension of the internal class struggle. This has been the norm since the feudal leaders and the big bourgeoisie came to power, becoming a handful of compradors, representing the occupation and capital in Ramallah, Amman and Nablus. Regardless of the causes that led to this reality—which are undeniably important and should be addressed in subsequent articles—the fundamental and unwavering truth is that there is a Palestinian minority ruling sector that holds the cords of political decision-making and monopolizes it with power, money and foreign, American, European and reactionary Arab support, due to its security coordination with the occupation. It is willing to commit political crimes in order to defend its interests. These forces have prevented victory, aborted more than one popular uprising, negotiated away land and rights and destroyed Palestinian national achievements" (Barakat).
8. Political prisoners were central figures in the Irish struggle against British colonialism, with James Connolly and other participants in the 1916 Easter Rising imprisoned and executed by Britain. The period following the 1969 reintroduction of British armed forces to the north of Ireland known as "The Troubles" was accompanied by a raft of "anti-terror" legislation, including

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internment without trial, reminiscent of Israel's administrative detention. Inside and outside struggles for the political prisoners most famously included the deaths on a second hunger strike of leading activist Bobby Sands and nine others in 1981 as the Thatcher Conservative government found backing from its Labour opposition, both of whom focused on criminality and denied the political status of those imprisoned. "Peace" processes in both occupied Ireland and Palestine have failed to adequately deal with the issue of political prisoners.

9. This was a stated aim of the Masar Badil (Alternative Path) conference in Madrid in October 2021.
10. I borrow analysis on proxy wars from Matar and Kadri, who conclude that the post-2011 war in Syria reflects an "imperialist power play" (279) and an extension of the motives for war on Iraq in 2003.
11. Available recordings include an oud and vocal performance by Ibrahim Salah.
12. Quotes from Asim al-Ka'abi are from my interview with the author, 27 August 2021.
13. The word *qaharna* has a double-translation here: denoting conquering, the root *qaf-ha-ra* also suggests "angering," with the subject (*al-sijjan*, the jailor) angered by the acts of prisoners gaining freedom. My translation as conquering references the words of Fida' al-Shaer in the section which follows.
14. Syrians in the Golan overwhelmingly reject Israeli citizenship, with one consequence being exposure to an apartheid system pertaining to travel and visas, where the privileges of those holding Israeli passports are out of reach.
15. Unless stated, all quotes of Fida' al-Shaer are translated from Arabic following a series of remote interviews with the author in September-November 2021.
16. Walid Daqqa was jailed prior to the intifada, in 1986. His situation highlights the plight of political prisoners for whom the Oslo process was a mirage.
17. Plural of *qasida*. Though this traditional poetic form has particular characteristics, the word is casually used as a blanket term for poetry.
18. In *The Fertile Prison/La prisión fecunda*, Cuban historian Mario Mencía shows how the concept of anti-colonial leader José Martí that "a fortress of ideas is worth more than a fortress of stone" was applied and developed by political prisoners of the Batista dictatorship. Drawing on the letters and recollections of Fidel and others later to lead the 26 July Movement, Mencía describes the detailed organization of days inside prison by inmates on the Isle of Pines, where "the weapons were the library" and "the fortress was the academy, a small blackboard and the wooden tables on which they ate under the ledge in the yard (37).
19. According to Par Kumaraswami, this speech served as a key example "of the complex cultural policies and politics that have characterized the entire trajectory of culture and revolution in Cuba" (528).
20. He refers to the communist-led Forum on Literature and Art in the Chinese province of Yen'an in May 1942, at which Mao Zedong presented an influential cultural commentary in the context of prerevolutionary China. Translation by Kumaraswami (531).
21. Che argued that the Cubans' willingness to follow Fidel's leadership, and "the degree to which he won this trust results precisely from having interpreted

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the full meaning of the people's desires and aspirations, and from the sincere struggle to fulfil the promises he made" (Guevara 2005, 126).

22. Signifying visions of mass knowledge through technology and creative invention—and further illustrating the closeness to the masses seen in Fidel by Che—the speeches I have drawn on were aired in the country's highest circulating newspaper and radio organs.
23. Using similar language, Palestinian vocalist and guitarist Ahmed Haddad described growing up in Gaza as making the youth "more capable of *sumud*." Conversation with the author, December 2020.
24. I will return to the theme of music among Irish political prisoners in a future essay.
25. Conversation with the author, July 2014.
26. Palestinian political prisoner Dahoud Ariqat also reportedly produced an oud during imprisonment.

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Writing to Right the Wrongs: Truth, Appropriation, and Poetry on a Genocide Site (an essay in three-and-a-half parts)

Janus Unbound: Journal of Critical Studies
E-ISSN: 2564-2154
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Andreae Callanan

How, then, ought settlers stand in relations of forward-looking responsibility without attempting to stand in the place of Indigenous people? How ... can we share responsibility for the situation we have the bulk of responsibility for creating and benefiting from?

— Alexis Shotwell, *Against Purity: Living Ethically in Compromised Times*

Part One

Anyone paying half-hearted attention to the conversations in Canadian literature circa 2017 might have thought there was a thriving debate going on around cultural appropriation. That year, the word "appropriation" made regular appearances in online and print media, and the term "appropriation debate" was reified by commentators united in the conviction that allowing Indigenous writers and their communities sovereignty over their own voices and stories somehow constituted an infraction against literary freedom. Settler Canadian writers, well versed in the ins and outs of intellectual property regulations, failed publicly and spectacularly to grasp that Indigenous stories *are* Indigenous intellectual property—if not by Canadian laws, then certainly by their own. An editorial by novelist Hal Niedzviecki in the Spring 2017 Writers Union of Canada newsletter, *Write*, incensed Indigenous writers and their allies by flippantly dismissing the idea that cultural appropriation in literature should be discouraged. Niedzviecki's piece asserted instead that appropriation was what made literature great, and proposed that there ought, in fact, to be an "Appropriation prize" awarded for "the best book by an author who writes about people who aren't even remotely like her or

him" (Kassam). To add insult to injury, Niedzviecki's editorial appeared in an issue of the newsletter dedicated to writing by Indigenous authors. Whatever Niedzviecki—who quickly stepped down from his position as editor of *Write* amid the controversy he'd incited (Dundas)—had meant to achieve with his editorial remarks, the reaction the editorial spurred among Niedzviecki's supporters and detractors exposed an ugliness in the generally sedate world of CanLit, and put the phrase "appropriation debate" on Canadian readers' lips and into their Twitter feeds.

Of course, there never was a literary "appropriation debate" in Canada, or, at least, not a proper one. A debate happens when two parties meet on equal grounds to discuss a matter in which they each have a comparable stake. To suggest that Indigenous and settler writers have an equal stake in the telling of Indigenous stories and the representation of Indigenous characters is to ignore the motivation behind each party's bid for control. There are no equal grounds to meet on when one party belongs to a group that has spent the last five hundred years appropriating the lands, waters, languages, belief systems, children, and identities of the other. The "appropriation debate" was just one more display of dominance, of the colonizer telling Indigenous communities, "Even your stories are mine for the taking." It may not appear as obviously colonial as pipelines, or inadequate housing on reserves, or residential schools, but literary cultural appropriation is still part of the colonizer's playbook. Niedzviecki's coupling of "appropriation" with "people who aren't even remotely like" a (presumed) white writer, in a magazine issue dedicated to Indigenous writing, lends false credence to the notion that Indigenous people are "not even remotely like" the rest of us; that is, that Indigenous people are the "other," and the other is wholly alien. In this equation, cultural difference overrides shared humanity. The showcasing of top-tier Indigenous literary talent in *Write* was cheapened by Niedzviecki's words, and socially conscious writers were quite rightly furious.

It was against this backdrop that I had begun my graduate studies. After a 14-year hiatus, I returned to academia to work on a poetry collection of my own. Having been involved in social justice movements since my teens, and having been sensitized—through friendships, through travel, through study—to the continued colonial violence against Indigenous people in what is currently called Canada, I restarted my scholarly life ready to use my privilege to amplify voices that had been forced out of the conversation by settler writers and journalists swapping glib comments on social media about the "Twitter mob" that was no doubt plotting to "cancel" them. When selecting my courses, I registered for whichever ones had Indigenous writers on the syllabus. When there were not Indigenous writers on the syllabus, I tried my best to work them into my papers and presentations. When, in my extracurricular life as a poetry

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critic, I was offered lists of forthcoming releases to review I chose new collections by Indigenous writers whenever I could. I felt that, as a white scholar and critic, this was the least I could do. Book reviews are few and far between these days, and they make a big difference to poets—not necessarily in terms of sales, but in terms of successful grant applications to write more collections in the future. If I could help some writers build their CVs to secure future funding, I would feel like I had done something useful. It did not hurt that the books were, in general, among the most interesting offerings of any given release season. Reading Indigenous poets was a joy.

I loved writing those reviews, but looking back, I do not know whether I was the right person for the task. I am embarrassed to admit that it did not even occur to me at the time that I might have instead lobbied my editors to seek out Indigenous poetry critics. Maybe I am exaggerating my power in the situation; would any of my editors have so much as entertained my lobbying? I will never know. I am left asking myself: where does "using my privilege" end and "talking for others" begin?

Part Two

I live in, and work in, and am from the island of Newfoundland, which is the ocean-bounded bit of the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. Newfoundland and Labrador is Canada's youngest province, joining confederation in 1949; the island of Newfoundland was England's second-oldest overseas colony, claimed for the crown in 1610. While contemporary Canada argues over whether it, as a nation-state, is guilty of "cultural genocide" (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission 1) or "regular genocide" (Staniforth) against the over-600 Indigenous nations that exist within the country's borders, Newfoundland distinguishes itself as a regular genocide site, marked by the death of the last known Beothuk, Shanawdithit, in 1829 (Carr 350). Canada, of course, does not take responsibility for this genocide—they were not even there when it happened. Until recently, Canada had not taken responsibility for anything having to do with the Indigenous peoples—the Mi'kmaq, Innu, and Inuit—of the province; the Terms of Union between the province and Canada makes no mention of Indigenous people, and this omission has excluded Indigenous people of the province from rights ensured by the *Indian Act* (Hanrahan 1). Mi'kmaq history (Aylward and Mi'sel 124) and cutting-edge DNA research (Carr 350) both maintain that members of the Beothuk nation were absorbed into other Indigenous groups but, for all intents and purposes, the Beothuk as a nation exist now only in the collective memory, and in the stories that emerge from that memory. For the Newfoundlander of European descent, the Beothuk were subsumed into the "vanishing native" archetype, doomed not by the

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encroachment and violence of colonizers, but by some sort of innate impermanence. In her introduction to *Tracing Ochre: Changing Perspectives on the Beothuk,* Fiona Polack quotes the explorer William Cormack, who wrote of the Beothuk, "There has been a primitive nation, once claiming rank as a portion of the human race, who have lived, flourished, and become extinct in their own orbit" (3). This perception of the Beothuk as a people in their own little woodsy world, too pure for the European-centered and -settled future, has been essential to the formulation of Newfoundland, and by extension Canadian, identity; Polack writes that this "islanding" allowed the "appropriation" of the Beothuk (specifically, of the absent Beothuk) "into narratives of settler-colonial nationhood" (3-4).

It is apt that Polack selects the word "appropriation" here; everything we know about the Beothuk—everything I learned in school as a child in the 1980s and 1990s, every poem, every novel, every museum exhibit—is the product of appropriation. University of Edinburgh's John Harries describes an entire industry of Beothuk re-imagining in Newfoundland, calling it "a whole culture of recursive revelation that is oriented towards excavating the scene of a crime that is foundational to the becoming of Newfoundland as a settler society" (226). Harries inquires, through his writing, into the rumoured presence of Beothuk remains in a museum in St. John's (the capital city of Newfoundland and Labrador); the rumour comes to Harries via a friend who had heard it in 2010 while at a Newfoundland literary festival where three writers and one visual artist made up a panel discussion on the Beothuk. The three writers had written novels on—that is, fictional accounts of—the Beothuk. The artist had been commissioned to create a sculpture in memory of the Beothuk. None of the panelists, it goes without saying, is Beothuk. To the best of my knowledge, none of them is Indigenous. But they had each either taken it upon themselves to speak on behalf of the Beothuk, or had been trusted with the task of representing them.

2010 is not that long ago, and even though discussions of cultural appropriation were not as common then as they are now, I have a hard time picturing an all-white panel convening at a literary festival to discuss books they have written narrating the lives of Cree characters, or Coast Salish characters, or Inuit characters. If they had written such characters and conjured such stories in the past, they would likely have enough sense, ten years into the 21st century, not to draw attention to the fact. But Beothuk narratives are, apparently, free for the taking. Polack is right that this appropriation of Beothuk narratives has facilitated the creation of Newfoundland and Canadian identity; both Polack and Harries quote Terry Goldie, who remarks caustically that "We had natives. We killed the natives. Now we are the natives" (Goldie 187). It does not take many hours of Sunday-morning traditional Newfoundland radio to absorb the

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message that "we" (that is, Newfoundlanders of European descent, like me) are the rightful heirs to the island we have come to call our own. As the unofficial provincial anthem and popular trad-night singalong "Saltwater Joys" goes, "This island that we cling to has been handed down with pride / By folks that fought to live here, taking hardships all in stride" (Chaulk). Newfoundland is an inheritance in this narrative, a birthright bestowed on each generation by the last, earned through hard and honest work and not through violence, erasure, and disenfranchisement. It's all ours.

It was against *this* backdrop that I became a writer. I grew up in a place where one group of Indigenous people had been encased in an amber of romantic rememberings and misrememberings, and where others were discussed either in hushed tones ("Davis Inlet") or not at all (Roache). The festival panel writers and the convening artist Harries refers to in his chapter were presences in my youth, sometimes literally: I am a second-generation writer, and such birds of a feather often flocked in my mother's living room. Writing about, and for, and in the voices of the Beothuk was not seen as doing the colonizer's work; it was seen as making necessary reparations, telling the stories that had to be told. But did anyone ask whether those stories were theirs to tell?

I think I remember the remains Harries talks about; I am sure they were the centrepiece of an exhibit I frequented at the provincial museum on Duckworth Street in St. John's as a child and teenager. Shiny brown bones laid out as though at a burial site. But maybe I am misremembering. Maybe they had been long since removed by the time I was old enough to have seen them. Maybe I dreamed them. Are they mine to dream? Are they mine to mourn?

Part Two and a Half

This essay is not about the Beothuk. Not really. And it is only sort of about cultural appropriation. I think what I am reaching for here is some sense of direction. We have established, I hope, that genocide is wrong. We have established, I hope, that genocide is a tool of settler-colonialism. We have established that cultural appropriation, too, is a tool of settler-colonialism, and an insidious one. Settler writers who feel invested in justice, in telling the stories that need to be told, are easily co-opted into the colonial project—or, perhaps, they are never *not* part of that project. The writerly soul does tend to wallow in a sense of alienation, but how much of that is real, and how much is affectation? The more I ponder the question, the less I like the answer.

I can tell you what I know is wrong, but I cannot tell you what *right* looks and feels like. I know what I am supposed to *not* do, but I do not know what I am supposed to do. Settler Canadians and the European economic migrants who became Newfoundlanders have never known, on any large scale, what it

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looks like to live in right relation with Indigenous people. We are all striving for something, and we have no examples to work from.

I am a person who struggles to work without clear instructions.

In addition to being a poet and an academic, I am also autistic. And while there is no one universal autistic experience (except maybe a marrow-deep sense of alienation that many writers could only dream of), most of us have a hard time working toward a goal we cannot envision.

In general, my autism is pretty handy—it helps me write good poetry, it makes me an excellent editor, it keeps me amused. But sometimes it gets in the way. Like other autistic people, I am prone to dramatic and often humiliating meltdowns. Unlike many autistic people, my meltdowns tend not to come in the form of rocking or groaning or lashing out, but in fits of jagged, incoherent sobbing. As is the norm for autistic people, I am easily overwhelmed and over-stimulated, and this is what initiates the meltdowns. I can usually manage sensory overstimulation well enough to get to a safe and quiet space before I fall apart, but emotional overwhelm comes on swiftly, strongly, and often without warning.

The things that trigger a meltdown—the things that push us autistics from "just keeping it together" to "definitely making a scene"—vary from person to person, but for me one of the biggest triggers is unfairness. I cannot cope with double standards. I react to injustice with a full-body response that I can only describe as a sort of heaving cellular grief. In the past, prior to learning about my autism, I accepted others' analyses of the situation and believed myself to just be a deeply sensitive person, attuned to the pain of the world. But I do not think it is as noble as all that. Why injustice triggers my meltdowns, I do not know. I do know that it does not make me a capable leader, or a strong and vocal advocate. It makes my voice quaver in public, and my face turn pink, and my eyes well up.

It makes me unsuitable for the work I want to do, and for the conversations I want to have with the people I want to have them with.

In addition to being a poet *and* an academic *and* an autistic, I am also a 40-something white lady. On the inside, I feel maybe like an alien, or a child, or an alien-child, but on the outside, I look like a choir mom and urban farmers' market enthusiast. When a 40-something white lady cries, she cries white lady tears, indistinguishable from the hundreds of years' worth of entitled weeping white women have done to suppress and oppress marginalized people, and to leverage "affective capital" (Phipps 83) by eliciting sympathy from other white women and activating a protective response in white men. And while I might

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be able to forgive myself for an out-of-all-proportion emotional reaction initiated by some neurobiological misfire that happened in utero and fused "unfairness" to "grief" in my brain, I can not forgive myself for carrying on like a fragile oppressor who, in Black American activist Rachel Cargle's words, needs to be "coddled" into listening (Meltzer). I want to be present and sit in my own discomfort and bear witness to other people's stories, but I do not want my education to come at the expense of the comfort and safety of the people who are sharing their stories with me.

To quote Cargle again, "Anti racism work is not a self improvement exercise for white people" (@rachel.cargle). I take this to mean that the project of anti-racism work—of anti-colonial work—can not be motivated by the desires of people like me to become (or at least to be seen as) "better people." Instead, it has be driven by a genuine desire to work toward an egalitarian world where neither the comfort nor the anxieties of white settlers is at the centre. When I first encountered this statement by Cargle, I found it deeply unsettling. It decentered me, well and truly. It caused me to look back over the times that I had allowed my desire to learn to come at the expense of someone else's need to speak. Of the ways in which my very presence had created an imbalance without my even knowing it. Of the ways in which I may have done harm while trying to do good.

And so, I read. Crying into a book does not require apology or explanation, and if you are doing it in the privacy of your own home there is no risk of your tears being misinterpreted as performative (although, to be fair, I have cried into books in public and people seem to have ignored me, which I have appreciated).

And so, I write, trying my best to filter out a lifetime of Eurocentric settler norms and biases, not knowing what will be left once those things are removed.

Part Three

There has never been a better time to read a diversity of voices; the call to "decolonize your bookshelf" has been captured on mugs, t-shirts, and reusable tote bags, and for all that it risks veering into cliché, the tagline expresses an important imperative. As Juan Vidal explained in a piece for National Public Radio in the United States, white people tend to read books by other white people. This, of course, leads to an echo-chamber effect, and one antidote to the echo chamber is to expand one's personal library. "Reading broadly and with intention," Vidal says, "is how we counter dehumanization and demand visibility, effectively bridging the gap between what we read and how we might live in a more just and equitable society" (Vidal). Vidal's comment might feel like a commonplace—*of course* we should read widely, right?—but his position is far from a universal one. Canadian poet Jason Guriel, capping off the wild

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literary ride that was 2017, published an opinion piece that December on the online platform of popular magazine *The Walrus* called "The Case Against Reading Everything." Guriel, in the guise of a tell-it-like-it-is writing buddy who is not afraid to say the unpopular thing, instructs his reader, "Whatever else you do, you should not be reading the many, many new releases of middling poetry and fiction that will be vying for your attention over the next year or so out of some obligation to submit your ear to a variety of voices" (Guriel). I imagine Guriel probably meant to project a sort of "lovable curmudgeon" tone here, and he might even have pulled it off if the previous 12 months in Canadian literature had not been dominated by "appropriation debate" rhetoric and a chorus of emerging writers of diverse backgrounds whose new releases were indeed vying for readers' attention. For all that Hal Niedzviecki had fumbled his editorial, he *did* serve as editor for a magazine issue that represented at least some of the "variety of voices" emerging in Canada. He had not endorsed those voices just for them to be received (or rejected) as a force to which readers were under "obligation to submit." He had endorsed them as literature we were invited to spend time with, learn from, and celebrate.

It was against *this* backdrop that I began teaching.

The year I finished my master's degree, my thesis supervisor retired, and I was asked to teach a poetry writing course she had established: an advanced undergraduate workshop on formal poetry technique. Autistic autodidact that I am, I had only ever taken one creative writing course in my life, and all I knew was that I wanted to load the reading list with as many writers of diverse backgrounds as I could get away with. It was in part a gesture toward social justice, and in part a response to arguments like Jason Guriel's. The institution where I teach is increasingly culturally diverse, but my department is overwhelmingly local; that is, my workshops are almost always made up mostly, if not entirely, of white or white-coded students. I wanted—I always want—to offer my students something they might not find elsewhere, and this meant introducing them to poets they might not otherwise have the opportunity to meet. There is nothing altruistic about my selections; the writing I choose from is intriguing, challenging, and often demonstrates subversion of form, which is exciting for me and for my less rule-oriented students. That first year I taught Cree-Métis poet Marilyn Dumont's "A Letter to Sir John A. MacDonald" in my lecture on the epistolary form (that is, poems written as though they are letters). I explored metrical variation through Ojibway writer Louise Erdrich's "Indian Boarding School: The Runaways" and Africadian (Black-Acadian-Mi'kmaq) poet George Elliott Clarke's "Black Sonnet." Each year, I bring in more material; this year,

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I compiled a playlist of performances, from Tsleil-Waututh poet, orator, actor, and leader Chief Dan George's 1967 "Lament for Confederation" to Cree poet and scholar Billy-Ray Belcourt reading "Love and Heartbreak are Fuck Buddies" in front of the Griffin Poetry Prize gala audience in Toronto in 2018. I post links to audio and video readings whenever I can in an attempt to connect my students to the material. In my opening lecture of that very first workshop, I told the group that I would be assigning as broad a reading list as I could manage, asking them, "What's the point of paying for this class if all we read is poets you can find in the Norton Anthology?" I also told them that I was not the expert on the experiences the poets were writing about, and I urged them to read up on each of the writers I shared. I think this was important. I think saying "I don't know how to do this either" is good role modeling. At least, I hope it is.

I do not ask my students to write on particular subjects; I give them prompts like "Write about one thing you know to be true," and "Make a list of five things you remember, and then put them into a poem without using the words *I remember,"* or "Write a poem that responds to a sound you hear on your way home." I give them a lot of latitude. Invariably, at least one student writes about the legacy of colonization: about residential schools, about land theft, about nationalist propaganda. When these poems are shared in the workshop, I often ask, "Which part of this story is yours to tell?" Often, when the poems are not quite working, it is because the student is trying to tell a part of the story that is not theirs, to speak from a bodymind that has never been theirs to inhabit and that they can only see through a colonial lens. A bodymind that has been appropriated into our Newfoundland and Canadian creation myths.

Typically, my students are cleverer than I am, and when I engage them in these conversations, they exceed my expectations. They are sensitive and inquisitive, and they want to do the work. Sometimes they realize that the notion of speaking for the marginalized subject is so deeply entrenched in their way of thinking that they have never examined it. They are shocked and unsettled to find just how much easier it is to write as the generalized, absent "other" than to write from the position of the beneficiary of systems of oppression. We write these poems because we want to be the good guy; we read Indigenous accounts of colonial trauma and we do not know if we ever *can* be the good guy. We try to write ourselves better, and we do not know how.

We read, and we feel, and we want to write our feelings into something that helps us find direction, be better, do better. I read, and I want to write myself into something gentle and generous and humane and expansive and kind and good.

I write this essay as a gesture of accountability, knowing full well that it might be read as a bid for absolution. I am not so naïve as to believe that such

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absolution exists. Accountability, though: accountability makes sense to me, even though I struggle with what it might look like (and, perhaps more crucially, with what it might *feel* like).

I write this essay because this, too, is something I need to read: the story of the imperfect but determined self learning from her errors, listening to others in order to figure out where she is helping and where she is getting in the way. This is the part of the story that's mine to tell.

Biography

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E-ISSN: 2564-2154
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The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine in Israeli and Palestinian Narratives: A Discourse-Conceptual Analysis of Lexical Representation

Janus Unbound: Journal of Critical Studies
E-ISSN: 2564-2154
1(2) 64-82

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Abstract

This paper juxtaposes and examines in a fresh light the genealogy of concepts (especially the labels *Nakba* and *War of Independence*) used by Palestinians and Israelis respectively, to represent the *ethnic cleansing* of Palestine—a *process* that gathered momentum in 1948, and lead to both the displacement of the Palestinian people and the transformation of Mandate Palestine into present-day Israel. The article seeks to answer the question of whether these conceptualizations or labels are accurate in what they represent. Utilizing a discourse-conceptual analysis framework, the article demonstrates how these lexical representations have mystified and perpetuated settler-colonialism. The article argues for a necessary counter-discourse that would rename and restructure the world's understanding of key events in the continued ethnic cleansing of Palestine. The article concludes that the first step towards social change and decolonization entails a conceptual and discursive change in nationalist discourse: the key carrier of conceptual dynamics and change of social reality and history.

Keywords: Discourse-conceptual analysis (DCA), Ethnic cleansing, Nakba, Palestinian narrative.

Introduction

In May 1948, the settler-colonial state of Israel was founded, in the heart of Mandatory Palestine (1917-1948), as envisaged and initiated by the carefully worded Balfour Declaration (1917)—the foundational stone for modern-day Israel. This was Britain's pledge of "a national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine. This pledge or hegemonic act eventually resulted in the establishment of Israel as a Jewish State in Mandate Palestine. This *de facto*

creation of the State of Israel in Mandatory Palestine took place following militarized Zionist immigrants' launch of a premeditated campaign to drive out the native population of Palestine from their homeland—a process of ethnic cleansing (Pappé 2006b; Abdo and Masalha; Qabaha and Hamamra) that has led to the mass expulsions and dispossession of Palestinians from their villages, and the onset of their ongoing dispossession and suffering: "From close to one million Palestinians only around 150,000 remained in the newly created state. From 500 villages, only 100 remained undestroyed by the Zionist Israeli troops, and all major cities were emptied of most of their Palestinian residents" (Shihade 109). This sociocide and politicide—or premeditated destruction and replacement of Palestine as a nation and as a state—was perpetrated through Zionist-British cooperation (Gutwein) as envisioned in 1917 by the British government. The systematic *memoricide* (Pappé 2006b) by the new settler-colonial state of such genocide—referred to by the Palestinian people and Arabs as the *Nakba* (of 1948)—constitutes, along with the 1967 Israeli occupation of the rest of historic Palestine and the resultant displacement and dispossession of many more Palestinians, what, in simple terms, the Palestine question is all about. This memoricide, sociocide, and politicide underlie much of the ensuing spillover of regional wars and political unrest in the Middle East and probably the world at large (Assaiqeli 2013). Such daylight destruction and replacement make, as the expatriate Israeli scholar (and New Historian) Ilan Pappé argues, "the tale of Palestine from the beginning until today … a simple story of colonialism and dispossession, yet the world treats it as a multifaceted and complex story—hard to understand and even harder to solve" (Chomsky and Pappé 12).

Indeed, the Palestinian story is one of uprootedness and continued dispossession. It is a case of settler-colonialism where the *other*—to be negated—is the Palestinian people. Zionism is a racist ideology and the state of Israel is a settler-colonial project that is based on the annihilation of the other. While European colonial projects are aimed at racial domination, as argued by Sayegh (1965), Zionist settler-colonialism is aimed at racial extermination. The Palestinian people have for decades been struggling to put an end to their occupation, dispossession, and diaspora. The Palestine question is an epoch of Zionist encroachment and Palestinian resistance and martyrdom; it is a history of struggle for national independence. In short, the Palestine question is not a "conflict" as is commonly described in media, academia, and popular debate, but rather a national, uphill struggle for freedom and self-determination in the face of settler-colonialism; it is a decolonization struggle, an anti-settler-colonization struggle that is based on ethnic cleansing, military occupation, unequal rights, and *zi-heid*—Zionist apartheid.

To ensure its ongoing *de facto* existence, given such destruction and replacement, and to ensure the full application of its envisaged national settler-colonial enterprise, the newly-found settler-colonial state of immigrants has developed an "ideologically-driven lexicon" (Walsh 26) that systematically misrepresents reality where, for example, *ethnic cleansing* becomes "War of Independence,"

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Palestine becomes "Israel," the *West Bank* becomes "Judaea and Samaria" and so on, as can graphically be seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Binaries of the Israeli Ideological Lexicon

Palestinian people	"Israeli Arabs"
Occupation	"Settlement"
Settler-colonialism	"Return to Zion" or "Biblical land" or "Eretz Yisrael" or "Land of Israel"
Expansionism	"Natural growth"
Colonialism	"Historical rights"
Occupied territories	"Disputed," "liberated," and "in-dependent" "territories"
State terror	"Self-defence"
Israeli occupation forces	"Israeli security forces" or "IDF" (Israel Defence Forces)
Settlements	"Outposts"
Freedom-fighters	"Terrorists"
1967 ethnic cleansing of the rest of Palestine	"The Six Day War"
Resistance to occupation	"Terrorism"
Blatant Israeli attacks	"Escalation"
Apartheid walls or *segregation barriers* such as the West Bank Separation Wall, Gaza-Israel Iron Wall	"Security barriers" or "fences" or "acoustic walls"

In all these examples of linguistic misrepresentation and manipulation a spade is not called a spade. In the same manner, Israel designates its ongoing process of ethnic cleansing against the Palestinian people as "operations," as the examples in the following table show.

Table 2: "Operation" vs Continued Acts of Ethnic Cleansing

"Operation"	**Cleansed Locality**	**Year**
"Operation Wall Guardian"	Gaza	2021
"Operation Protective Edge"	Gaza	2014
"Operation Pillar of Defense"	Gaza	2012
"Operation Cast Lead"	Gaza	2008
"Operation Hot Winter"	Gaza	2008
"Operation Defensive Shield"	West Bank	2002
"Operation Inferno"	Jordanian town of Karameh	1968

Drawing on this ideologically-driven lexicon that is designed to distort facts and reverse reality, Israel has, since its inception, used lexical representations and euphemisms whose vacuity and ambiguity could make war crimes seem acts of heroism. Hence, it was not ethnic cleansing that in 1948 transformed Mandatory Palestine into present-day Israel, but a "War of Independence." More recently

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in 2014, the 51-day Israeli bombardment of Gaza is labelled "Operation Protective Edge," rather than another act—in a series of systematic acts—of ethnic cleansing against the Palestinian people. According to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), these acts left "over 273,000 Palestinians" in the Gaza Strip displaced, 1500 children orphaned, 872 homes totally destroyed and 5,005 damaged, 138 schools and 26 health facilities damaged, whole neighbourhoods razed, over 373,000 children requiring psychological support, and over 2200 Palestinian civilians dead under the debris of their homes. All these atrocities of ethnic cleansing, carried out under the guise and discursive stratagem of "Israel has the right to defend itself," are simply represented as "Operation Protective Edge."[1] The physical displacement of the Palestinian people becomes punctuated by the extermination of Palestinian wills and voices; or, in the words of Ahmad Qabaha and Bilal Hamamra, "[t]he Israeli military occupation has been striving to wrest control from Palestinians over Palestine physically and linguistically. Israel has the advantage of controlling narratives, narratives which cast Palestinians outside public discourse and history" (32), and, as John Pilger writes: "The Israeli regime continues to set the international news agenda" where Israelis are murdered by "terrorists," and Palestinians are left dead after a clash with "security forces" (139).

Since the creation of the settler-colonial state, the Israeli narrative has, through such (mis)representations, persistently endeavoured to efface historic Palestine from "global public memory" (Pappé 2006a). It has always attempted through discourse to justify or cover up its institutionalized operations of ethnic cleansing, systematic land annexation and expansionism, and the demonization of Palestinian patriotism and resistance. Israel has continuously used *hasbara*, or discourse in the "defense of the indefensible." It employs the discourse of "peace" to implement practices that are the antithesis of peace. It uses discourse—alongside military force—not to negotiate an amicable solution to the problem it has created but rather as a means to prolong the status quo, liquidate Palestinian national struggle, and further consolidate Israeli power and expansionism. By only agreeing to negotiate about the Palestinians in Gaza and certain zones in the West Bank in Madrid in 1991, Israel effectively "succeeded in destroying the political unity of the Palestinian people" (Massad 114) leaving millions of Palestinian refugees the colonizing state expelled in 1948 "bereft of leadership and with no identifiable goals" (127). The misleading, ambiguous discourse of peace becomes a means to sustain rather than end the status quo, a situation in which the indigenous people are always the loser. This heir to the legacy of colonialism has "won the rhetorical battle over Palestine in the international community thanks to the rhetoric, images" (Qabaha and Hamamra 32), and continued disinformation and misrepresentation of reality.

In contrast, the Palestinian narrative—official and otherwise—has struggled to represent and propagate the Palestine question as a clear case of settler-colonialism. The Palestinians have been unable to project the cause behind the birth of the Palestinian refugee problem and their continued dispossession and displacement at the level of discourse. The Palestinian intelligentsia until today use

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the term *Nakba* (نكبة)—literally, catastrophe—to represent this man-made, premeditated process of racial elimination, heightened in 1948. They have eloquently expressed the anguish, the brutality, the nostalgia, but have fallen short of representing the context and the crime.

This canonical terminology is the Palestinians' representation for what Israelis discursively represent as "War of Independence"(העצמאות Milkhemet Ha'Atzma'ut) (Peled). Along with this mis(representation) نكبة *Nakba*, the Palestinian people also use similar representations or *sister-concepts* such as هجرة (migration) or تغريبة (Palestinian Exodus) that form a specific *semantic field* (see Section 3 below) of the *Nakba*, further mystifying the reality behind such related non-agentic lexico-conceptualizations by obscuring *causal agency*—the fact that the Palestine question was brought about by *human agency*. This is further exacerbated and mystified by the Israeli naming of such acts of *ethnic cleansing* as "War of Independence" or similar sister concepts such as "War of Liberation," "Independence Day," "population transfer," "voluntary exodus," or "Return to Zion," all of which further distort and reverse the actuality of the ethnic cleansing.

Similarly, in the Palestinian narrative, what Israel systematically designates following its "War of Independence" as "operations" in self-defense, the Palestinians designate as "wars," which further mystifies and misrepresents, not only the ethnic cleansing of 1948, but also the continued process of the ethnic cleansing of Palestine. Referring to "War of 1948," the Palestinians have mistakenly put themselves on an equal footing with the colonizer, when, in fact, they were and are indigenous people fleeing the juggernaut of the colonial power. Table 3 below summarizes the Palestinian and Israeli sister concepts used to represent the 1948 ethnic cleansing of Palestine.

Table 3: 1948 in Israeli and Palestinian Metanarratives

Israeli Designation	**Palestinian Designation**
העצמאות, Milkhemet Ha'Atzma'ut "War of Independence"	نكبة *Nakba* (Catastrophe)
Sister Concepts	**Sister Concepts**
War of Liberation	هجرة *Hijrah* (Migration)
Independence Day	تغريبة *Taghreebah* (Palestinian Exodus)
Voluntary Exodus, Population Transfer, Return to Zion	War of 1948

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On both sides are misrepresentations of reality, the reality of the Palestine question as a stark case of settler-colonialism, as an ongoing anti-colonial struggle, as an ethnic cleansing of Palestine. Therefore, I oppose *Nakba* and "War of Independence" as misnomers to the actuality of *ethnic cleansing*. In the following sections, I first provide a theoretical background for how discursive/lexical representations play a role in the perception and construction of reality, then highlight the analytic method and discuss the findings and implications, and conclude with recommendations.

Theoretical Background: Lexical Representations and the Construction of Reality

In his 1989 book, *Beyond 1984: Doublespeak in a Post-Orwellian Age*, William Lutz mentions what a US military officer during the invasion of Cambodia in 1974 said to American journalists: "You always write it's bombing, bombing, bombing. It's not bombing, it's air support" (124). So, it is not, as he sees it or as he knowingly phrases it, *aerial bombardment*; "it's air support." Colonialists have always invested in language to help enact and sustain domination. Since the 15th century, European invasions and military occupation of the peoples of the largest continents of the world—Asia, Africa, and the Americas—have never called such territorial occupation and foreign domination as such, but rather: "duty of the white man;" "colonialism;" "protectionism;" "mandate;" "tutelage" (Al-Mesdi). In the same vein, it can be observed that the *atomic bombs* that incinerated Hiroshima and Nagasaki during the Second World War and reduced them to ruble were referred to as "Little Boy" and "Fat Man" (Cohn). Repeated occupations of Iraq: "Operation Iraqi Freedom." Machiavellian colonial discourse producers have never called their invasions and exogenous domination of indigenous peoples "occupation" and "terrorism." It became "terrorism" later when those nations under the yoke of injustice and the heat of exploitation began to rise against the occupation of their lands and the plundering of their livelihood. Colonial discourse technologists have always resorted to language to find a way to enact and sustain domination.

Territorial occupation of foreign nations—the elimination of the native, and the economic exploitation and the siphoning off of wealth and freedom from indigenous peoples too weak to resist the juggernaut and onslaught of modern canons—has always been enacted and maintained linguistically (Said). The tool has been language, or more accurately *discourse*: the ideological use of language. Nations of the world were occupied and exploited by colonial powers who sought to expand their sphere of influence under the linguistic guise of bringing "enlightenment and civilization," "democracy" and "freedom," and other misleading euphemistic colonial constructions.

Observing the colonial legacy of the lexical constructions of occupation and foreign domination and their sister concepts, one can recognize the subtle workings of language, the violent selections made to achieve nefarious colonial interests. Enacting and reproducing language and discourse establish and maintain

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ideologies, states of affairs, in distorting reality, sustaining domination and asymmetrical relations of power (Simpson; Fairclough; Van Dijk).

Our selection of certain lexical and structural iterations, one choice among a set of other choices, encodes a certain conceptualization of the world, with a certain positioning and a certain responsibility and an accountability. Thus, language is brought to the heart of the political event, not as a mere epiphenomenon or tool of description or neutral narration, but as an actual construction of the event through various *argumentative* and *interpretive frameworks*, and *discursive legitimation strategies*—legitimation, delegitimation, and pre-legitimation of political actors and actions (Van Leeuwen; Krzyżanowski 2014). Choosing, for example, to represent a displaced and bereaved young Palestinian woman who blows herself up among Israeli soldiers as a "martyr" or a "suicide bomber" and her act as a "terrorist attack" or a "martyrdom operation" in defense of the defenceless, would entail different positioning, "responsibility and blame attribution" (Amer 2009, 11).

Lexical representations construct social actors (Wodak and Meyer). Such representations include: "fedayee," "jihadist," "fundamentalist," "freedom fighter," "resistance fighter," "militia." Such terms legitimate or delegitimate, incriminate or glorify, criticize or deflect criticism, attribute blame or exonerate. They suggest defensive or offensive, apologetic or stigmatizing, sympathetic or accusing, condemnatory or celebratory attitudes. Their use actively conceptualizes such acts as: war crimes or heroism; terrorism or self-defence; weapons of the weak and tools for resisting oppression (Gavron) or crimes against humanity; noble *hara-kiri* and *kamikaze* acts to be glorified, or criminal and terrorist acts to be condemned and punished. Such concepts construct an interpretive framework for us to consider events as martyrdom operations or acts of terrorism, thus legitimizing or pre-legitimizing or delegitimizing. Such nominations or linguistic representations entail different types and levels of mitigation, condemnation, legitimation, positioning, and responsibility, and hence the construction of reality. Such discursive conceptualizations "entail particular ways of looking at the world and particular ways of defining reality which have social and political consequences" (Montgomery et al. 73).

In all these examples of lexical selection, construction, and representation, the same occurrence can generate two different stories, "a difference in perspective" (Thomas et al. 63), and hence reactions with significant political and ideological implications. Each discourse producer wants the masses to interpret and react to the event in a particular way: to experience it and conceptualize reality from their own perspective or ideological stance. While the event, or the people represented, *is* the same, the way they are being represented is *not* the same. In the words of Martin Montgomery (et al. 1992 73), "[s]election of one term rather than another often entails choosing particular modes of conceptualizing the reality in question." Representation, in the words of Mosheer Amer (2009 26), could *delegitimize* the powerless as "violent, confused and irresponsible" and *legitimize* the powerful as "peaceable, rational and flexible," completely reversing and distorting reality. Therefore, the lack of critical language awareness is, in certain

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contexts, disastrous. Language is far from a neutral tool of communication; it is "instead a channel for how we see and construct the world around us" (Thomas et al. xviii), a medium of domination and social force (Wodak and Meyer). It is "the key carrier of conceptual dynamics and change" and the structuring and restructuring of society, social reality, and history (Krzyżanowski 2016, 312). Hence, "the central object of historical inquiry" and critical discourse studies "should not be events or occurrences" as such as emphasized by studies on *Begriffsgeschichte*, or "conceptual history," but rather "social and political concepts which come to define societies and various facets of social order" (Krzyżanowski 2016, 312). It is not the *political event* or occurrence that shapes our life, but rather the *discursive event*.

Domination and oppression, then, take place in linguistic forms. They are discursively enacted and forged through the state or colonial power's ideological apparatuses, which subject the natives or individuals to the hegemony of the dominant ideology of the discourse producer (Thomas et al.). They are also discursively reproduced, legitimized, and perpetuated (Titscher et al.; Fairclough). Social control and power are "exercised with increasing frequency by means of texts" (Titscher et al. 152-53). Power is "exercised and enacted in discourse" (Fairclough 61), which influences our perception of people, events, objects, processes, and phenomena. Our mental development, behaviours, beliefs, and attitudes are all shaped and constructed by discourses, systems of thought (symbolic orders), or habitual ways of *thinking* and *acting* that make certain things thinkable and sayable and regulating who can say them (Foucault). We encode in such discourses our mental picture of reality and how we account for our experience of the world (Simpson). We stabilize or even intensify injustices and inequalities in society discursively. "It is through discourse" then, as Amer states, "that political actors create, maintain, assert or resist social conditions or the status quo … and seek to construct and reconstruct social identities, relations and structures" (2012 181).

Material and Method: Discourse-Conceptual Analysis

In critical discourse studies (CDS), it is generally agreed that there is "no accepted canon of data collection, but many CDA approaches work with existing data, i.e. texts not specifically produced for the respective research projects" (Wodak and Meyer 32). The discussion to follow uses CDS's discourse-conceptual analysis (DCA): an approach within the pluralistic framework of CDS, developed by Michał Krzyżanowski (2016) by proposing a methodological merger between the discourse-historical approach (DHA) in CDS and the branch of historical inquiry known as *conceptual history*. This approach will highlight how some lexical representations and constructions have the capacity to legitimate and galvanize action against injustice—others delegitimate, dehumanize, and stifle action. "War of Independence," and its Palestinian counterpart concept, *Nakba*: two terms selected for *critical case sampling*, a type of *purposive sampling* useful when a single *case* (or small number) "can be decisive in explaining the

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phenomenon of interest" (Rai and Thapa 8). Accordingly, I examine the terms *Nakba* and "War of Independence" used by Palestinian people and Israelis since 1948, respectively, along with a genealogy of related sister concepts, to conceive and represent ongoing ethnic cleansing. See Table 4 below.

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Table 4: Palestinian Representations of Continuing Ethnic Cleansing

No.	Item/Misnomer/ Misrepresentation	Transliteration	Literal Meaning	Act of Ethnic Cleansing
1	*النكبة*	*Nakba*	"Catastrophe"/ "Calamity"/ "Disaster"	Zionist militias' 1948 ethnic cleansing of Palestine
2	هجرة/ هجرة ١٩٤٨	*Hijrah*	"Exodus"/ "Exodus of 1948"	Sister concept to *Nakba*
3	الفلسطينية التغريبة التغريبة الفلسطينية	*Taghreebah*	"Palestinian alienation"	Sister concept
4	١٩٤٨ حرب 1948	*Harbthamanyah wa Arba'een*	"War of 1948"	Sister concept
5	*النكسة*	*Naksa*	"Setback"	Israel's 1967 ethnic cleansing of the rest of Palestine
6	هجرة ١٩٦٧	*Hijra Seb'ah wa Siteen*	"Exodus of 1967"	Sister concept to the *Naksa*
7	١٩٦٧ حرب 1967 حرب	*Harb Sab'ah wa Siteen*	"War of 1967"	Sister concept
8	الصراع الفلسطيني الإسرائيلي	*Assira' al-Falesteeni al-Israeeli*	"Conflict"/"Israeli-Palestinian Conflict"	Misnomer
9	حرب	*Harb*	"War"	An Israeli act of ethnic cleansing of Palestine
10	حرب غزة	*Harb Ghazzah*	"War of Gaza"	An Israeli act of ethnic cleansing in Gaza
11	*حرب الفرقان*	*Harb Al-Furqan*	"War of the Criterion"	Palestinian designation of Israel's 2008 act of ethnic cleansing in Gaza.
12	*حرب السجيل*	*Harb As-sidjeel*	"War of the Stone-hard Blows"	Palestinian designation of Israel's 2012 act of ethnic cleansing in Gaza
13	*العصف المأكول*	*Al-Asf Alma'koul*	"Stalks & Straw Eaten up"	Palestinian designation of Israel's 2014 act of ethnic cleansing in Gaza[2]
14	*سيف القدس* / معركة *سيف القدس*	*Saif al-Quds Battle/War*	"Sword of Jerusalem"	Palestinian designation of Israel's latest act of ethnic cleansing in Gaza 6-21 May 2021

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Nakba vs. "War of Independence"

The lexical representations *Nakba* and "War of Independence" and related sister concepts, as used in Palestinian and Israeli discourses, are misnomers or misrepresentations for *ethnic cleansing*. Not the result of a miscalculation or a fluke (circumstances or the vagaries and momentum of war), but rather the result of long-standing harboured Zionist premeditation (Pappé 2006b), the 1948 ethnic cleansing was meant to eliminate the Palestinian people and replace them with Zionist *olim* or immigrants—constructed later as Israelis. Being unable to completely remove all the Palestinian people from their native land in 1948, however, the new settler-colonial state embarked on a continual process of ethnic cleansing whenever possible. Benny Morris, a "great documenter of the sins of Zionism" and one of the few "figures in Israeli public life" who "has done more to recover the historical truth of the fate of the Palestinians at the hands of the Zionist movement" states that what stops the settler state from eliminating the remaining 20% of Arabs it "regretfully" failed to "cleanse" in 1948 are "purely temporary and tactical" reasons (Piterberg 28-29).

What was perpetrated in Palestine in 1948 was neither a "War of Independence" as propagated by the founders of Israel nor a *Nakba* as inappropriately called by the affected, but rather a predetermined scheme, a well-defined policy of forced mass population expulsion and killing, a method known in modern political parlance as ethnic cleansing.[3] *Nakba* has done more harm than good to the Palestinian people as it has served to obfuscate the cause of their ongoing homelessness and statelessness, and undermined the legitimacy of their colonial struggle. At the same time, the newly found state worked on the memoricide of such ethnic cleansing from the Palestinian and global public consciousness, whitewashing through *concepts* and *discourse*, on the one hand, and the transformation of the original landscape of Mandate Palestine, on the other hand, effectively wiping historic Palestine off the map and from global public memory (Grmek 157).

Connotations and Consequences

The term *Nakba* was first used by the Syrian historian Constantine Zureiq in his 1948 book: *Ma'na al-Nakba* (the meaning of "catastrophe") to record the atrocities perpetrated by Zionist militias between 1947 and 1948 against the unarmed native population of Palestine. *Nakba* is a misnomer as it means a catastrophe or calamity—a natural disaster of some sort, but not genocide. In other words, the nomination objectifies an act of ethnic cleansing into a natural disaster. To be saddened at, rather than as with the work of perpetrators, to be deplored, condemned, and reversed. The concept *Nakba* is thus *non-agentic*. It removes any reference to those who caused such homelessness and dispossession. It obfuscates *causal agency* or the fact that Palestinian dispossession and uprootedness were the product of a perpetrator. In other words, representing this crime against humanity (Saleh; Pappé 2006b) as the *Nakba*, the Palestinians have inadvertently helped in the mystification of the cause and context, and the nature and magnitude of this human crime, and in so doing, the nobility and legitimacy of their

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struggle as a colonized people for their inalienable *haq*[4] to resistance, freedom, and national self-determination.

Pappé (2006b, xvii) explains that the term "*Nakba* might have been adopted, for understandable reasons, as an attempt to counter the moral weight of the Jewish Holocaust (*Shoa*)"—the Hebrew word or concept for "catastrophe." So this may explain why the concept *Nakba*—a *counter-concept* then to the Jewish key social and political concept of the *Holocaust*—has been used by the Palestinian people and Arabs.

Nakba distances Zionist-British cooperation in premeditated depopulation of Palestine. It hides the heavily-mechanized Zionist Goliath. It obscures the veteran Zionist leaders' onslaught against the horror-struck native inhabitants of the land. It muffles the anguished cries of pain and the defencelessness of a people in the face of Zionist terrorism. It does not refer to the *mass expulsion* from their homeland of more than 750,000 Palestinians (Pappé 2006b) from a population of 1.9 million at the time. *Nakba* mystifies the homelessness of 85% of Palestinians living in what became the state of Israel (Badil Resource Centre). It does not refer to the mass depopulation of 560 Palestinian villages that were ethnically cleansed at the hands of the then predecessor of the Israel Occupation Forces (IOF): the Zionist gangs of the Hagana, Stern Gangs, and Irgun (Saleh).

Colonizer vs. Colonized

What happened was not a visitation from God. It was settler-colonialism and elimination of the native; it was "destruction and replacement;" the fulfillment of the founding father of Zionism and Israel, Herzl's ideology and praxis: "If I wish to substitute a new building for an old one, I must demolish before I construct" (Qabaha and Hamamra 31).

The Palestinians and Arabs in general—who, unlike colonialists "do not have a military culture or tradition" (Kuttab, ctd. in Gavron, 105)—while having mastered since time immemorial the literary and especially poetic uses of language and appreciated the aesthetic glamour of grammar in a manner probably more profound and ingenious than any other language community, have failed to grasp and manipulate the subtleties of language in relation to power and domination. They have perfected the rhetoric of "the horse, the sword, the gun" (Kuttab, qtd. in Gavron, 105), but all from an aesthetic angle. They are fully conscious of the aesthetic qualities of language and are adept at its art and artifice, but not as an instrument of control and power.

In terms of linguistic representation, Palestinian discourse is far less effective than that deployed by Israeli counterparts who have perfected the discourse of "peace;" the "Shalom this, Shalom that, Shalom the other thing" (Kuttab, qtd. in Gavron, 105); the discourse that has made the Palestinian people, in their despair to live like other free people, compromise the compromise. The Palestinian narrative has failed to construct, articulate, and propagate a paradigm of ethnic cleansing at the hands of a settler-colonial apartheid regime. *Nakba* as the designation for the 1948 ethnic cleansing of Palestine has been a debacle.

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In contrast, Israeli colonial discourse (or the Israeli official narrative) has successfully managed to reverse reality. Consider, for example, *Der Judenstaat*, the concept Zionists selected when they (re)presented their question in 1896. An instant success, *Der Judenstaat* or "The Jewish State," (capturing of the then "Jewish question" at the level of discursive conceptualization) not only evoked "a widespread interest among the intellectuals of the day" (Herzl 13) but also "brought "Jews out of the ghettos and made them conscious" of a vision of a pure state of their own race (Herzl 13). The title was promising, revealing, and galvanizing: it was inspirational. More importantly, it prompted action—popular and official—and accelerated steps towards the realization of such a vision. It provided momentum. It was a rallying cry of a political movement, of action, of destiny. It was the creation at the level of discourse and conceptualization—a step that precedes action—of such thing as a state, a Jewish state. "The Jewish State," with *the* as definite article. It was a cry for *action*, not a cry for *acquiescence*. It was a cry to end a status quo, not to prolong it.

A settler-colonial movement always needs to construct a narrative to help it enact and sustain its exogenous domination. Unlike the colonized, the settler-colonialists have made expedient use of logos. Israelis have mastered manufacturing discourse. Israelis are adept at misrepresenting reality and distorting facts. "War of Independence" is a far cry from what happened. Independence from whom? Liberation from whom?

Implications

1948 was neither an act of God nor was it a "War of Independence." Premeditated "transfer" is a euphemistic Zionist sister concept for ethnic cleansing.[5] What Zionists perpetrated against Palestinian society was not a cataclysm of seismic proportions, nor was it accidental. It was an ethnic cleansing, envisaged and premeditated (Morris 1988; Masalha 1992; Pappé 2006b). The war was the means for such cleansing, or, as Pappé states, it was:

> not that the Zionist movement, in creating its nation-state, waged a war that 'tragically but inevitably' led to the expulsion of 'parts of the indigenous population.' It is the other way round: the objective was the ethnic cleansing of the country the movement coveted for its new state, and the war was the *consequence*, the *means* to carry it out. (2006a 17-18)

The designation *Nakba*, however, makes it sound as though it was a singular *event* that happened when in reality it launched a process of ongoing *nakabat* (Arabic plural) or acts of racial elimination. Thus, in "The Nakba Continues: The Palestinian Crisis from the Past to the Present," Qabaha and Hamamra state:

> The wounds of the Nakba are still open, and they are getting deeper, not only because Israel is not allowing refugees to return, but because the Israeli military occupation continues to expel and relocate Palestinians to build its own settlements and populate them with Jewish migrants and settlers. Israeli domination obliges Palestinians to dwell in their memories

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> of loss and to "re-live and re-imagine the *Nakba*, a memory that is more than a memory as it is lived and re-lived in the daily nakbas of the Palestinian people" (Hamdi 2021, 33). The Palestinian Nakba is a living presence that is communicated and enacted through the ongoing Israeli displacement and expulsion of Palestinians who share the scars of collective trauma. (31-32)

Such designations—Israeli and Palestinian alike—serve in the mystification of the process of ethnic cleansing, and hence the continuity of the status quo. They project to the outside world an image contrary to what happened and is still happening. *Nakba,* being such an elusive *non-agentic* term with divine implications, has obviated the need for blame attribution, responsibility and accountability, and action and rehabilitation, helping perpetuate the status quo. Indeed, "in leaving out the actor … it may in a sense have contributed to the continuing denial by the world of the ethnic cleansing of Palestine in 1948 and after" (Pappé 2006b, xvii). *Nakba*, by way of such mystification and objectification or naturalization has played a major role in "the absence so far of the paradigm of ethnic cleansing" (Pappé 2006b, 17). *Nakba* does not have the shocking and galvanizing legal implications that the concept *ethnic cleansing* as a crime does, and so does not warrant any commensurate action or attempt at rehabilitation. It does not have mobilizing force. It makes the criminal premeditated act of deracination or uprootedness an act of God or nature—a *fait accompli*; in other words, nothing could be done to redress it apart from passive acceptance.

The imagery of "War of Independence," on the other hand, not only legitimates what happened in 1948, but also celebrates it as an act of heroism and freedom-fighting rather than terrorism and aggression. "War of Independence" implies "a heroic Jewish struggle for survival against all odds" (Pappé 2009, 6) and makes those veteran Zionist leaders behind it into brave national heroes to be celebrated rather than vile war criminals to be condemned and tried in the International Court of Justice (ICJ). Israeli representation paints the perception they were colonized and, following their "noble and brave" "War of Independence," redeemed a usurped territory from Palestinian colonizers. Such an image always places "Israel" in the semantic patient position of defence.

Labeling what Zionists did in and to Palestine and its people in 1948 as ethnic cleansing brings, conceptually at least, Israel to the ICJ. Israel—an ethnocracy—despite its policy and pursuit of a purely Jewish state, is fully aware of why it must master symbolic production, of why it must insist on calling its racist settler actions this, not that. It would never call them acts of ethnic cleansing or ethnocide or even forced displacement as this would incriminate it and expose its colonial practices in Palestine.

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Conclusion and Recommendations

I have argued here that the non-agentic concept *Nakba* used by Palestinians to conceive and represent the 1948 atrocities, along with its equally mystifying Israeli counterpart "War of Independence," have helped perpetuate the status quo: they have prolonged injustice, obviated responsibility, and removed *causal agency*. Both narratives—the victim's *Nakba*, and the victimizer's "War of Independence"—have helped in the mystification and continuity of the premeditated process of the ethnic cleansing of Palestine. While the victim's representation suggests a lack of *critical language awareness* (CLA), the victimizer's mythical narrative of Israel's birth bespeaks a heightened awareness of the power of the linguistics of representation in enacting and sustaining domination. These designations have played a major role in the mystification of the cause of the Palestine question and the perpetuation of ethnic cleansing.

The first step towards social change and decolonization is a conceptual change in nationalist discourse, which necessitates a heightened consciousness of the linguistics of representation as "the key carrier of conceptual dynamics and change," and the structuring and restructuring of society, social reality, and history (Krzyżanowski 2016, 312). We need a replacement for the non-agentic term *Nakba*, and increased awareness of Palestinians to the instrumental role lexical (and thereby discursive) representations play in both "colonialism and the process of becoming emancipated from the strictures of foreign domination" (Divine 3).

The Palestinian narrative needs a *counter-discourse* renaming and restructuring the world's understanding of key events in the continued ethnic cleansing of Palestine. Palestinians need to tread a novel trajectory: a language-conscious and critical one. We need a *J'accuse* (Morris 1988; Masalha 1992; Pappé 2006a/b) against the perpetrators of the ethnic cleansing of Palestine. Get rid of signifiers that do not work. Project and foreground the paradigm of occupation, settler-colonialism, and ethnic cleansing, in place of paradigms that objectify and naturalize human actions. Palestinian intelligentsia, expunge such misnomers from Palestinian consciousness, from Palestinian literature and school and university curricula, and replace them with the paradigm of ethnic cleansing. Palestinian narrative needs to feature the Palestine question as an anti-colonial-occupation struggle. A narrative that exposes Israel worldwide as an apartheid regime.

In closing, one cannot but admit that there are many forces working against the Palestinian people, not merely discourse. Nonetheless, discourse remains crucial, instrumental in initiating the first step, mobilizing the nation behind a national cause. Discourse is a rallying and mobilizing tool for resistance and renaissance.

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Biography

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Notes

1. See Note 4.
2. Referred to earlier—a 51-day barrage of Israeli bombardment of the be sieged enclave.
3. Present homelessness is approximately 80% (Finkelstein 2003).
4. According to Ghada M. Ramahi in *Who Gives the Right to Resist?* (Merali and Sharbaf 82) Islamically speaking, in Arabic there is a specific word that is used to mean Right. It is the word *haq*, with *hoqook* for plural. Strictly, the word word *haq* connotes only a "just Right." This is so because the word *haq* as Right is derived from the Absolute *Haq*, Allah the Almighty. The Absolute *Haq* is also the root of the word *Haqeeqah* which means the Absolute Truth. *Haq* is one of the Ninety Nine Divine Atributes. Hence, one's *haq* implies a divinely bestowed "Just Right." Unfortunately, lately in the Arab world the words *haq* and "right" have been confused and used interchangeably which has resulted in further confusion. Not every right is *Haq*, but every *Haq* is right. No language is necessary to know one's Haq, but plenty of it is needed to know one's rights. *Haq* cannot be understood mechanistically nor does it follow science, technology, economic growth, or tourism. *Haq* cannot be affected by any man made laws and regulations. *Haq* cannot be crushed by any military supremacy. No power can deny one's *Haq* but power can deny one's right. A world agency might decide some rights in favour of one over the other but it does not make these rights just. Those who are unjustly awarded some rights at the expense of others will always know that they have cheated. The *haq* to resist defies negotiations, road maps, and high concrete walls. The *haq* to resist is the driving force behind Palestinian uprising, behind Hamas, Islamic Jihad.
5. It is estimated that "some 430,000 Palestinians" were further displaced, half of whom were from the areas cleansed in 1948 and were thus twice refugees (Al-Jazeera).

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Janus Unbound: Journal of Critical Studies
E-ISSN: 2564-2154
1(2) 64-82

This All Happened?

Douglas Walbourne-Gough

Janus Unbound: Journal of Critical Studies
E-ISSN: 2564-2154
1(2) 83-86

Most of us think that history is the past. It's not. History is the stories we tell about the past.
—Thomas King

i) relative perception

Back in Toronto, the same place my mother
left Corner Brook for. Me just a year old, oblivious
to the friction I'd caused for being born. We're in
The Caribou Club, where Harry Hibbs would pack
the house with Newfoundlanders sick for home,
where my grandfather would play open mic nights,
when he and my grandmother still smoked Export A's,
drank rum n cokes. Long before church, prayer,
and small town talk steered them toward the light.

The bar was also their living room, every table
set up like a coffee table with couch and wingback
chair on repeat, each table displayed a large bible,
its zippered closure undone, the splay offering
gold-gilt pages, christ's words under neon red.
My grandparents and mother somehow sitting
at all the tables at once. Pop's accordion a remote
for 'the multicordion'—in lieu of a juke box
he'd built a glass case full of glowing glass tube
amps, bellows, pneumatic hoses. Lifetime of tithings
paid in saved change lining the bottom like a hoard.

Each note played would brighten the lights,
flush rushes of air through the hoses, bring his
voice over the speakers blowing benediction
as he whipped the accordion around his wrists,
left then right, slinging it behind his back, eyes
shut in ecstasy, my grandmother's hands thrown

up in rapture while my mother smoked, lit each one
from the last, unimpressed. My grandfather's eyes
wide, whites like a hunted animal's, christ's voice
quoting Hank Williams—*if you're gonna sing,*
sing 'em somethin' they can understand.

My grandmother cross-stitches sheet music
in scrolls, her perfect up-do catching sheens
of light at every table, asks my mother—*can*
my grandson read music? Slow snakes of smoke
emerge from my mother's nose, shakes her head
no, drops the butt in a half-empty glass of draught.
Her mother shrugs, *there are other ways to serve.*
Mom musses my hair, her eyes' green glint
keen as a cat, smiles back a drawer of knives—
not the worst thing I've done.

I'm in the room, can hear their words, the music,
smell tobacco smoke and sour beer but my hand
passes through her shoulder when I try to say
look at me, you did damn well. I notice my infant
self in a bassinet look back at me with a shrug
and realize this isn't the way it all went, nor is it
a fiction. My grandfather's accordion hits the floor,
its black and white pearl keys fall out like old teeth
and the lights come up—the tables gone, no longer
sitting in The Caribou but waist-deep in water.

Janus Unbound: Journal of Critical Studies
E-ISSN: 2564-2154
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ii) status

I'm waist-deep in Parson's Pond, my mother's parents
in the water with me. Instead of dunking me under
in jesus' name my grandfather, pentecost pastor, gently falls
backward. A small kick from his legs, *sure, I can lead you
beside quiet waters but why can't we just go for a swim*?
Nan, all grace and sunglasses, floats by with a crossword,
six-letter word for social rank, starts and ends with s?

My father's folks paddle past, the phrase *teach em to fish*…
runs the length of their canoe. They raise their mugs
of tea with a wink as they tow the sun across the sky,
their grins possess a knowing I can't quite place. I don't realize
I'm floating on my back until the moon appears above me
and the pond's gently in my ears, whispering *as above,
so below* in the voices of both grandmothers at once.

My father's arms come under me, says *heard you're feeling
a little lost, nothin a few hours around the fire won't fix*.
He stands full height, a few stars caught in his beard,
carries me home in strides, his boots brush the tips of
black spruce like grass. From up here, we can see Sandy Point,
can see St. Paul Island as he wades out the bay, *Elmastukwek*
suddenly on my lips as we head to Cedar Cove.

He takes my wallet, with its government-issued cards,
takes my christian guilt and self-doubt, drops them into his
parents' old coffee-can kettle. I ask *why can't I just burn it all*?
He hands me some matches, nods behind me. My mother
steps in from the surf on a wave of rolling capelin—*some things
we shed, some we're steeped in*. She adds the rising tide,
a few newspaper obituaries, the open throat of a pitcher plant.

Together, we build a pyre of kindling and driftwood, filling
it with birchbark, but I want to run. She hands me the kettle,
gently kisses my cheek. *We know who you are, but we can't
make you believe it*. Shaking, I strike a match to birch, watch
the bark recoil, gift itself to fire. Not brave, just tired of telling
myself the same story, I spit the phrase *not enough* into the can,
break into heaves and sobs, let the kettle boil.

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E-ISSN: 2564-2154
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Biography

Douglas Walbourne-Gough is a poet and member of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation from Corner Brook, Newfoundland. His first collection, *Crow Gulch* (Goose Lane Editions 2019), has been nominated for several awards, and won the 2021 EJ Pratt Poetry Award. He is currently working on his second collection, tentatively titled *Island*. Douglas' current research interests centre on the Newfoundland Mi'kmaq experience in the wake of the Qalipu enrolment process. He holds an MFA in Creative Writing (UBC Okanagan) and is a PhD candidate in English/Creative Writing (UNB Fredericton).

Notes

**Elmastukwek is the Mi'kmaq word for the Bay of Islands in Ktaqmkuk, or Newfoundland.*

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E-ISSN: 2564-2154
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Road Shots: Security Road; Highway 449, the New Old Road to Jericho; Highway 60, Nablus (Laser Cut Photographs 60x40)

Janus Unbound: Journal of Critical Studies
E-ISSN: 2564-2154
1(2) 87-91

Public Studio (Elle Flanders and Tamira Sawatzky)

Road shots is a series of photographs that trace the political landscape remaining at the core of Israel's occupation of Palestine. The laser cut patterns, designed in Auto Cad, take their cue from Islamic architectural ornamentation. Obscuring the image, these screens create barriers in the landscape while simultaneously rendering the photograph into a three dimensional object.

Originally exhibited at O'Born Contemporary Gallery, Toronto (2012).

Biographies

Public Studio is the collective art practice of filmmaker Elle Flanders and architect Tamira Sawatzky. Public Studio creates large-scale public artworks, lens-based works, films, and immersive installations that examine the social, and political implications of landscape. Public Studio exhibits their work internationally and has garnered critical attention for their work receiving numerous commissions and awards. The Long Now, a monograph of Public Studio's work, edited by Emilie Chhangur and Philip Monk, was published in 2019.

Elle Flanders is an artist and filmmaker. She completed her PhD at York University's practice-based research visual arts program in 2014 and has mentored with some of the art world's most notable artists, including Mary Kelly and Martha Rosler, at the Whitney ISP and Rutgers University, respectively. In addition to producing award-winning films and installations, Flanders has a strong history of political activism in the LGBTQ community and as a Jew working in solidarity with Palestinians to end the Occupation. Her longstanding interest in the socio-political realm and how it relates to landscape have led her, in collaboration with Tamira Sawatzky, to produce immersive, site-specific public art installations that re-examine the role of audience as participant/witness.

Tamira Sawatzky is an architect by training, having worked for the firm MJMA in Toronto from 1999–2010, designing large-scale, award-winning, community-based projects. Sawatzky began a collaborative art practice with Elle Flanders in 2009, bringing a spatial focus that contributes to the development of immersive installations and multifaceted exhibitions. Sawatzky's architectural background lends itself to an emphasis on the structural, provoking a conversation between art and architecture and the politics of landscape and place.

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E-ISSN: 2564-2154
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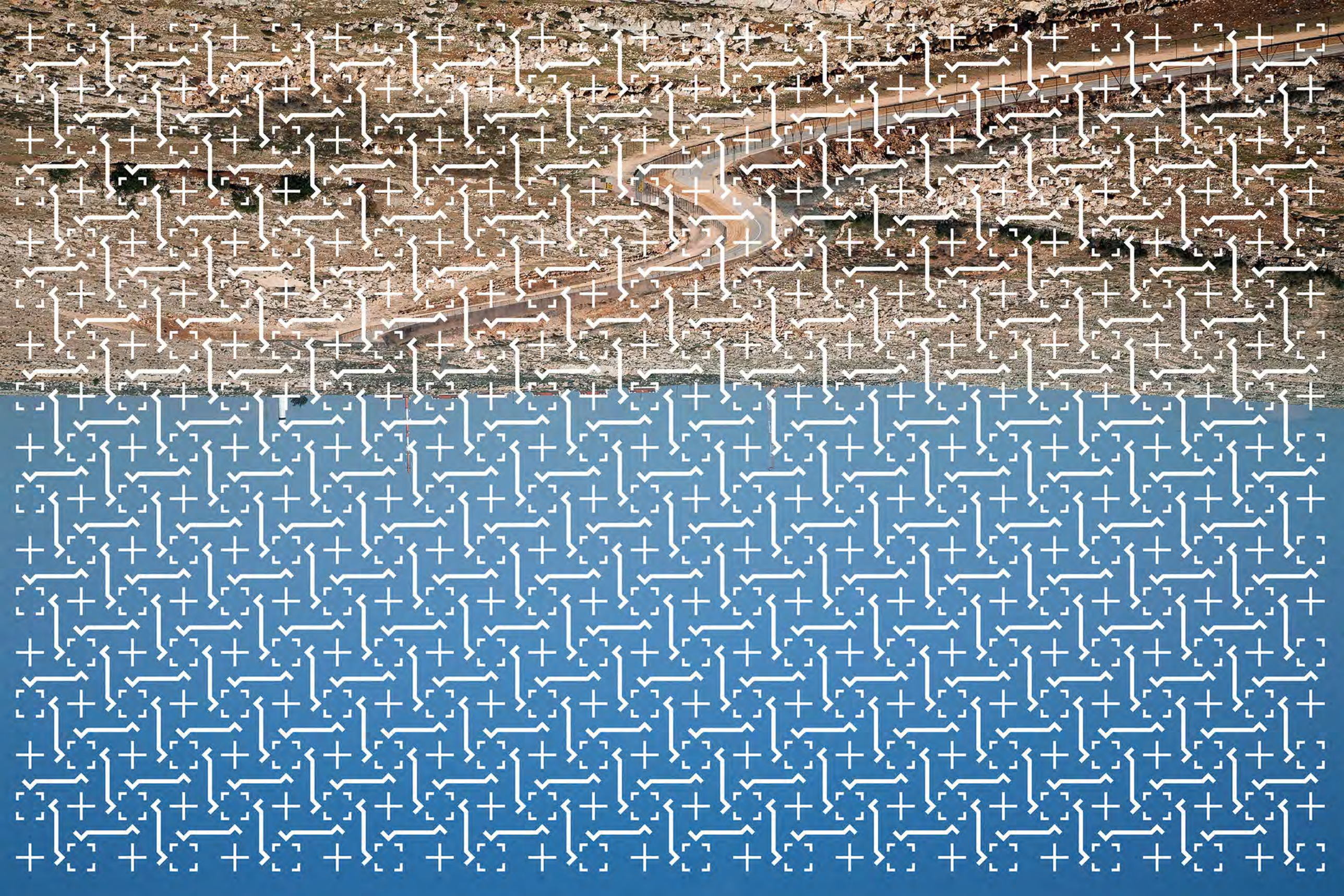

Review of *Places of Mind: A Life of Edward Said* by Timothy Brennan and *On Edward Said: Remembrance of Things Past* by Hamid Dabashi

Janus Unbound: Journal of Critical Studies
E-ISSN: 2564-2154
1(2) 92-97

Liam Ó Ruairc

Brennan, Timothy. *Places of Mind: A Life of Edward Said.* (London: Bloomsbury, 2021), 464 pages.
Dabashi, Hamid. *On Edward Said: Remembrance of Things Past.* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2020), 250 pages.

Over the past three years, a number of outstanding books have been published on the life and work of Palestinian-American scholar and activist Edward W. Said. Published in 2019, Flemish scholar Nicolas Vandeviver's *Edward Said and the Authority of Literary Criticism* was the first to make use of the Edward W. Said archives at Columbia University. The same archives have been used much more extensively by Said's former student Timothy Brennan. Additionally, Hamid Dabashi puts into a single volume essays, articles, and chapters written on various occasions, beginning with his 2003 obituary of Said. Brennan and Dabashi's books demonstrate continued interest in Edward W. Said and his thought close to 20 years after his death, and the wealth of new material about his life and times that has become accessible since.

Brennan is well acquainted with both the man and his ideas; his long-awaited biography of Said is the first book outside of Said's own reflections to study his life with such care and detail. The book is particularly well researched, drawing on 96

interviews with Said's family, friends, students, and antagonists, spanning from August 2015 to March 2019 across the US, Europe, and the Middle East. For personal details and the dispelling of myths, Brennan leans on Said's sisters Jean and Grace, as well as his children, Najla and Wadie, and most of all his wife Mariam (418). Extensive use is made of nine separate archives to research the life of Said, ranging from those of his former school at Mount Hermon to the vast amount of material available at Columbia University where he taught from 1963. Brennan's book brings a wealth of new material and is set to become the standard biography of Edward W. Said.

Places of Mind gives equal importance to Said as a man, thinker, and public intellectual. There was much more to Said than just being the author of important books like *Orientalism*. Brennan's biography provides a treasure trove of details on Said's personal quirks, his predilection to smoking, Burberry suits, and particular brands of mineral water. Exploration of the various archives has enabled Brennan to use years of correspondence and unpublished manuscripts, bringing valuable material on Said as a thinker. One learns, for example, that Michel Foucault once wrote to Said: "I infinitely admire your intelligence, your mastery, and the rigor of your analyses to the point that on many points you have helped me clarify the nature of my own future work" (176); or, that Jacques Derrida wrote to Said to thank him for his "magnificent book" *After The Last Sky*:

> in every line the political and poetic gestures are tied together in the same analysis ... Your text and these extraordinary photographs work at once as an allegory of a people in its destiny which, given its unending suffering, it no longer allows to be allegorized. (237-238)

Said's correspondence also reveals letters from the likes of Patricia Highsmith, Jodie Foster, Vanessa Redgrave (326, 328), and even a Christmas card from Ronald Reagan in 1987 (221). On the other hand, he also received numerous death threats from Zionist elements and his office was firebombed (217-18). The New York City Police Department once considered his life to be in enough danger to install a panic button in his apartment.

All periods of Said's life are meticulously researched. The book is particularly interesting on his time in Lebanon in the early 1970s and how this period was key to his intellectual and political development. This biography enables us to have a broader and more detailed view of some known episodes of Said's life. For example, we know from Paul Buhle's 1987 biography of C.L.R. James that Said visited him at his Railton Road in Brixton in 1987. Thanks to Brennan's biography we now also know that the meeting lasted an hour and a half and that it was only when Said mentioned that he played the piano that the two men settled in and talked almost exclusively about Beethoven's piano sonatas (313-14).

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Places of Mind offers some surprising new information. It highlights Said's attempts to write fiction at various stages of his life; he started but abandoned writing two novels, poetry, and short stories (86-92, 279-82). One learns that Erich Auerbach's family vetoed a project of Said's to publish a collection of his essays (236), and that Said's 1983 book *The World, the Text and the Critic* was translated by the Syrian Ministry of Culture in a pirated edition that remained unavailable outside Syria (336). Like T.W. Adorno, Said expelled protesting students from his classroom in February 1969 and called security when they refused to do so (125). Said was very clear in the conviction that the classroom should not become a place to advocate political ideas and was very much against the teaching of literature as a form of politics.

Brennan's book is sympathetic to Said and his ideas, but is not an uncritical hagiography. In particular, Said's 1993 *Culture and Imperialism* is subjected to some interesting criticisms (291-98). Brennan finds, for instance, that Said "somewhat dubiously reversed the commonly understood temporal order of imperialism and colonialism" (295). Sometimes the book sharpens our understanding of Said's ideas; for example, while for many "counterpoint" and "contrapuntal" seem to mean "a more supple, nonconfrontational kind of reading," Brennan opposes the idea as "not one of harmony but one of confrontation" (306).

There are some surprising omissions. In the pages about Said and his students (241-44) there is no mention of the fact that Barack Obama studied for some time under Said. According to David Remnick's 2010 book *The Bridge: The Life and Rise of Barack Obama*, Said's theoretical approach in the course left Obama cold, and the young Obama referred to Said as a "flake." Brennan discusses books where Said appears as a fictional character (329) but there is no mention of the fact that "Harvard Professor George Issa Qumdis," a villain in Chapter 33 of Jonathan Kellerman's 2004 right-wing thriller *Therapy*, was based on Edward Said, the closest Said came to being appropriated by popular culture.

In terms of a general biography of Said, Brennan's book is likely to remain unsurpassed. Future biographies of Said are likely to concentrate on specific aspects or periods of his life, as for example M.D. Walhout's 2020 *Arab Intellectuals and American Power: Edward Said, Charles Malik and the US in the Middle East*, a dual biography of Said and his relative Charles Malik illustrates. Highly readable, *Pieces of Mind* will appeal to both the general reader and the expert and enables the reader to move from Said the man to Said the theorist and public intellectual, and back from Said the theorist and activist to Said the man, making our understanding of Said much more concrete. Last but not least, unlike expensive academic volumes, the book has an affordable price, which can only encourage many more people to read it.

In the words of Hamid Dabashi, author of *On Edward Said: Remembrance of Things Past,* "This volume is something of an intellectual autobiography of my prolonged

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and fruitful relationship with the late Edward W. Said (1935-2003)—at once personal, collegial and intellectual and all of that in the spirit of political comradery" (1). Dabashi is a professor of Iranian Studies and Comparative Literature at Columbia University in New York and knew Said personally since about 1989. While highly sympathetic to Said's work, Dabashi comes from a different intellectual tradition, much influenced by the Iranian Jalal Al-e-Ahmad, Philip Rieff, and George Maksidi, and builds his own work around a set of essays on particular themes. Dabashi also emphasizes his "habitual Marxist spin to postcolonial theory" (10) as his essay on Rosa Luxemburg as "the unsung hero of postcolonial theory" illustrates (195ff.).

Giving a sense of conversation and debate with Said's contributions, Dabashi writes that,

> I decided to put these pieces together as a record of my recollections, of how I have read and responded to Said, as an act of remembrance of things past. The future of our critical thinking depends on our recollections of this past. How we respond to the most pressing crisis of our day depends on how we keep a record of our own location next to towering figures who have bracketed our intellectual life. (5)

The book provides a collection of reminiscences, travelogues, and essays that document the author's own close and long-standing scholarly, personal, and political relationship with Said. The first travelogue, mainly about Jerusalem and Ramallah, recalls how Dabashi took a fistful of soil from a sacred gravesite near al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem to Lebanon and put it on Said's gravesite. The other travelogue in the book is about how Dabashi was driven from Jerusalem to Nablus by Hany Abu-Assad's assistant while he was location scouting for his widely praised 2005 movie *Paradise Now*. The chapter, as a result, has a decidedly filmic dimension to its narrative. Film is a central interest for Dabashi, who devotes another chapter to Palestinian cinema and one about the problems he had to face for organizing a Palestinian film festival at Columbia in the last few months of Said's life.

The majority of chapters in Dabashi's book deal with the problem of intellectuals. Dabashi is skeptical about the notion of "exilic intellectuals" (89ff.), who Said saw as the locus of dissent. Dabashi argues that the exilic condition actually generates what he calls "Comprador Intellectuals," who will sell their souls to the highest bidder. They are immigrants, either scholars or academics, intellectuals with close connections to US centers of power, and the military establishment in particular:

> To understand the political climate and the social conditions in which the comprador intellectuals in general and the native informers in particular fermented and emerged in the United States of the neoconservative era, it is imperative not to be limited by the notion of exilic intellectuals as Said understood it, which is effectively a sword and can cut both ways—for every Said there are at least ten Fouad Ajamis. (149)

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Regarding other types of intellectuals, Dabashi provides particularly useful criticisms of Michael Ignatieff (140-48), exposing the intellectual charlatanism of his liberal democratic "rule of law" defense of torture. In the clash between Said and Bernard Lewis, Dabashi "was and ... remain[s], squarely on Said's side":

> But that was not, nor is it now, a merely political position; rather it was and is a potently moral and intellectual disposition. The difference between the two men was the difference between the politics of lucrative power and the intellectual courage to revolt. (217-18)

Dabashi provides an interesting contrast between Said and Slavoj Žižek. Said cared deeply about Palestine, and from this site of contestation extrapolated his politics and ethics of responsibility towards the rest of the world, whereas Žižek knows "widely and variedly but never deeply and particularly," and here is the root of his "political proclivity for vacuous abstractions" (164). Unlike Said, Žižek's thinking was never primarily rooted in a particular struggle or conflict, the consequence of this being that his work will never be solidly politically anchored.

The central idea that Dabashi wants to present is what he calls "reading Said in another key":

> Said raised the truth of the Palestinian struggle to the metamorphic power of a metaphor from which no human being can come to moral consciousness. Translating Said into another key is to reach for the metamorphic quintessence of his power and elocution, where the truth of the Palestinian cause reaches out to touch the nobility of any other cause attentive to the originary language of his towering ability to speak truth to power. (188)

While Brennan's book is about the life of Said, with chapters titles such as "Mourning Edward Said," or "Edward Said's *Orientalism*: Forty Years Later," Dabashi's *On Edward Said: Remembrance of Things Past* is mainly about the persistent presence of Said, close to 20 years after his death. One feels that Dabashi has a particular urge to address younger generations who have not personally experienced the intellectual and political debates of Said's generation.

> Today, a close and critical reading of Said's seminal masterpiece(s) requires an even more radical dismantling of the European project of colonial modernity and all its ideological trappings. Said paved the way and pointed us in the right direction. The treacherous path ahead requires not just the sparkles of his critical thinking but also the grace of his courage and imagination. (193)

Timothy Brennan and Hamid Dabashi's books will certainly be encouraging readers in this direction.

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E-ISSN: 2564-2154
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Biography

Liam Ó Ruairc is a widely published writer and author of *Edward W. Said as Critical Intellectual: Speaking Truth in the Face of Power* (2020) and *Peace or Pacification?: Northern Ireland After the Defeat of the IRA* (2019).

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E-ISSN: 2564-2154
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Review of *Economic and Monetary Sovereignty in 21st Century Africa* by Maha Ben Gadha, Fadhel Kaboub, Kai Koddenbrock, Ines Mahmoud, and Ndongo Samba Sylla (Eds.)

Janus Unbound: Journal of Critical Studies
E-ISSN: 2564-2154
1(2) 98-102

Nathan Richard Williams

Ben Gadha, Maha, Fadhel Kaboub, Kai Koddenbrock, Ines Mahmoud, and Ndongo Samba Sylla (Eds.). *Economic and Monetary Sovereignty in 21st Century Africa*. (London: Pluto, 2022), 336 pages.

Certain Africanist historians have pushed against prevailing perspectives and dominant analyses in this discipline as a matter of political purpose as well as intellectual necessity. Historians engaged in this push with a range of responses. Terence Ranger's 1983 critique of traditionalist analysis uncovers the limitations of contemporary thought. When facing specific problems, cases, and struggles in the African context, Achille Mbembe's 2021 call for constructive approaches providing "alternative possibilities" should be heeded. Finally, there was the conscious ideological focus of Walter Rodney's seminal 2018 Marxist text, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. As Prabhat Patnaik states in the foreword, *Economic and Monetary Sovereignty in 21st Century Africa* positions itself towards the latter, intending to go "beyond neoliberalism" in its analysis and, its editors and contributors argue, towards necessarily radical solutions (vii). Through a primarily instrumental focus, the book shows the continuation of the history of exploitation of African countries contained within the financial structures through which current capitalist economic theory is enacted. The approach proves some of the flaws of current financial structures while contributing new ways for conceptualizing African histories and their significance to the worldwide future.

Through a range of case studies, this book covers the extant scope of African postcolonial responses to the challenges of their individual situations. The first case studies presented expose limitations in the postcolonial state-based reforms for effecting long-term monetary sovereignty. In these chapters, authors Harry Cross, Francis Garikayi, and Fatiha Talahite illustrate such limitations in the histories of Sudanese banking nationalizations, Zimbabwean responses to hyperinflation, and the ZANU national liberation and Algerian popular protest movements influencing economic decision-making.

The issue of currency unions, with their colonial history and special role in the ongoing imperialistic exploitation of the African continent, justifiably have their own section in this book. Through Carla Coburger and Hannah Cross' analyses of ongoing colonial practices of the CFA (African Financial Community) Franc Zone in west African countries, these chapters explore the continuation of historical dependency and extraction. Focus then turns to the imperial metropole, with Thomas Fazi's demonstration of how African struggles fit into a wider context that includes the European Monetary Union crisis of 2007-08, and with Elizabeth Cobbett's exploration of how African financial centres fit in the financial relationship networks of the globalizing world. Each of these critical studies point towards specific requirements for solutions, importantly remaining constructive and future-minded. Where these situations and needs overlap and connect, particularly when suggesting paths towards constructive solutions, remain less clear.

The book makes a valuable contribution to these histories through the approaches laid out by Radhika Desai and Max Ajl in two chapters. These approaches draw histories of oppression, struggle, and visions for freedom together. By pursuing historical arguments focused on a specific problem, each of these chapters expands the contribution to the reimagining of African and global history. First, in explaining the flaws in debt restructuring and relief initiatives towards African economies, Desai demonstrates a history of qualitatively different financial relationships between post-1949 China and African countries. By reconsidering China's role, Desai turns away from Eurocentric African history, which suggests the sum total of Africa's historical significance can be derived from its relationships to Europe, as either colony-metropole or in postcolonial dependency. This perspective is further explored from a European history angle by Heiner Flassbeck, and from a global history angle by Anne Löscher and Frauke Banse. Second, in considering the importance of national liberation struggles to food sovereignty and development, Ajl brings in the context of class and national struggle through instrumental monetary and economic histories. With Desai and Ajl's chapters, this book articulates an argument for urgent and radical, perhaps even revolutionary, paths as a requirement for solving the crises and inequalities outlined in the case studies.

The success of approaching African histories of exploitation, liberation struggle, and sovereignty through the lens of monetary control instruments hinges on providing more detailed definitions of "money" and "capital," as the classical economic definitions prove inadequate and lead to over-abstraction and restrictive "expert" discourse (3). To begin dealing with this challenge, Desai offers an improved definition of money as a "political institution" (30). Desai's definition focuses on regulatory usage, which highlights capitalism's need for control—monopolizing production and flow of goods and people by a few owners—and its realization through financial institutions. A new definition provides the grounds on which this book links the purpose of monetary instruments, which is controlling and easing capital flow, with the challenges faced by work-

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ing and poor classes, and with the systematic, necessary super-exploitation of the natural and human resources of underdeveloped countries. This pillaging is termed "imperialist rent" by Samir Amin (8).

Monetary institutions are shown, therefore, to play a crucial part in capitalism's rivalries, competitiveness, and inability to provide equitably for humanity. They form, Desai argues, the "world creditocracy" of the US dollar (34). It is this exploration of the relationship between imperialist powers—the US, principally—that is taken up by later chapters through perspectives on the failure of neoliberal development-based economics. The definition of money is, however, incomplete and does not explain financial relationships to commodities, the most basic units of capitalist production. As Karl Marx defined it, money is "the commodity that functions as a measure of value … as the medium of circulation" (2013 88). Significantly, this definition also places the role of money in the context of productive relations and the struggle between capitalist and laborers, complementing the aim of *Economic and Monetary Sovereignty* to move the argument away from technical, abstract perspectives. Despite its contribution to reframing financial and economic history with the intention of exposing ongoing exploitative and oppressive relationships between countries, the book does not go as far as explaining the roots of these relationships. Building from Marx's definition might have shown the central importance of the working people's struggles for such an explanation.

By taking analysis away from the Eurocentric history and considering the alternative view of African and Chinese relationships, where do these new perspectives leave the cause for African liberation? In concerning itself with sovereignty, the book necessarily relates to historical and ongoing emancipatory, liberation, and revolutionary movements, which define what sovereignty (and freedom, more broadly) could mean. The history of monetary and financial instruments used as labour control, as explicated by Hannah Cross' chapter on the CFA Franc Zone, reveal the importance of these instruments for the ideological push to defend capitalistic interests, from theorists such as John Maynard Keynes and Milton Friedman (160), which effectively brings these histories into the wider narrative of class struggle. This approach fits with Marx's definition of money and institutions around the productive and social relations contained in a commodity. Cross' chapter crucially extends the criticisms of colonialism and imperialism towards the class struggle.

Analyzing an instrumental approach that shows the "world creditocracy" continuing Africa's looting by the imperialist metropole also shows where working class and oppressed peoples fight back through labour control and social struggle. The book, however, pushes beyond critique by attempting to frame these problems on a systemic scale. Returning to Patnaik's foreword, this means placing the arguments advanced in examining each case study in the context of a continent "extricating itself from the current global quagmire" (x). The quagmire in question, as elucidated by the chapters that follow, include the development gap, the ceaseless and destructive exploitation of natural and hu-

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man resources, and the continuation of the relative oppression of the majority of people within individual countries and globally. Development challenges are addressed by instrumental approaches, but it is when they begin to be understood as having a "class relation" that their part in the root of inequalities can be found (169). This means the necessary next step, taking up the challenge of building new solutions out of the critique of the old, requires a social history connecting the economic roots of exploitation to ideological challenges and the struggle against oppressive conditions. Reconnecting with Rodney's revolutionary theory, this book leads readers to the need for a wholesale rejection of current dominant structures and towards the invention of the new. In the African context especially, this conclusion shows the continuing relevance of Rodney's argument of the presence of "cultural imperialism which makes it easier for the European-educated African to recall names like the (French) Capetians and the (Prussian) Hohenzollerns" (2018 83). The problem remains, however, that new invention requires a separation from the imperialism and neocolonialism still dominating worldwide politics, economics, and education.

Economic and Monetary Sovereignty in 21st Century Africa's intentions go beyond criticizing or examining one continent in isolation: fitting with radical alternative trends from Rodney, Ranger, and Mbembe among others, it sees in these histories potential ways to tackle systemic, even universal problems. Insights from this book and of Africanist historical studies point to the need to reach beyond the conventions of academic institutions—set by the same system providing the monetary institutions exposed as imperialist by these authors—in a trend that must be taken further. Histories, in particular, study and show various oppressions, point towards exploitative institutions, and suggest their roots must now be systemically pushed to challenge these oppressors and exploiters. Should they offer this possibility, they might at last find the radical, new, and real solutions urged by the authors to the crises and inequalities that make up Patnaik's "quagmire."

Biography

Nathan Richard Williams is a postgraduate researcher in the History Department at SOAS, University of London. His research focuses on radical and revolutionary students at the national universities of Tanzania, Uganda, and Kenya after independence, with interests in the history of education, postcolonial development, and the language of anticolonial nationalism.

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Janus Unbound: Journal of Critical Studies
E-ISSN: 2564-2154
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Errata
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- pp.3, 12 For "Jean Paul" read "Jean-Paul."
- p.74 For "Benet" read "Bennett."
- p.85 For "Ben Gurion" read "Ben-Gurion."
- p.91 For Winnicott, D.W. reference "1965" read "(1958) 1965. 'The Capacity to Be Alone.' In *The Maturational Processes and the Facilitating Environment*."
- p.91 For Winnicott, D.W. reference "1971" read: "—. (1969) 1971. 'The Use of an Object and Relating Through Identification.' In *Playing and Reality*."
- p.103 For citation "Clair" read "(Claire Cutler)."
- p.107 For "Levi-Stauss" read "Lévi-Strauss."
- p.108. For missing references read: "Andrews, K.R. 1984. *Trade Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press," and "Davies, Ralph. 1973. *Rise of the Atlantic Colonies*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press."
- p.118 For "Ahmad" read "Ahmed."
- P.119. For reference "Kuhn" read "Kun."
- P.119. (Seroussi 2010) reference on p. 117 is missing in references. Read: "Seroussi, Edwin. 2010. "Music." In *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World* (Vol. 1). Edited by N.A. Stillman, 1-36. The Netherlands: Brill Online.com."

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