Black Nationalism and Native American Struggles through the World-System Lens: Engaging with the Legacy of Rod Bush

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I. The Man

The legacy of a man, a person who was a warrior for racial justice, can be seen in the words and deeds attributed to him by those who knew him over the years.

When I was first asked to consider giving some words in an honoring or recognition event associated with two national sociological organizations, I thought of the medicine wheel we often use in the northern plains to recognize the four directions: 1) the people we come from and represent; 2) the spiritual significance of our lives on this earth, our grandmother, in respect; 3) the cosmos above us; and 4) an internal set of struggles emanating from all these personal, social, and philosophical manifestations of our lives in this world.

1. This tribute to Rod Bush was spoken in the summer of 2014, and written in the winter of 2016.
In terms of long-term struggle, I find no better image than this picture of a Mayan-based (Tzotzil) organic traditional cross, made of natural corns for the four colors, with green boughs for the plant life, symbols for animals and the physical world, offset with a conch shell for blowing the winds of life and passing, specifically for one who has led the way. The picture below was taken in San Cristobol, Chiapas, Mexico, made by traditionalist leaders with strong spiritual background who struggle as Zapatista fighters against a dominant (and racist oppressor) state suppressing their nationalist struggles of liberation.

This is much like how Rod Bush stayed true to his beliefs, yet engaged in struggle with the racist state in the sense of fighting for a respected Black nationalism within our dominant political system.

Plate 1: Mayan Traditional Cross—Representing Unity of the 4 Directions as Colors² (photo courtesy of Jim Fenelon)

In this sense, and knowing that I may be taking cultural leaps of faith and responsibility not always accrued to someone with such a

² This Mayan cross follows closely with the Lakota colors used in the medicine wheel and to represent the 4 directions—Black (west), Red (north), Yellow (east), White (south)—which, as I noted in my last book, are also colors used to depict the races of humankind, but in discriminatory and hierarchical ways. It is important to note, as Rod did the first time I presented this in his presence, that no direction or color in the medicine wheel has more or less importance than any other color, and thus represents a world view better positioned for equity and fairness.
diverse experiential background, I have given a name to my colleague, my friend Rod Bush, in Dakota: AKICITA SAPA OYATE, that could be construed to mean Warrior of/for the Black Nation (or Black Warrior for the People). This naming with a Mayan cross image represents the twenty plus years I have engaged and interacted with this great thinker and his ideas while appreciating his life.

II. Rod Bush as an Actor on the Field of Justice Struggles

Although I had interacted with Rod Bush previously (specifically when forming the Section on Race, Gender, and Class of the American Sociological Association), my first strong memories of him were at an American Sociological Association meeting in San Francisco, near the end of the 1990s. We were on a panel that I was very much looking forward to, even though it was timed near the conference’s end. As it turns out, we were the only two panel members who arrived at a very large room, with only a few people in attendance. We were first poised to be lecturing from a platform before many empty rows of chairs extending out to windows looking out to the Bay. But we moved the discussion off the dais onto the floor, arranging a circle of chairs and putting all of us on the same field of interaction. We thus opened discussion amid a physical sense of equality as we engaged the group in ideas and observations spanning the world of racial struggle, social movements, and global developments.

I spoke of the framing of Wounded Knee—from 1890 to 1973 to 1990, on a topic titled “Analyzing American Indian Activism: Framing Wounded Knee”—where we identify this genocidal event having its origins in the United States wanting a violent closure and end to the Lakota Oyate resistance (as Sioux Nation were identified in wars and treaties). But, of course, the struggle and the dream did not die on that bloody field, instead going under the surface and keeping the ideas of a free and strong people alive during the dark years around the turn of the century. They re-emerged in struggles directly after the Civil Rights movement, specifically in the American Indian Movement’s support of the re-taking of Wounded Knee for a Lakota Oyate. This represented
one hundred years of resistance and revitalization of the indigenous nations there, and throughout North America and the world. My work noted the deep symbolic nature of that national re-taking, sometimes with and sometimes against the fractured and partially compromised tribal councils on the Sioux reservation of Pine Ridge. This had a necessary analytical end time of 1990, more for purposes of presenting the work, as well for the hundredth observation of that year, similar to discussions of Blacks’ struggle against racism.

Rod Bush spoke of the creation of Black Nationalism in the U.S. and the western world, as it would relate to racial struggles of liberation, often in contrast to (though sometimes in conjunction with) the Civil Rights Movement, within the broader world-system, and as a continuity that demanded the respect needed for national consciousness, for Blacks and for the United States. His words below signify these relations:

The intensification of nationalist consciousness among the Black population almost always appears to most whites as a great ideological transformation, and a quite unfathomable transformation at that. But it should be no mystery. Black nationalism has been a significant component of African American social thought for more than two hundred years ... (Bush 1999:3)

Bush goes on to say that the forces of protest and struggle against and within the system can become so complicated and potentially compromised that it becomes difficult to see the forest for the trees. “Some advocates of Black Power used it as a means of pluralist integration into the existing system” (1999:4). Bush sees this as contributing toward “benign neglect” in race relations, observing that analysts such as William Julius Wilson could then argue “race was no longer the primary determinant of the life chances of the African American population” (1999:5). This led, in Bush’s view, to a co-optation into the color-blind approach that many see as ushering in new racial formations that we have today involving deeply problematic white supremacist support for President Donald Trump. Again, identifying critical junctures and subsequent directions for movement
leaders struggling against racism is as important as ever, maybe more so.

To offer some background to the above, by the end of the 1970s various voices had come into conflict over the strength and influence of systemic racism, economic and socio-political discrimination, in addition to the criminal justice system, with sharp divisions between many scholars and policy makers. Some (including policy makers) held that the United States was basically progressive with older more violent racism such as police violence or supremacist groups being a leftover from past systems. Others (many scholars of color and activists) held that systemic racism, including economic and prison systems, were changing but still very much present, although in newer, more subtle forms. William Julius Wilson published his *Declining Significance of Race* (1978) at the end of the 1970s, lighting up the conflicting groups throughout the 1980s as found in *Caste and Class Controversy (Round 2)* (1989) edited by Charles Willie.

Many significant scholarly works, such as *Racism Without Racists* by Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, addressed the dynamics in the 21st century, while others, such as *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (2010) by Michelle Alexander, identified the reproduction of racist systems within society through social institutions such as the prison-industrial complex, even as new forms arose through immigration practices. The latter, for instance, was explored in Tanya Golash-Boza’s *Deported: Immigrant Policing, Disposable Labor and Global Capitalism* (2015).

The election of Donald Trump to the Presidency is both underscored by these works and is evidence of the depth and strength of systemic racism and supremacist ideologies, which run counter to Black Nationalism or Indigenous sovereignty.

### III. Rod Bush’s Work as Reflections on Analytic Forms Over Time, Space, and Place

Rod Bush’s work reconsiders inherited analytical forms. “The retreat from the ‘internal colonialism’ thesis,” Bush argues, “took place largely during the 1970s when the forces seeking equality and justice felt they
were in a position to actually challenge those who held state power in the United States” (Bush 1999:8). He saw this as trying to force “concessions” from the federal government, ultimately leading to a “worsening plight of the Black poor” and a “new class of liberal welfare state bureaucrats and their Black allies” (1999:9) that produced the state of affairs we are in today in the 21st century.

Rod has observed that similar to government collaboration or divisions between educated elite and social movement leaders on Indian reservations, institutionalization and even employment of movement organizations and leaders do little to nothing for our most marginalized peoples, and hamstrings those who could make a difference. We have witnessed not only welfare reform during the Clinton administration, but further reductions in welfare benefits during the Bush and even Obama administrations, with the combined effects of increasing criminalization in communities experiencing the dual inequalities and injustices in places like Ferguson and so many other impoverished and oppressed communities. Ferguson is a complicated story of economic dispossession and rising police violence, looking more like an “occupation.” Blacks became criminalized and imprisoned in much the same way as Native Americans were on Indian reservations. Like AIM, the Black Lives Matter movement rises to protect its member-citizens in a nationalist context. This crack-down through criminalization catalyzes protest and rebellion in places like Ferguson, engendering more police violence and intensification of institutional suppression through court and targeted police practices during the time of Trump’s rise and his acceptance of white supremacy on the national level—as recently seen in the tolerance of KKK, neo-Nazis and white power groups and, more startling, armed marches under swastika flags.

Rod Bush saw such conflicts within the larger timeframes of struggles, noting that in his mind “the 1960s and 1970s struggles for racial equality had been at the center of a great social and intellectual drama” (Bush 1999:9) that caused a “feeble intellectual response” to the issue of racial oppression. Seeing this form of taking on the Black Power Movement as potentially a “wrong turn for the Civil Rights Movement” led him back to insisting that a meeting of class
analysis with racial divide analysis (1999:18) provides a better analytic framework, underscoring a strong Black Nationalist perspective.

Bush ends this opening with the prescient observation that “The demand for Black Power cannot be captured by the Black elite,” who like the few richer American Indians, become compromised against what it sees as “radical” being represented by folks like Ice T (Tracy Lauren Marrow) going from a deep critique of racism in the 1992 burning of Los Angeles to playing a streetwise police officer in NBC’s Law and Order. More powerfully observed are the extremely wealthy Black elite businessmen, who like Indian gaming tribes, are essentially locked into a comprador relationship with white-dominated but multiracial elite of the U.S. national and world-system when they cannot effectively challenge even gross inequalities and injustices because they profit from, or are sustained by, the very same economic institutions that first produced the discriminatory system. Here, Bush moved fully into placing the Black struggle into global analysis, and views the internal stratification as one that lessens and even nullifies the movement directed at liberation of the most oppressed.

There is a strong correlation between this analysis and of Native Nations and American Indians, where casino-rich classes, a very small minority, become leaders within sovereignty circles that include the ultra-oppressed peoples on reservations like Pine Ridge, and of course are reliant on good relations with local communities, state governments, and their consumer population of non-Indian gamblers.

“Therefore, so long as racism remains the main ideological pillar of historical capitalism,” Bush argues, “the Black liberation movement will continue to play a vanguard role in the United States, as was indicated in the promise of the Black Panther Party ...” (1999:244). He viewed this as having to handle the “contradictions” within the

3. Ice T talks about bringing the system down, especially the racist police state, in “The Fire This Time” documentary.

4. While Rod Bush primarily identifies, as many others do, the comprador of local or national elites as located in nations or states that act much like the previous colonizers within a globalized world-system, thus selling out or ignoring their own people, it is used here to identify internal elites who profit from intermediary power positions.
movement and having to create a “social vision capable of mobilizing the lower strata” of the United States. In this, as in so much of his work, Rod Bush provides us with not only a great comparative analysis of struggle of other groups, such as the American Indian Movement (similarly falling into highly fractured and unproductive decline), but also the power to foresee, and possibly forestall, the Fergusons found throughout the United States, and the indigenous struggles throughout the world. Without observing the reproduction of inequality/injustice on local or regional levels, on the one hand, and their interconnections to those on national or global levels, on the other, we are set to produce more such systems, and thus are doomed to repeat these cycles.

IV. Defining What it Means to Be a Warrior

Ethno-national struggles of Indigenous peoples, as nations and “tribes” and historical cultures—surviving and thriving in Amerika and the western hemisphere—require conflicts over the paradigms of social and environmental justice that are firmly located in historical interactions. Such conflicts usually entail responses from the dominant state powers, including police and military forces, as well as hegemonic oppression across the intellectual spectrum. Already we see those forces retreating from previous struggles over critiques of the Black Power movements as being too anti-systemic, or more recently condemning Antifa leaders at Berkeley and/or Charlottesville as “bad” or too “violent” in resisting the growing white supremacy in our nation.

As the above noted contradictions and compromised positions result in a fractured leadership with the tendencies seeking assimilation and graduated small steps of “progress” becoming more dominant, the forces of resistance can become too intellectual and less grounded in struggle. Here, I find comparative analysis more useful in understanding the struggles of Indigenous peoples who directly engage in high conflict in their ethno-nationalist struggles since their oppression resembles the conditions identified by Rod Bush in the Civil Rights Movement.

As the socio-economic development and dominant groups have
increased the suppression of Indigenous nations during the taking of their lands and destruction of their environment, leaders have risen to bring these issues to a national and even global audience. These include getting on the front lines of protest, whether over new dams sucking up the lifeblood of relocated communities, the arrest and sometimes killing of grassroots leaders in Brazil, or the breakdown of discussions arising from treaty-like agreements by the state with tribal councils and traditional leadership. This analysis causes us to revisit the times that Rod Bush discusses the subject, causing us to reflect on directions taken and wrong turns made in the Civil Rights era.


Ethno-national struggles of peoples more respectfully typified as Native Nations and peoples—the telling of our stories, struggles, representative of the people as a whole rather than of particular interests—reflect what Rod Bush identified in Black Nationalism and the Civil Rights Movement. The roots of the modern world-system and capitalism borne by and causing the genocidal destruction of indigenous peoples and massive enslavement of peoples stolen from societies and nations in Africa—both in many millions—need to be retold and understood in their contemporary context. Hegemonic dominance and the suppression of these origin stories—the “Indian” and the “Black”—are all too easily lost within the new narratives of
an at least partly compromised leadership too close to the elites from their own circles, and that of the dominant aggressor. Both are not close enough to the site of struggle itself.

Rod Bush took us to task to remind us that new forms of stratification and oppression constantly arise. This he did in his discussion of Black Nationalism and class struggle, where the various analytical frameworks must include racial, class, nationalist and world-systems analysis. Rod accomplishes this well for Black struggles in his book, *We Are Not What We Seem: Black Nationalism and Class Struggle in the American Century* (1999), providing the lesson not to see our struggles monolithically or else our efforts will result in incomplete and unequal understandings and outcomes.

V. The Social Critic as Analyst: Drawing Connections while Recognizing Distinctions

The confluence between ethno-nationalist movement and racial equality struggles is well represented in contemporary conflicts, for Blacks and “Indians” with internal group representation that have deep “emotional” bonds (see Bonilla-Silva, 2016) on informational and institutional levels and for sovereignty of Native Nations. Both are expressions of extended internal colonialism and of global rights of Indigenous peoples as seen in the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People.

Rod alerted us to these connections in his Black Nationalism work and then again, more precisely in his ending white supremacy efforts. In a decade that was supposed to be about lessening internal racisms, with concerted international efforts for cooperation and understanding between states and peoples, we instead see the growth of movements such as Black Lives Matter and the Native Idle No More forces of resistance to intensified racial-ethnic domination, both linked to global forces of hardening of state structures against resistance if not rebellion from historically subordinated peoples. In resisting and naming police violence and systemic discrimination, many movements have proven so effective that we see a lot of counter movement activity by the rich and powerful, to maintain dominance and control over
racial/ethnic peoples.

Nothing resembles this better than what I shall call the rise of Trump-isms—renewed pressures against ethno-racial immigration on the United States’ southern borders, barely disguised over its anti-Mexican or Latino targets; along with strengthened discrimination against religious-racial immigration from Middle-Eastern peoples, hardly disguised in targeting Muslims (amazingly outright in proposed policies actually naming them as targets) and Arab-related peoples (including as proxy for Iranians, southeast Asians and north Africans). This is perfectly exemplified in doubting the highly successful former U.S. President’s birthplace and religion (clearly a U.S. born Christian) as being either a suspected Muslim from Kenya or a definite Islamic from Indonesia, countries in globally opposite positions except for their shared race and religion Otherness.

With this rise of religious-racial intolerance, internal to the United States and global to Africa, south-east Asia and the Middle East, we need the careful international analysis of Rod Bush more than ever. Because behind these new and renewed ethno-racial tensions, are the origins of a dominant supremacy rationalized in the enslavement of Black Americans and perfected in the genocides of Native Americans. From Nation of Islam to international Islamic groups (called radical Jihadis), from Wounded Knee to the killing fields of Guatemala (called native Hostiles), The Bell Tolls for Thee, my brothers and sisters—we are all part of a larger global system, whether Black nationalism or anticolonialism.

VI. Love as a Revolutionary Expression

This is where the “love” part of this anthology on Rod Bush and its title comes into play, in my estimation. Herein I refer to Martin Luther King’s definition of agape love (kind of sacred selfless love for humanity), linking the idea of cultural-emotional struggles for our peoples, whether Black or Native, Muslim or Christian, North or South, with a love for humanity, wanting all nations, all so-called “races” and all cultures of the world to end fighting and killing
in the name of country and God (supremacy of both), to end the colonizing supremacy of the past, and move forward toward peaceful, global recognition of our common humanity on this earth. This is the philosophy of *mitakuye oyuasin* of the *Lakota*, and many Native Nations. Rod was enthused when I presented this as noted in the beginning of this essay, seeing deep connections as to what motivated and sustained movement leadership as a lesson for all of us.

**VII. The Image of Intellectualism and Positive Imagination**

This is where the confluence, or intersection, of the key issues that most Black and Native leadership have had to deal with are found. That is, in the tradition that Professor Rod Bush has written on, perhaps most importantly in observing that Black intellectuals—from Fanon and Du Bois to Martin Luther King and even Malcolm X—draw on many different traditions and understandings, including Black feminism, for shaping their contemporary perspectives. In observing the sharp discourse of Malcolm X on Black Nationalism, followed by his travels to Mecca and the source of Nation of Islam in religious, and less racialized, reasoning, Rod Bush leads us to his interpretive ideological analysis of world-system hegemonic ideologies to highly racial resistance ideologies. This underscores both religious-racial reasoning that often are in opposition to whiteness, and points out a colonizing expansion over western hemispheres, merging colonial and “post-” colonial thoughts, which help us maintain focus on racist and supremacist thinking.

Rod Bush guides us toward that international, global vision of a world where race does not destroy our common humanity. He follows in the footsteps of many intellectual leaders having arisen in resistance movements against dominating racial groups in North America, and learned from more global relationships where race is less salient even as the dominating, colonizing forces that set up racial, religious and cultural hierarchies dividing the populations of the world. Like so many indigenous leaders, having deep knowledge of centuries of oppression yet with strong focus on future generations, Rod Bush
remained certain of an ending to the white world supremacy of global racism and historical capitalism.

Social movement leadership produced change and progress, but within the U.S. national constructs. Of course that was partly based on the international marginalization of many peoples of colors, and was highly limited in changing the socio-economic position of Blacks, and American Indians on reservations. These perspectives and struggles were increasingly located in immigration debates over Mexican and Latin Americans. As these struggles have continued, we must remember that as Malcolm X became increasingly effective in globalized, non-racial world struggles, he was attacked and told interviewers that the Nation of Islam was actively trying to kill him, which they did (entangled with ongoing CIA/FBI projects to suppress or eliminate enlightened leaders against racism) as he was addressing the Organization of Afro-American Unity in Manhattan. Similarly, some have suggested that Martin Luther King became a target, but of the dominant society, when he expanded his struggles for racial equality into the abject socio-economic suppression of urban Blacks and people of color, and questioned the racial components of both soldiers and the enemy of the Vietnam War, that sucked the lifeblood of the nation.

Plate 3: Native (Women) Leaders Against DAPL at North Dakota State Capitol⁵ (photo courtesy of Jim Fenelon, September 2016)

⁵. As in this picture with Indigenous women leaders, we see struggles such as
Later we would see government activity and support for the suppression of both Black and American Indian movements, with the loss of John Trudell’s entire family after threats by federal and other authorities, and COINTELPRO violence breaking up and dividing movement leaders, groups, and eliminating their leadership. As some of these leaders themselves emerged out of imprisonment where Black Consciousness activists such as Stephen Biko in South Africa demonstrated and died over, systems of mass incarceration became stronger and more widespread. These are linked to international corporate systems of oppression, and profit, with global capitalist hegemonic forces that violently reinforce systems of domination that utilize racial colorization, and ethno-national and class-based hierarchies.

Witness the recent assassination of a major indigenous environmental leader Berta Cáceres, a Lenca woman, who grew up during the violence that swept through Central America in the 1980s and later as a student activist, becoming a community leader who cofounded the National Council of Popular and Indigenous Organizations of Honduras (COPINH) to challenge the growing threats posed to Lenca communities by illegal logging, fighting for their territorial rights. She fought to improve their livelihoods, and later led strong opposition to dams and hydroelectric projects which would have completely destroyed their communities and relocated survivors to poverty-ridden areas under total domination. This killing was done after she brought the case to the Inter-American Human Rights Commission, lodging appeals against the project’s funders the International Finance Corporation (IFC), a private sector of the World Bank. She was awarded the international humanitarian 2015 Goldman Environmental Prize for fighting dams.

Clearly, the struggles that Rod Bush warned us about become increasingly more global, and have come to the points of conflict that we and he can and did predict, which are sites of contestation over
the maximized inequality and systemic oppression that neoliberal capitalism produces and then reinforces and defends, primarily in the peripheralized countries that feed into the core countries. These are both evidenced in peoples of color and so-called “minorities” or as we say of the indigenous, Aliens in our own Lands.

VIII. Having the Courage to Face the Forces of Oppression—Taking on Supremacists

To the Wounded Warrior Who Has Fallen

The earth is
plowed and planted
with the bones
of our ancestors
until finally,
as NATIVE Americans,
we are one ...
(condolences on
the loss of a
blood relation)
the indigenous
words of mostly
immigrant minds

—by Jim Fenelon (Mandan 1991 and ’92)

I return to that first major interaction that I had with Professor Rod Bush at the ASA in San Francisco, comparing Black Nationalist movements and struggles with the American Indian Movement struggles, noting the growing international and global dimensions of both, with both forms of racial oppression of course having emerged from global colonizing forces in the Caribbean and the western hemisphere. I am further reminded of movement leaders having the
courage to see and name these forces of oppression, exploitation and domination, and in their current forms how that is a world-systemic struggle.

Malcolm X felt that calling the movement a struggle for *civil rights* would keep the issue within the United States. Changing the focus to *human rights* would make it an international concern. As he identified those forces, he also told interviewers that the internal colonizers as the Nation of Islam and the world colonizers as global capitalist forces were both trying to kill him, as much as in the name of transnationalist powers as those within the nation. In 1965, when he was preparing to address the Organization of Afro-American Unity in Manhattan someone in the 400-person audience yelled racial epithets and in the melee, he was shot down, ironically curbing the Nation of Islam as much as the increasingly internationalist voice of activism and cry of social justice.

Plate 5: Photo of Warrior-Leader Eagle Headdress, Sitting Bull Tribal College, Standing Rock (Sioux) Indian Reservation, the Dakotas Within the United States of the continent called America (photo courtesy of James V. Fenelon)
And so we see that as so many leaders of our movements, Black and Brown and Red, and so many of our best intellectuals supporting the efforts against racism and oppression, must struggle with the many countering forces of dominant society, and deserve the marked recognition of those achievements of a lifetime. Rather than a purple heart, many Indigenous societies would give recognition of being wounded during the defense of our peoples, even to the leaving of the corporal world in death of our physical bodies, through presenting feathers from the likes of a bird of prey, usually an eagle, often dipped in blood red for the spilling of significant life, and those would be accompanied by words of honor, and in noting the four directions in sending the spirits on their journey through the cosmos and back to the land.

Literatures were woven together—in the world-systems analysis and radical Black social movement history traditions—by our warrior friend, Rod Bush, in the tradition of leaders of the past, who did not stray from their duties to their people, their society, their world. When we remember these efforts, these struggles, we give feathers for these memories, over a lifetime, from our earliest years unto our later adult times. Whether symbolic or represented in the physical world, this remains a memory of who we are and who we were.

Some of my greatest regrets were not responding to, or at least being able to respond to, the generous and thoughtful invitations by Professor Rod Bush to engage with many radical and social justice organizations and conferences which he was working with, on many levels. Too often I found that some minor activity already planned, or lack of some particular resource, or simply time with family, would preclude my participation in these important works, this deep involvement and service to people, and to justice, that stood as a lesson of how to provide for our colleagues and companions traveling on this difficult road.

Instead I give testimony to the social activism and deep commitment which a Warrior must bring to all one’s actions in this world.
IX. Honoring and Passing Way Too Soon

The Gaelic-Irish way to recognize such a passing is through a Wake that originates from Awakening, remembering the man and the spirit, and all those accomplishments that came and come from both. Indigenous peoples, including the Gaelic Irish of my descent and the Lakota/Dakota of Native nations, sing or speak to the four directions of the earth from which we come, and to which we must return.

\[ KOLA \ LECI-YA \ (to \ the \ living, \ and \ the \ long-gone \ ...) \]
— \( tate \ wiyohpeyata \ kiya \) (Eya)
\( (wapiya-wicasa) \) of Sapa Oyate, Black Intellectual, as true to his values as the West wind blows

— \( tate \ wiyohinyanpata \ kiya \) (Yanpa)
\( (wanagi \ oyate) \) there in a tight spot, a time of crisis, (eastern) as I hope I would be for him or any friend

— \( tate \ waziyata \ kiya \) (Yata)
\( (wa-onspe) \) lessons learned from the fierce North wind as preparation for an unexpected chinook, a spring snow

— \( tate \ itokagata \ kiya \) (Okaga)
\( (Oinikaga) \) growth from a warm Southern breeze, ancient spirits as marchers in formations of cumulous clouds of Dakota culture ...

— \( unci \ ina \ maka, \ mahpiyato, \ mitakuye \ oyasin \)
\( to \ traditionals \ and \ intellectuals \)
\( off \ the \ reservation \)
\( on \ the \ inner \ city \)
\( and \ in \ our \)
\( hearts \)
\( (wanbli \ g’leska \ wapiya \ wicasa) \)

(Adapted from Lakota prayers by Jim Fenelon, 2014)
The Lakota-Sioux way to recognize a spiritual journey to the Earth and Milky Way, is Pilamaya (thank you, giving of thanks for all) for an Akicita, a warrior, and Wopila for his Good Deeds (Honoring, recognizing what one has done for the people). So I speak the words—“pilamaya(ye)”—“wopila” for my friend, the warrior intellectual Rod Bush, Akicita Sapa Oyate, and all that he has done, all that he has been, and all that he will be ... I am James V. Fenelon, T’sunke g’leska sapa.

Plate 6: Calling on the Spirits (Jim Fenelon, adapted from Terpning)

Abstract
This essay authored by James Fenelon is a chapter in the anthology Rod Bush: Lessons from a Radical Black Scholar on Liberation, Love, and Justice, edited by Melanie E. L. Bush, and co-edited by Rose M. Brewer, Daniel Douglas, Loretta Chin, and Robert Newby (2019). Fenelon argues that Black Nationalism like the struggles of Native Nations with sovereignty, entails leadership and scholarly engagement, both of which are often criticized and under attack from a dominant society that wants to maintain hegemonic power. In the essay, Fenelon remembers Rod Bush in this regard, and as a friend and scholarly warrior, by drawing upon their shared experiences as they relate to the broader Indigenous world-system and its corollary with white supremacy worldwide. Also, the author attempts to honor Professor Bush through a symbolic naming and recognizing of his service to movement and global community, again through the indigenous eyes of centuries of struggle for social justice and liberation.
Author
James V. Fenelon is Professor of Sociology and Director of the Center for Indigenous Peoples Studies at California State University, San Bernardino, having published three books: *Culturicide, Resistance, and Survival of the Lakota (Sioux Nation); Indigenous Peoples and Globalization: Resistance and Revitalization* (with Thomas D Hall); and most recently, *Redskins? Sports Mascots, Indian Nations, and White Racism*. His critical academic work includes numerous book chapters, many articles, and special journal issues. He is Lakota/Dakota descent from Standing Rock (Sioux tribal Nation), and Gaelic Irish, having worked internationally with indigenous peoples globally and with urban groups. James teaches race/ethnic relations, urban sociology, social movements, indigenous issues, political sociology, sovereignty, and dedicates his professional life to assisting social justice struggles around the world.

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