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Toussaint Louverture and the Undermining of the Haitian Revolution

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Abstract

This work using a structurationist, structural Marxist, phenomenological structuralism, understanding of practical consciousness constitution, explores the origins and basis for the Haitian Revolutionary leader's, Toussaint Louverture's (May 20, 1743-April 1, 1803), social, political, and economic policies. The eldest son of an Arada King, Toussaint Louverture, was a creole-slave born on the island of Saint-Domingue/Haiti. As the eventual leader of the Revolution from 1794-1801, Louverture attempted to have the island remain an independent French territory where slavery was outlawed, but the export-oriented plantation economy, with the slave trade, persisted. He, essentially, adopted the position of the French Royalists, the white plantation owners who wanted more autonomy from France and its "exclusif" mercantile economic system, which forced them to trade and do business exclusively with French merchants and bankers. Although, Louverture's demeanor and position is typically juxtaposed against his successor, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, all subsequent leaders, I argue here, would go on to adopt Louverture's policies, the export-oriented agricultural economy, with variations based on who (mulattoes or members of the black grandon class) should serve in the position of the white planters once independence was declared from France in 1804. This decision, to maintain Louverture's political and economic policies as opposed to redistributing the land to the African masses so that they can pursue their subsistence agriculture and *komes*, I conclude, has undermined the Revolutionary impetus of the Haitian Revolution and converted Haiti into the so-called poorest (periphery) country in the Western Hemisphere.

Keywords: Ideological Domination, Linguistic Structure, embourgeoisement, black Underclass, Grandon, Mulatto Elites, Haitian Revolution, Bois Caiman, Affranchis, Toussaint Louverture, phenomenological structuralism

1. Introduction

This work using Mocombe's (2019) structurationist, structural Marxist, phenomenological structuralism, understanding of consciousness constitution, explores the origins and basis for the Haitian Revolutionary leader's, Toussaint Louverture's (May 20, 1743-April 1, 1803), social, political, and economic policies. The eldest son of an Arada King, Toussaint Louverture, was a creole-slave born on the island of Saint-Domingue/Haiti. As the eventual leader of the Revolution from 1794-1801, Louverture attempted to have the island remain an independent French territory where slavery was outlawed, but the export-oriented plantation economy, now called the *corvée* system under Louverture, with the slave-trade, persisted. He, essentially, adopted the position of the French Royalists, the white plantation owners who wanted more (liberal) autonomy from France and its "exclusif" mercantile economic system, which forced them to trade and do business exclusively with French merchants and bankers. Although, Louverture's demeanor and position is typically juxtaposed against his successor, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, all subsequent leaders, I argue here, would go on to adopt Louverture's policies, the export-oriented agricultural economy, with variations (liberal free-trade, versus mercantilism) based on who (mulattoes or members of the black grandon class) should serve in the position of

the white planters once independence was declared from France in 1804. This decision, to maintain Louverture's political and economic (liberal or mercantilist) policies as opposed to redistributing the land to the African masses so that they can pursue their subsistence agriculture and *komes* (counter-plantation system or Lakouism/communism), I conclude, has undermined the Revolutionary impetus of the Haitian Revolution and converted Haiti into the so-called poorest (periphery) country in the Western Hemisphere under the American neoliberal capitalist world-system.

2. Background of the Problem

Traditional interpretations of the Haitian Revolution, and subsequent to that the constitution of Haitian identity, attempt to understand them, like the constitution of black diasporic and American practical consciousnesses, within the dialectical logic of Hegel's master/slave dialectic (Genovese, 1979; James, 1986; Fick, 1990; Trouillot, 1995; Nicholls, 1979; Du Bois, 2004, 2012; Buck-Morss, 2009; Ramsey, 2014). Concluding that the Haitian Revolution represents a struggle by the enslaved Africans of the island who internalized the liberal norms, values, and rules of their former French masters, for equality of opportunity, recognition, and distribution within and using the metaphysical discourse of their former white slavemasters to convict them of not identifying with their norms, rules, and values as recursively (re) organized and reproduced by blacks. Haitian identity/practical consciousness, as such, was and is a simulacrum, of European practical consciousness and identity, which is universalized and presented as the nature of reality as such. This position, predominantly held by white Westerners, is usually juxtaposed against the postmodern, post-structural, and postcolonial approaches of Haitian and other black bourgeois intellectual elites (i.e., Aimé Césaire), which highlight the hybridity, ambivalence, négritude, syncretism, indigénisme, and *créolité*, of the Revolution and Haitian consciousness (Genovese, 1979; Fick, 1990; Desmangles, 1992; Trouillot, 1995; Bellegarde-Smith & Michel, 2006).

Both interpretations, contrary to the position of Haitian intellectuals such as Jacques Roumain (1940) and Jean-Price Mars (1928), who advised the Haitian intelligentsia class to look to the provinces and the peasant classes to constitute Haitian culture, identity, and nation-state, are problematic in that they are ethnocentric and racist. They both overlook the initial African practical consciousness, the Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism, of the majority of the Africans on the island for either the practical consciousness or discourse and discursive practices of the mulatto, Arab, and petit-bourgeois black elites, *Affranchis*, looking (because of their interpellation and embourgeoisement) to Europe, Canada, and America for equality of opportunity, recognition, and distribution, or for their (Affranchis) logic of postmodern, post-structural, and postcolonial theories to undermine that African presence in favor of notions of hybridity, créolité, négritude, syncretism, intersectionality, double consciousness, etc.

In their assumption of control of the state and its ideological apparatuses, i.e., schools, churches, police force, laws, military, etc., in other words, the Affranchis, as the whites before them, attempted to repress, "silence," through anti-superstitious laws to outlaw Vodou and economic policies to undermine its mode of production, the Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism social class language game of the Africans for their own Euro-centered purposive-rationality, even though, paradoxically, many of them exercised aspects of the latter in secrecy (Fick, 1990; Desmangles, 1992; Trouillot, 1995; Du Bois, 2012; Ramsey, 2014). Furthermore, their dialectical, postmodern, post-structural, and post-colonial textual productions, as seen in the works of Louis-Joseph Janvier, Thomas Madiou, Beaubrun Ardouin, Hérard Dumesle, and Anténor Firmin among many others, minimized and minimize the African structuring structure to highlight hybridity, créolité, négritude, ambivalence, and contradictions. In other words, they accentuate and substantiate the European practical consciousness as recursively reorganized and reproduced by whites, mulattoes, and petit-bourgeois blacks, but minimize the African in the ambivalence, creole, négritude, and hybrid language of postmodern, post-structural, and postcolonial discourses, which are still, dialectically, Western in origins and constitution.

3. Theory and Method

Essentially, the argument here is that there is no creole, négritude, ambivalent, hybrid, etc., consciousness by which Haitians of the nation-state reified and reify their social structure and went/go about recursively reorganizing and reproducing its ideas and ideals as their practical consciousness. Mocombe's (2016, 2018, 2019) structurationist position, phenomenological structuralism, ultimately views identity and consciousness as the product of power relations within a structure, i.e., social class language game, tied to the mode of production, which attempts to reduce human agency by forcing (via ideology, ideological apparatuses, communicative discourse, language, and the mode of production) actors to internalize its ideas and ideals and recursively (re) organize and reproduce them as their practical consciousness. Hence social structure or a social class language game is a duality and dualism: reified as a structure or social class language game (dualism) via ideology, ideological apparatuses such as education and the family, communicative discourse, language, and mode of production whose concepts are in-turn internalized and recursively organized and reproduced as the practical consciousness of individual human actors (duality). Be that as it may, the logic here is that Haitians, the minority

Affranchis, either recursively reorganize and reproduce as an "other" the ideas and ideals of the Republican state, the Catholic/Protestant Ethic and the spirit of capitalism social class language game, as their practical consciousness or those of the Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism of the mass majority. Two, diametrically opposing, forms of system and social integration would be established on the island during and after the Revolution. Postmodern, post-structural, and postcolonial discourses are the language, ideology, and communicative discourse of post-industrial Catholic/Protestant capitalist social relations of production recursively reorganized and reproduced by the Affranchis in the language of créolité, hybridity, indigénisme, négritude, double consciousness, etc., for equality of opportunity, recognition, and distribution with their former colonizers and slavemasters. That is to say, ambivalence, hybridity, liminality, créolité, négritude, double consciousness, etc., are the psychological processes, concepts, pathologies, and practical consciousness of the Affranchis bourgeoisies as they desire and struggle for equality of opportunity, recognition, and distribution with whites by reproducing their ideas and ideals as their practical consciousness in order to convict them (whites), amidst their racism and discrimination, for not identifying with their values and norms as revealed by black (Haitian) practices, i.e., practical consciousness. As though by highlighting their alleged ambivalence, double consciousness, négritude, and syncretism as opposed to the singular "African" otherness, reflected in the practical consciousness of the masses, which allowed for them to be discriminated against to start with, affords them, Affranchis, their desires (equality of opportunity, recognition, and distribution) and the sympathy of whites.

Essentially, when the Haitian Revolution commences in 1791, there are three distinct groups vying for control of the island under two forms of system and social integration, the whites (*blancs*); free people of color and mulattoes (*Affranchis*), and the enslaved and escaped (maroon) Africans of the island. The latter, over sixty-seven percent of the population, were not a structurally differentiated other. They had their own practical consciousness, what Mocombe (2016) calls the "Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism," by which they went about recursively (re)organizing and reproducing the material resource framework via the lakou system (Lakouism). The former two, free blacks and *gens de couleur* (Affranchis), were interpellated, embourgeoised, and differentiated by the language, communicative discourse, mode of production, ideology, and ideological apparatuses of the West and shared the same European practical consciousness, the Catholic/Protestant Ethic and the spirit of capitalism social class language game, as the whites. The latter, integrated via the liberalism or mercantilism of the spirit of capitalism, social class language game stood against the Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism social class language game of the majority of the Africans who were interpellated and ounganified/manboified by the language, communicative discourse, mode of production, ideology, and ideological apparatuses of *oungan yo*, *manbo yo*, *gangan yo*, and *granmoun yo* (James, 1986; Fick, 1990; Du Bois, 2004, 2012; Ramsey, 2014; Mocombe, 2016).

Thus, four distinct Revolutions, characterized by three political/economic systems (mercantilist capitalism, liberal capitalism, and the libertarian communism of the lakou system), would come to constitute the Haitian Revolution and the state following the Revolution: The Revolutions of the whites; mulattoes; creole blacks and former generals; and the Africans. The whites, were divided between large plantation owners, *grand blanc*, and *petit-blancs*, i.e., managers, slave drivers, artisans, merchants, and teachers (Du Bois, 2004). The former, *grand blanc*, were independent-minded, and like the American colonists wanted political and economic independence from their mother-country, France, where their rights and economic interests were not represented in the National Assembly. They wanted to freely trade with other countries to escape the rentier oligarchs of France who were pushing the mercantilist system. The *petit-blancs* were more racist and feared the alliance between the larger landowners and the Affranchis. As such, they sought to participate in the colony on equal footing with the *grand blancs* given the liberal order, which the French Revolution promised. The Affranchis were free people of color and mulatto, *gens de couleur*, property and slave owners on the island who shared the religion, culture, language, and ideology of their white counterparts and wanted then Saint-Domingue to remain a French colony. Although internal antagonism based on race (color) and class existed between the free (creole) blacks and *gens de couleur*, Mocombe (2016) groups them together under the nomenclature, Affranchis, to highlight the fact that their interpellation and embourgeoisement via the ideological apparatuses of the West rendered their practical consciousnesses identical, even though there were racial/color (based on phenotype, not ideology) and class tensions between them (racial tensions, which still plaques Haiti today). Unlike the majority of white large plantation owners, however, the Affranchis, like Vincent Ogé, André Rigaud, Alexandre Pétion, Pierre Pinchinat, Toussaint Louverture, for examples, did not want independence from France. In the case of the mulattoes, who after independence would come to be referred to as the children of Alexandre Pétion, the first mulatto president of the Haitian Republic, they simply wanted their social, political, and economic rights recognized by France within the mercantilist system of the colony, not an independent nation-state or the end to slavery. In regards, to the children of Dessalines/Toussaint, creole slave drivers and free blacks, they also sought equality of opportunity, recognition, and distribution vis-à-vis the whites and mulattoes within the mercantilist system. The

enslaved and escaped Africans, the children of Sans Souci, of the island were divided between field slaves, domestic slaves, and maroons. The domestic slaves, like their African-American counterparts, "house slaves," more so identified with their slavemasters. However, for the most part, the field slaves and maroons, because of their relative isolation from whites, domestic slaves, *gens de couleur*, and free blacks, were interpellated and ounganified/manboified by the modes of production, language, ideology, ideological apparatuses, and communicative discourse of the Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism, and many sought to reproduce their African ways of life, via the lakou system, in a national position of their own. In the end, the Revolution would come down to a sociopolitical economic struggle between the *Affranchis* (struggling between liberal free trade and mercantilist capitalism) and the enslaved and maroon Africans (with their Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism under the lakou system) of the island, the latter of whom commenced the Haitian Revolution on August 14th, 1791 at Bois Caiman and other congresses (Genovese, 1979; James, 1986; Fick, 1990; Du Bois, 2004, 2012; Mocombe, 2016; Casimir, 2020).

Following the Revolution, between 1804 and 1806, the purposive-rationality of the enslaved and maroon Africans would become a part of the *modus operandi* of the Haitian nation-state until October 17, 1806 when Jean-Jacques Dessalines, the founding father of the Haitian nation, was assassinated by Alexandre Pétion and Henri Christophe. At which point, the purposive-rationality of the *Affranchis* with their emphasis on integration into the mercantilist and free-trade (liberal) dialectical logic of the global capitalist world-system, capitalist wealth, French culture, religion, and language became dominant at the expense of the African linguistic system, Kreyol; Vodou ideology; its ideological apparatuses; and modes of production, subsistence agriculture, husbandry, and *komes*, of the African masses on the island who took to the mountains and provinces, where they exercised their Lakou system, communal living, following the death of Dessalines (Fick, 1990; Nicholls, 1979; Du Bois, 2004, 2012). This is not to say that Dessalines completely sided with the purposive-rationality or practical consciousness of the African masses who sought to recursively reproduce their Vodou Ethic and spirit of communism, i.e., subsistence agriculture, husbandry, and komes (commerce), practical consciousness on the island via the lakou system. The argument here is that via his nationalization project, he attempted to balance the purposive-rationality, liberal and mercantilist capitalism, of his *grandon* class of former generals and slave drivers, i.e., the creole blacks, who yearned to become wealthy landowners and masters like the whites and racist mulatto elites amidst the desires of the African masses seeking to reproduce their subsistence agriculture, husbandry, and komes. Dessalines sought to synthesize the three political/economic systems of the three groups to his detriment and that of the Africans who sought to exercise the Lakou system despite policies (land, labor, and agricultural policies) put in place by the two bourgeoisies of the Affranchis class to undermine it. Be that as it may, the internal struggles between the two bourgeoisies within the Affranchis, the mulatto elites who controlled the export/import trade and the free blacks who controlled the land and agribusinesses where the African masses toiled as cultivators, over control of the state and its ideological apparatuses would dominate the political and economic conditions of post-revolution Haiti to the present at the expense of the practical consciousness of the African masses (James, 1986; Dupuy, 1989; Fick, 1990; Nicholls, 1979; Du Bois, 2004, 2012; Buck-Morss, 2009). Both groups would arm the youth and peasants of the island to achieve their initiatives, i.e., control of the state and its ideological apparatuses. Today, the latter, *grandon* class, composed of educated professionals, former drug dealers, entertainers, and police officers (mercantilists or protectionists) attack the former (free-trading) Affranchis class, which is now a comprador bourgeoisie seeking to build, own, and manage hotels and assembly factories producing electronics and clothing for the US (rentier oligarchical) market, under the moniker the children of Jean-Jacques Dessalines against the children of Alexandre Pétion in the name of the African masses of the island, the majority of whom are peasant farmers (the children of Sans Souci and Macaya, i.e., Congolese leaders of the Revolution who wanted no part of the capitalist world-system) seeking to recursively (re) organize and reproduce the lakou system and the Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism as their form of system and social integration against the Protestant Ethic and spirit of capitalism.

4. Discussion

The constitution of Haitian society and practical consciousnesses are the parallel evolution and reification of these two social class language games (the term, "language game" is borrowed from Ludwig Wittgenstein and synthesized with structural Marxism and structurationist sociology to capture the mode of production, language, ideology, ideological apparatuses, communicative discourse, and practical consciousness or purposive-rationality, which constitute the form of system and social integration of a society), the Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism and the Catholic/Protestant Ethic and the spirit of capitalism (see Table 1). The argument here is that the purposive-rationality of the originating moments of the Haitian Revolution at Bois Caïman and the counter-plantation/Lakou system originate out of the Vodou ethic and the spirit of communism social class language game of the African masses and their Vodou leadership, *oungan yo*, *manbo yo, gangan yo/dokté fey*, and *gran moun yo*, which made the Revolution from that perspective a *sui generis* Revolution. It diametrically opposed the purposive-rationality of the liberal and mercantilist agents of the whites and *Affranchis*, mulattoes

and petit-bourgeois black creole classes, on the island who looked to France for their Revolutionary impetus. The latter three (whites, mulatto elites, and petit-bourgeois black creole classes) sought (negative dialectically) to recursively reorganize and reproduce the practical consciousness of their former white slavemasters for equality of opportunity, distribution and recognition, while the agents of the former (the Africans) did not. The constitution of Haitian society, in the mountains and provinces, became an intent by the majority of the Africans to reorganize and reproduce their culture/civilization or language game, the Vodou ethic and the spirit of communism, on the island, undergirded by the power elites, oungans, manbos, bokors, and elders, of the provinces, against the liberal/mercantile bourgeois Catholic/Protestant language game of Europeans and the *Affranchis* operating through the state and its ideological apparatuses. The latter agents, i.e., mulattoes and petit-bourgeois black landowning classes, would marginalize and discriminate against agents, Vodouizans, peasants, and *machanns* (market workers from the mountains and provinces), of the former via economic policies and laws of the state attacking Vodou and its social, political, and economic practices centered on the *lakou* system. In doing so, they established Haiti as an apartheid state dominated by the liberal and mercantilist struggles between the mulatto elites and petit-bourgeois black landowning (creole) classes, respectively, for control of its apparatuses, which they use (d) to undermine the desires and interests of the African-born majority on the island through liberal and mercantilist policies (Du Bois, 2004, 2012; Mocombe, 2016; Casimir, 2020).

Hence two-thirds of the social actors who would come to constitute the Haitian nation-state were a discriminated-against African-born majority amongst a minority of mulattoes, *gens de couleur*, creole, and petit-bourgeois blacks (*Affranchis*) on the island interpellated, embourgeoised, and differentiated by the language, communicative discourse, modes of production, ideology, and ideological apparatuses of the West (the Catholic/Protestant Ethic and the spirit of capitalism social class language game). As such, given their interpellation and embourgeoisement via the language (French), communicative discourse, modes of production (slavery, agribusiness, mercantilism, etc.), ideology (liberalism, individualism, personal wealth, capitalism, racialism, private property, Protestant Ethic, etc.), and ideological apparatuses (churches, schools, prisons, plantations, police force, army, etc.) of the West, the latter, *Affranchis*, became "blacks," dialectically, seeking to recursively (re) organize and reproduce the ideas and ideals, the Catholic/Protestant Ethic and the spirit of capitalism social class language game, of the European whites in a national position of their own amidst slavery, racism, and colonialism against the African-born majority (See Table 1). As Carolyn Fick (1990) highlights about the Affranchis, by 1789, the *Affranchis* owned one-third of the plantation property, one-quarter of the slaves, and one-quarter of the real estate property in Saint Domingue; in addition, they held a fair position in commerce and in the trades, as well as in the military. Circumstances permitting, a few had even "infiltrated" the almost exclusively *grand blanc* domain of the sugar plantation by becoming managers of the paternal estate upon the father's return to Europe or even inheritors of property upon the father's death… The *Affranchis* imitated white manners, were often educated in France, and, in turn, sent their own children abroad to be educated. Having become slave-holding plantation owners, they could even employ white contract labor among the *petits blancs* (p. 19-20).

Following the Revolution, the Affranchis would come to recursively reorganize and reproduce their being-in-the-world as interpellated, embourgeoised, and structurally differentiated black "other" agents of the Catholic/Protestant Ethic and the spirit of capitalism social class language game seeking equality of opportunity, recognition, and distribution with whites amidst worldwide slavery, racism, and colonialism. The majority of the half million Africans in the mountains and provinces were not blacks, i.e., a structurally differentiated "other" defined within the lexicon of signification of whites based on their skin pigmentation, lack of culture/civilization, and desire to be like whites. They were Africans interpellated and ounganified/manboified by the modes of production, language, ideology, ideological apparatuses, and communicative discourse of their African worldview or structuring structure, i.e., the Vodou Ethic and spirit of communism social class language game, which they reproduced in the provinces and mountains under the leadership of *oungan yo* (priests), *manbo yo* (priestesses), *gangan yo/dokté fey* (herbal healers—medicine men and women), and *granmoun yo* (elders) (Métraux, 1958; Deren, 1972; Genovese, 1979; Rigaud, 1985; Fick, 1990; Desmangles, 1992; Bellegarde-Smith and Michel, 2006; Mocombe, 2016).[1] Against the Catholic/Protestant Ethic and the spirit of capitalism of the Affranchis with their emphasis on individualism, personal wealth as landowners, and capitalist exploitative labor, the Africans sought balance, harmony, and subsistence living within the lakou system where everything is communally shared. In the words of a racist colonial observer who saw the futility of attempting to establish a regimen of labor that would impose upon the freed slaves of Saint Domingue a European, occidental mode of thought and of social organization, central to which are the virtues of work, in and of itself, of competitiveness, profit incentives, and ever-expanding production; in short, the virtues of the Western capitalist ethic as practiced by the whites and Affranchis, Unambitious and uncompetitive, the black values his liberty only to the extent that it affords him the possibility of living according to his own philosophy (quoted in Fick, 1990, p. 179).

The "philosophy," Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism, of the blacks diametrically opposed/oppose the

Western capitalist ethic of the whites and Affranchis highlighted here by the colonial observer. It is the failure of the Affranchis, which began with Toussaint Louverture, once they gained control of the Revolution and subsequently the nation-state and its ideological apparatuses, to either (re)constitute Haiti via the philosophy/practical consciousness of the Africans or eradicate it completely (via their anti-superstitious campaigns) as they sought and seek to reproduce the ideas and ideals (Western capitalist Ethic) of their former colonial slavemasters amidst their own racial-class tensions, between the creole free blacks and the *gens de couleur*, mulatto elites, which maintains Haiti, after over two hundred years of independence, as the so-called poorest (periphery) country in the Western hemisphere.

Following the Haitian Revolution, the majority of the Africans, given their refusal to work on plantations or agribusinesses (*corvée system*), migrated to the provinces and the mountains, abodes of formerly established "maroon republics," and established a "counter-plantation system" (Jean Casimir's term) based on husbandry, subsistence agriculture, and *komes*, i.e., the trade and sell of agricultural goods for income to purchase manufactured products and services. The mulatto elites and petit-bourgeois free blacks, a Francophile neocolonial oligarchy, countered this counter-plantation system through their control of the ports, export trade, and the political apparatuses of the state, which increased their wealth through the taxation of the goods of the African peasants. As Laurent Du Bois (2012) observed of the process, the former enslaved Africans, took over the land they had once worked as slaves, creating small farms where they raised livestock and grew crops to feed themselves and sell in local markets. On these small farms, they did all the things that had been denied to them under slavery: they built families, practiced their religion, and worked for themselves… Haiti's rural population effectively undid the plantation model. By combining subsistence agriculture with the production of some crops for export, [*komes*,] they created a system that guaranteed them a better life, materially and socially, than that available to most other people of African descent in the Americas throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But they did not succeed in establishing that system in the country as a whole. In the face of most Haitians' unwillingness to work the plantations, Haiti's ruling groups retreated but did not surrender. Ceding, to some extent, control of the land, they took charge of the ports and the export trade. And they took control of the state, heavily taxing the goods produced by the small-scale farmers and thereby reinforcing the economic divisions between the haves and the have-nots (p. 6).

This counter-plantation system the African majority established against the spirit of capitalism social class language game, i.e., economic gain for its own sake, individualism, personal wealth, private property, labor exploitation, etc., of the *Affranchis*, mulatto elites and petit-bourgeois free blacks, who were interpellated, embourgeoised, and differentiated by the mode of production, ideology, and ideological apparatuses of the West, was not a reaction to slavery or the material resource framework of the island as presented by Du Bois (2004, 2021) and Casimir (2020). Instead, it was and is a product of the ever-increasing rationalization of the ideology (*konesans*) of Vodou and its Ethic of communal living or social collectivism, democracy, individuality, cosmopolitanism, spirit of social justice, xenophilia, balance, harmony, and gentleness, which united all of the African tribes shipped to the island during the slave trade (Mocombe, 2016). In refutation of this counter-plantation-system grounded in the Vodou ethic and the spirit of communism, the Affranchis sought, as rentier oligarchs, to continue the plantation-system of their former colonial slavemasters, which was grounded in the liberal and mercantilist policies of the Catholic/Protestant Ethic and the spirit of capitalism.

The *Affranchis*, embodied in the persons of Toussaint Louverture and Alexandre Pétion, for examples, like their black American middle class counterparts in America, pushed for liberty, equality, and fraternity with their white counterparts at the expense of the Vodou, Communist discourse, and Creole/Kreyol language of the enslaved Africans who were not only discriminated against by whites but by the mulattoes and free blacks as well who sought to reproduce the French language, Catholic religion, and liberal capitalist laws of their former slavemasters on the island (Du Bois, 2004; Buck-Morss, 2009). In fact, what role should mulattoes and free blacks play in the Revolution is at the heart of a bitter disagreement between Toussaint and Dessalines. The latter, Dessalines, a *houngan*, Vodou priest, given the brutality he experienced as a slave, which stood in contradistinction to Toussaint's experience as a literate free Affranchis, wanted to kill many of the free and mulatto Affranchis along with the whites because Dessalines discerned that they played a role in their yearning to be like their white counterparts in oppressing the enslaved African masses, and given the opportunity they would reproduce the slavery system of the whites on the island (James, 1986). Hence Dessalines promoted a form of racial slaughter grounded in "an eye for an eye" ethical discourse, "we have rendered to these true cannibals [(the whites)], war for war, crime for crime, outrage for outrage; yes, I have saved my country: I have avenged America" (Jean-Jacques Dessalines cited in Morss, 2009, p. 143).

Toussaint Louverture, however, believed that the technical and governing skills of the *blancs* (whites) and Affranchis would be sorely needed to rebuild the country, along the lines of white civilization, after the revolution and the end of white rule on the island. In fact, Toussaint was not seeking to make the island of Haiti an independent country, but sought to have the island remain a French colony without slavery (James, 1986; Du

Bois, 2004; Buck-Morss, 2009; Mocombe, 2018). Toussaint would go to war with the Vodou leaderships of the Africans and the mulatto elites, respectively, to ensure that the old mercantilist system of the white Royalist planters would persist with the slave trade, but without slavery (Du Bois, 2004). His corvée system promoted a sharecropping arrangement where the former white plantation owners coupled with an emerging black landowning class composed of Louverture's *creole* generals became renters and owners of sugar and coffee plantations where the African majority toiled as cultivators who shared three-quarters of their cultivations with the owners of the land and the state. All subsequent leaders, with the exception of Dessalines to some extent, would adopt Toussaint's position following independence in 1804. Dessalines, it appears, sought to constitute the Haitian nation-state by balancing the desires of the Affranchis and the Vodou leadership of the African masses who wanted no part of a system that resembled slavery or Louverture's corvée system (Mocombe, 2016; Casimir, 2020).

During the wars of the Haitian Revolution, Toussaint Louverture proved to be a military genius and a formidable leader in the tradition of the West. Toussaint, a literate free black who was treated well by his slavemaster and interpellated and embourgeoised by the church and his slavemaster, who taught him to read, did not exclude the *Affranchis* from the revolution. He organized the maroons, masses of slaves, and a few *Affranchis* free slaves and mulattoes into an organized army. With political manipulation, and military campaigns, he would gain notoriety in the colony. During the period of 1791 to 1800, Toussaint outmaneuvered the French, the Spaniards, and the English. He managed to eliminate all his enemies on the island until he was the only power left in Saint-Domingue/Haiti. By 1801, he governed the entire island, and proclaimed himself governor-general of the colony. A constitution was soon drawn-up by the white planter class, who Toussaint allowed to return on the island that same year, declaring Saint-Domingue an autonomous French black possession where slavery was abolished, but the slave trade was continued.

Although Toussaint abolished slavery on the island, he maintained the exported-oriented agricultural system of slavery, and the slave trade, under a new share-cropping partnership between the Africans and their former slavemasters who became cultivators. This corvée system converted the majority of the Africans into wage-laborers which were paid in the goods they produced on the plantation system and their own parcel of land they cultivated (Du Bois, 2004; 2012). Many of the maroons and mulatto elites (Andre Rigaud, Alexander Pétion, Jean-Pierre Boyer, etc.) rebelled against Toussaint's position and continued their fight against his army of free blacks, whites, and mulattoes. The former, maroon Africans, did so because they were against anything that resembled slavery, and the latter, mulatto elites, due to the emergence of the new free black *grandon* property classes composed of the black generals in Toussaint's army and the continuing economic role of the whites. Defeated in what is famously referred to as "the war of knives" by Jean-Jacques Dessalines, the mulattoes André Rigaud, Alexandre Pétion, and Jean-Pierre Boyer would leave for France, while Macaya, Sans Souci, and many of the African maroons either became landowners or returned to the mountains leaving Toussaint in control of the plantation system. Hence the pre-1791 status-quo was re-instituted under Toussaint without slavery, but with the plantation economy and the slave trade (Casimir, 2020). As such, Toussaint posed no threat to the trans-Atlantic Slave trade, international capitalism, or White Supremacy, he sought to integrate them in the latter structures and processes.

5. Conclusions

Following his European campaign, Napoleon Bonaparte wary of Toussaint's great power in the colony sent 82,000 of his battle proven troops commanded by the mulattoes Alexandre Pétion, Jean-Pierre Boyer, and his brother-in-law, General Leclerc, a fleet of warships, canons, munitions and dogs in order to quell the rebellion and recapture Haiti as a slave colony. Whereas the *Affranchis* surrendered, the Africans under the leadership of Sans Souci and Macaya continued their warfare against the French and Affranchis from the mountains. Two years of war ended in a stalemate; however, the French treacherously arrested (with the assistance of Dessalines) Toussaint Louverture during a meeting in June 1802. He was exiled to France and died in the *Fort de Joux* prison high in the cold Alpine mountains of Jura in April 1803.

With the arrest, and eventual death, of Toussaint, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, a trained oungan in the traditions of Mackandal and Boukman, whose dislike for the whites and mulatto *Affranchis* was not shared by Louverture, formed a shaky alliance with the maroon Africans, free blacks, and mulattoes (under the leadership of Alexandre Pétion who was sent back under Leclerc's army to reclaim the island for France) and emerged as the new leader of the Haitian Revolution, bringing it, with the aid of Henri Christophe, Francois Capois-la-Mort, and the maroon Africans to its ultimate climax, the first black independent nation in the world on January 1, 1804. Unlike Toussaint, Dessalines was a creole field slave interpellated and ounganified/manboified by the Vodou ideology and ideological apparatuses of the Africans. He had no formal Western education and disagreed with Toussaint over the roles of the mulattoes and whites in the revolution. Nonetheless, in his eventual move to liberate Haiti, he united with the maroon Africans, free blacks, and mulatto elites led by Alexandre Pétion.

Haiti's revolution against colonialism and slavery was the first successful black movement resulting in an independent state headed by so-called blacks. On January 1, 1804, Dessalines, to honor the Taino natives who had been massacred by the Spanish, renamed the island its original Tainoian name, Haiti or Ayi-ti (mountainous land). Since these glorious events, Haiti has been the pariah of the West bearing the mark of the poorest country in the Hemisphere. This distinction is a product of the racial-class divisions and struggle for power between the mulattoes (liberals), free blacks (mercantilists), and the Africans (libertarian communists), which would continue in Haiti during and following the Revolution and the death of Jean-Jacques Dessalines.

Following the Revolution, Haiti was marginalized by the majority of the European powers of the time, and fighting amongst the three remaining groups, the mulatto elites, the free black generals, and the African maroons, emerged over the constitution of the new nation-state. Many of the mulatto elites, serving as a rentier oligarchical class, desired the land of their white fathers under a free trade liberal order; the free black generals, protectionist/mercantilists, wanted to maintain their land they had obtained from Toussaint during the early parts of the war; and the African maroons wanted no parts of anything that resembled the old system of slavery or Toussaint's *corvée* system, seeking instead to constitute a libertarian communist order via their lakou system and the Vodou Ethic (Mocombe, 2018). The former two, interpellated and embourgeoised by the ideology and ideological apparatuses of the West, sought to reproduce the same colonial system as their former colonial slavemasters under either mercantilist or liberal economic policies, while the latter and the majority of the population interpellated and ounganified/manboified by the leadership of the Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism did not. Instead, they went about practicing their religion, husbandry, subsistence agriculture, and komes as enframed by the Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism in order to reconstitute the society in a national position of their own. Dessalines, who essentially sided with the *grandons*, sought to constitute the new nation-state within these two opposing structuring structures. As such in his 1805 constitution he proceeded to divide the land equitably among all those who fought in the Revolution; disallowed white landownership on the island; renounced everything that was French for systems grounded in the experiences of the people of the island; and renounced white supremacy for a Pan-African discourse that would have Haiti become the land for and of blacks (Fick, 1990; Nicholls, 1979; Du Bois, 2012).

This constitution of Haiti did not sit well with the *Affranchis* who desired their pre-war status and wealth, which tied them to the global capitalist world-system. Instead of focusing on fortification of the island, national production, food security, and agricultural production for local consumption as Dessalines attempted to do with his equitable redistribution of land among the population, the *Affranchis* assassinated him over his land reform (nationalization of the land for equitable distribution) and the masses of Africans fled to the mountainsides. With the death of Dessalines, the majority of the productive land was divided among the mulatto elites, who took over their fathers' land and estates, and the black commanding officers of the revolution. They kept intact the export based economic arrangements which existed under colonialism and Toussaint's regime with the mulatto elites—because of their status as mulattoes—serving as the middle persons, rentier oligarchs, between the nation-state and outside merchants. What emerged in Haiti, following the Revolution, was the same colonial class structure under the leadership of the Affranchis, i.e., Toussaint Louverture, especially, and their adversarial partnership with an emerging foreign white and mulatto merchant class, which assisted in the acquisition of manufactured goods; petit-bourgeois blacks who converted their plantations into agribusinesses; and the Africans in the provinces and mountains whose products were heavily taxed by the emerging nation-state under the leadership of the Affranchis (Pierre-Louis, 2000; Du Bois, 2012). The continuous struggle between the mulatto merchant/professional class and the black landowning managerial classes for control of the state and its apparatuses, at the expense of the African masses in the provinces and mountains whose children they arm and use against each other as they migrate to Port-au-Prince amidst American neoliberal policies seeking to displace the masses for tourism, agro and textile industries, and athletics (basketball and soccer) continues to be a hindrance for the constitution of a sovereign Haitian nation-state. The former two, interpellated and embourgeoised in Western ideological apparatuses, seek to constitute Haiti, with the aid of whites (France, Canada, and America), as an export-oriented periphery state within the capitalist world-system under American hegemony against the desires of the masses of Africans in the provinces and mountains seeking to maintain their *komes*, subsistence agriculture, and husbandry, which are deemed informal. The *grandon* class, composed of educated professionals, former drug dealers, entertainers, and police officers attack the former Affranchis class, which is now a comprador bourgeoisie (composed of Arab merchants) seeking to build, own, and manage hotels and assembly factories producing electronics and clothing for the rentier oligarchs of the US market, under the moniker the children of Dessalines against the children of Pétion in the name of the African masses of the island, the majority of whom are peasant farmers interpellated and ounganified by the Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism. Instead of focusing on infrastructure (artificial lakes, potable water, food security, mache—modern market spaces for *komes*, universities, and state-owned companies for the peasant class to sell, etc.) to augment national agriculture and the productive forces of the latter group, who constitute eighty-five percent of the

population, the mulatto elites and petit-bourgeois blacks, serving as a comprador bourgeoisie for America's, Canada's, and France's rentier oligarchs, emphasize job creation through foreign direct investment in tourism, agro and textile industries, privatization of public services, infrastructure for an export-oriented economy similar to the one they had under slavery, and the constitution of a political bourgeoisie in control of the state apparatuses. However, their inabilities—given the voting power of the majority—to constitute two dominant rotating political parties to implement the desires of their former colonial slavemasters, leaves Haiti in perpetual turmoil. As in slavery, the African masses continue to fight, against their interpellation, embourgeoisement, and differentiation as wage-earners in the tourism trade and textile factories of the Catholic/Protestant Ethic and spirit of capitalism of these two power elites seeking equality of opportunity, recognition, and distribution with whites at their expense, for the Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism of *oungan yo, manbo yo,* and *granmoun yo* of Bois Caiman and Jean-Jacques Dessalines. As the current historical conjuncture parallels the conjuncture of 1791 either a unifying national conference that parallels Bois Caiman or a second war of independence will determine the outcome of this perpetual economic and cultural civil war in Haiti.

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Appendix A

Table 1. Differences between the Catholic/Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism and the Vodou Ethic and the Spirit of Communism in Haiti

Differences	**The Catholic/Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism**	**The Vodou Ethic and the Spirit of Communism**
Language	French	Kreyol
Mode (s) of Production	Agribusiness, Manufacturing (Industrial production), and Post-Industrial Service	Subsistence Agriculture, Husbandry, and Komes (Wholesale and retail Trade)
Ideology	Individualism, Capitalism, subject/object thinking, Authoritarianism, racialism, liberalism, private property	Individuality, Social Collectivism, syncretic thinking, Democratic, spirit of social justice, holism
Ideological Apparatuses	Church, schools, police force, army, law, patriarchal family, Prisons, the streets, bureaucratic organization of work	Ounfo, peristyles, dance, drumming, lwa yo, vévés, Secret societies (Bizango, which serve as police forces of the society), ancestral worship, alters Vodou magic
Communicative Discourse	Economic gain for its own sake, wealth, status, upward mobility, class	Balance, harmony, subsistence living, and perfection
Power Elites	Upper-class of owners and high-level executives of businesses and corporations, educated professionals, bureaucrats, managers, etc.	Oungan/manbo, bokor, gangan, dokté fey, granmoun

[1] I use the terms, ounganified/manboified, similar to how Althusser utilizes the term "embourgeoisement" as it pertains to the socialization process in the "Catholic/Protestant Ethic and spirit of capitalism social class language game" (my term) of the West. Albeit in my usage ounganified/manboified refers to socialization within the Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism social class language game of oungan, manbo, gangan, and granmoun yo. Similarly, as the nation-state system in the West would come under the leadership of agents of the Protestant Ethic and the spirit of capitalism, the same holds true for kingship organizations of the African tribes and nations. Their kingship leadership and political culture emanated from their socioreligious life, i.e., the Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism. During the Revolution, the African leadership was organized around their kingship and African military tactics, which was grounded in their religiosity (see Du Bois's *Avengers of the New World*, 2004, p. 108-109). It should also be mentioned that the majority of the early leaders were either oungan/manbo themselves or consulted with oungan yo and manbo yo.