

# The Haitian Revolution and Jean-Jacques Dessalines: The End of History and the Last Man Standing

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This work, using a structurationist approach, phenomenological structuralism, argues that the Haitian Revolution and Jean-Jacques Dessalines represented the first embodiment of Alexandre Kojève's "End of History" thesis. Following the Haitian Revolution, which is a revolt against slavery and mercantilist capitalism, the founder of the country, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, attempted to synthesize three forms of system and social integration on the island in order to constitute the nation of Haiti: the mercantilist and liberal capitalism of the Affranchis, petit-bourgeois blacks and mulatto elites, respectively; and the Lakouism, communism, of the African majority on the island. In this sense, Dessalines represented the first embodiment of Kojève's end of history Hegelian thesis. Using a structurationist, structural Marxist, understanding of practical consciousness constitution, the work explores the origins and basis for Dessalines's social, political, and economic policies to that end. The death of Dessalines, I conclude, would undermine this revolutionary impetus of the Haitian Revolution, rendering it insignificant, and converted Haiti into the so-called poorest country in the Western Hemisphere under American neoliberal capitalist hegemony.

*Keywords:* ideological domination, phenomenological structuralism, embourgeoisement, black underclass, Grandon, Mulatto Elites, Haitian Revolution, Bois Caiman, Affranchis

## Introduction

The Haitian Revolution and Jean-Jacques Dessalines represented the first embodiment of Alexandre Kojève's "End of History" thesis. Hence, unlike the traditional leaderships of Haiti, what makes Emperor Jean-Jacques Dessalines unique is the fact that after avenging the Taino natives and Africans of the island against the French, Spanish, and British, he attempted to mediate between, and synthesize, two diametrically opposing forms of system and social integration: the Catholic/Protestant Ethic and the spirit of capitalism of the mulatto elites and creole petit-bourgeois blacks who adopted the worldview (via the systemicity of liberalism and mercantilism) of their former colonial masters; and the Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism of the African majority who synthesized their ethos with that of the Taino natives. While the former two social classes, mulatto elites and petit-bourgeois blacks, sought to integrate Haiti into the global capitalist world-system of the European powers of the 19th century via either mercantile or liberal capitalism, Dessalines attempted to constitute the Haitian nation within the enframing ideology of the two distinct forms of social and system integration of the social actors on the island. In this sense, he represented the first embodiment of Kojève's end of history Hegelian thesis.

### **Background of the Problem**

The end of history thesis as adopted in the dialectical works of Hegel proposes a denouement of reason in the world culminating in the endpoint of humanity's sociopolitical and economic evolution and development through the synthesis of contradictions over time (Kojève, 1980; Fukuyama, 1992), at which point ideological history would end. For many post-Hegel scholars, the French Revolution and the regime of Napoleon represented that endpoint synthesis of equal rights and recognition touted by the values, ideas, and ideals of the Enlightenment. Contemporarily, made famous by postmodern thinkers, Alexandre Kojève (1980), and Francis Fukuyama (1992), the thesis in the postmodern position signifies the end to the modernist emphasis on linear history, grand metanarratives, and universal truth in favor of what is contemporarily known as neoliberal identity politics. In the Kojèveian (1980) sense, the move is away from the French Revolution and Napoleon's regime to emphasize the ideological struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. Kojève posits that the capitalism of the United States represented right-Hegelianism while the state-socialism of the Soviet Union represented left-Hegelianism. The end of history for Kojève is not the triumph of the latter over the former; instead, it is a triumph of a socialist-capitalist synthesis. For Fukuyama (1992), the triumph of liberal capitalism over state-socialism, right-Hegelianism over left-Hegelianism, as highlighted by the postmodernist identity politics under neoliberal capitalism of the United States of America, represents the endpoint of history where the regimes of rights and equal recognition have finally been established for all marginalized groups. In this work, using Mocombe's structurationist theory of phenomenological structuralism in refutation to Fukuyama's (right-Hegelian) position, which represents capitalist and liberal fascism in the form of neoliberal capitalism and identity politics, I want to argue that the culmination of the Haitian Revolution under the leadership of Jean-Jacques Dessalines (1804-1806) was the first manifestation of the Kojèveian thesis as he (Dessalines) attempted to synthesize the liberal/mercantilism (right-Hegelianism) of the Protestant/Catholic Ethic and the spirit of capitalism of the petit-bourgeois blacks and mulatto elites, Affranchis, and the lakouism/communism (left-Hegelianism) of the Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism of the Africans. His successful synthesis, I conclude, would have represented the end of history in the form of a regime of rights and equal recognition for the African majority with the Affranchis, mulattoes and petit-bourgeois blacks, as constituted through the Haitian state. However, his failure, given his assassination by the mulatto elites and petit-bourgeois blacks, has witnessed the rise of right-Hegelianism, in the form of neoliberalism under American hegemony, in the country, which has led to inequality and exploitation of the African masses by the Affranchis elites in the name of neoliberal identity politics and capitalism, which reinforces the postmodern position and undermines Haiti's attempt to constitute its nation-state under a grand metanarrative based on its revolutionary impetus.

### **Theory and Method**

Mocombeian (2016; 2019) phenomenological structuralism, which is a neo-Marxist structurationist theory that views the constitution of society, human identity, and social agency as a duality and dualism, posits that societal and agential constitution are a result of power relations, interpellation, and socialization or embourgeoisement via five systems, i.e., mode of production, language, ideology, ideological apparatuses, and communicative discourse, which are reified as a social structure or what Mocombe (2019) calls a "social class language game" by persons, power elites, who control (in a Hegelian master/slave dialectical sense) the means and modes of production in a material resource framework. Once interpellated and embourgeoisied by these five

systems, which are reified as a social structure and society (social class language game), social actors recursively organize, reproduce, and are differentiated by the rules of conduct of the social structure, which are sanctioned by the power elites who control the means and modes of production, language, ideology, ideological apparatuses, and communicative discourse in a material resource framework. Hence, societal and agential constitution are both a duality and dualism: a dualism given the reification of the social structure via the five systems; and a duality given the internalization of the rules of the five systems, which become the agential initiatives or praxes of social actors differentiated by the rules of conduct that are sanctioned based on the economic mode of production. Difference, or alternative social praxis, in Mocombe's structuration theory, phenomenological structuralism, is not structural differentiation as articulated by traditional structurationists such as Bourdieu, Sahlins, Habermas, and Giddens; instead, it is a result of actions arising from the deferment of meaning and ego-centered communication given the interaction of two other structuring structures (physiological drives of the body and brain; and phenomenal properties of subatomic particles that constitute the human subject) vis-à-vis the mental stance of the ego during the interpellation and socialization or embourgeoisement of social actors throughout their life span or cycle, which produces alternative praxis that is exercised at the expense of the threat these practices may pose to the ontological security of social actors in the social structure or society.

From this Mocombeian perspective, the constitution of Haitian society and practical consciousnesses must be viewed as the parallel evolution and reification of 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) (Mocombe, 2016). The argument here is that the purposive-rationality of the originating moments of the Haitian Revolution at Bois Caïman and the counter-plantation 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/dokt éfey*, and *gran moun yo*. It diametrically opposed the purposive-rationality of the liberal agents of the whites and Affranchis, mulattoes and petit-bourgeois black creole classes, on the island. The latter three (whites, mulatto elites, and petit-bourgeois black creole classes) sought to recursively reorganize and reproduce the practical consciousness of their former white slavemasters (*grand blanc*) for equality of opportunity, distribution, and recognition, while the agents of the former 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 bourgeois Catholic/Protestant language game of Europeans and the Affranchis operating through the state and its ideological apparatuses. The latter agents, 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 (land reform) and laws of the state attacking Vodou and its social and economic practices centered on the *lakou* system. In doing so, they established Haiti as an apartheid state dominated by the sociopolitical economic struggles between the mulatto elites and petit-bourgeois black landowning (creole) classes for control of its apparatuses, which they use(d) to undermine the desires and interests of the African-born majority on the island (Fick, 1990; Du Bois, 2004; 2012; Mocombe, 2016; Casimir, 2020; Scott, 2020).

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, v é v é s, 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, dokt é fèy, granmoun

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, embourgeoisied, 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, ideals, and values, 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,

[b]y 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*. (pp. 19-20)

Following the Revolution, the Affranchis would come to recursively reorganize and reproduce their being-in-the-world as interpellated, embourgeoisied, 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/dokt é fey* (herbal healers—medicine men and women), and *granmoun yo* (elders) (Mátraux, 1958; Deren, 1972; Rigaud, 1985; Fick, 1990; Desmangles, 1992; Bellegarde-Smith & Michel, 2006; Mocombe, 2016).<sup>1</sup> Against the Catholic/Protestant Ethic and the spirit of capitalism of the Affranchis with its emphasis on individualism, personal wealth, and capitalist exploitative labor, the Africans sought balance, harmony (homeostasis), and subsistence living (Mocombe, 2016). 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 sociopolitical economic “philosophy”, Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism, of the blacks/Africans diametrically opposed/oppose the Western capitalist ethic of the whites and Affranchis highlighted above by the colonial observer. It is the failure of the Affranchis, 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 country in the Western hemisphere.

Following the Haitian Revolution, the majority of the Africans, given their refusal to work on plantations or agribusinesses (the *corvée* system of mercantilism), 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,

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<sup>1</sup> 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, pp. 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.

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,

[t]ook 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, embourgeoisied, 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 and Casimir. 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 the majority of the African tribes shipped to the island during the slave trade. In refutation of this counter-plantation-system grounded in the Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism, the Affranchis sought to continue the plantation-system of their former colonial slavemasters, which was grounded in the Catholic/Protestant Ethic and the spirit of capitalism of the colonial economy, via a liberal or mercantilist capitalism of the *corvée* system. Jean-Jacques Dessalines (1804-1806), the father of the country, conversely, sought to constitute the Haitian nation-state by mediating between and balancing the liberal and mercantilist desires of the Affranchis on the one hand, which he sought to implement via the state; and the purposive-rationality for landownership, husbandry, subsistence agriculture, and *komes* of the Vodou leadership of the African masses who wanted no part of a system that resembled slavery or Toussaint Louverture's *corvée* system, on the other hand. In this sense, Dessalines's effort was the first attempt to synthesize socialism and capitalism in the Kojèveian sense.

### Discussion and Conclusion

Following the Revolution, Haiti was marginalized by all 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 (Scott, 2020). The mulatto elites desired the land of their white fathers, the free black generals 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 (mercantilist) *corvée* system. The former two, interpellated and embourgeoisied by the ideology and ideological apparatuses of the West, sought to reproduce the same colonial system as their former colonial slavemasters, 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 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; Mocombe, 2016).

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 and work among the population, the Affranchis assassinated him over his land reform 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 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 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 (Du Bois, 2012). The continuous sociopolitical economic 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 embourgeoisied 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, attacks 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 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 85 percent of the population, the mulatto elites and petit-bourgeois blacks emphasize job creation through foreign direct investment in tourism, postmodern identity politics, 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 economic 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, leave 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.

It is not enough, however, to view Dessalines's discourse and discursive practices along the inverted black-nationalist and Pan-Africanist lines of Marcus Garvey, Malcolm-X, Henry Highland Garnet, Martin Robinson Delaney, and W. E. B. Du Bois as highlighted by Susan Buck-Morss (2009) and David Nicholls (1979). To do so would make his position a structurally differentiated dialectical response to enslavement, i.e., an "other" seeking to recursively reorganize and reproduce the Catholic/Protestant Ethic and the spirit of capitalism in a national/racial position of his own. My position here is that his response was "enframed" by the structuring logic, Vodou Ethic and spirit of communism social class language game, of the masses and their Vodou leadership on the one hand and that of the Affranchis on the other (Mocombe, 2016). As such, his movement was a Kojèveian sociopolitical economic project, which sought to synthesize the liberal and mercantilist desires of the Affranchis with the communal wants of the Africans. As Dessalines declared,

the sons of the colonists' have taken advantage of my poor blacks. Be on your guard, negroes and mulattoes, we have all fought against the whites; the properties which we have conquered by the spilling of our blood belong to us all; I intend that they be divided with equity. (Dessalines quoted in Nicholls, 1979, p. 38)

This statement of Dessalines was not only rhetorical. In order to commence his nationalization project, Dessalines, following the Revolution, did not seek to solely recursively reorganize and reproduce the Catholic/Protestant Ethic and the spirit of capitalism of the Affranchis under European liberalism and mercantilism, but was also mindful of the communal desires of the Africans. As Leslie G. Desmangles highlights,

[d]uring the first three years after independence (1804-1807) under Jean-Jacques Dessalines's administration, Haiti was united economically and politically... At the outset of his administration, Dessalines... divided the citizens of the country into two categories, the laborers and the soldiers. Fearing the return of the French army, Dessalines... organized all those who had actively participated in the war of independence into an army of 25,000 men... Those who had been on the plantations during the war continued as laborers and cultivated the large acreages the government had annexed from the white planters... The newly militarized agriculture... produced largely sugar, cotton, and coffee, which mulatto overseers divided according to certain state-established criteria... The overseers were to transmit one-half of the crops to the state: one half of this was used for export, and the other half paid the rent on the land. Another quarter of the total crop yield was retained for the workers' salaries, and the remaining quarter paid the salary of the plantation overseers. (1992, pp. 38-39)

These efforts were also balanced by his attempt at land reform, which sought to redistribute the remaining land of the island equitably amongst the Affranchis and African majority (Du Bois, 2004; 2012).

After the assassination of Dessalines by the leadership of the Affranchis class who were against these measures,

the country became divided between north and south, and between two rival political factions led by two ambitious men—tyrants who maintained political power solely by military force. Henri Christophe crowned himself king of the northern kingdom of Haiti in 1807 and ruled until 1820; his political rival Alexandre Pétion served as president of the south between 1807 and 1818. Haiti was reunited politically in 1822 during the presidency of Jean-Pierre Boyer (1818-43), Pétion's former personal secretary and minister... In both the south and, particularly, the north, the first part of the history of independent Haiti is a story of servitude supported by a militarized agriculture whose government was drawn from the



mulatto class. Their despotic rule early in the republic paved the way for the emergence of a rigid new social structure in which former affranchis were to become an elite distinctly separated from the black masses. (Desmangles, 1992, p. 38)

This purposive-rationality of the Affranchis, to adopt the Catholic/Protestant Ethic and spirit of capitalism social class language game of whites by recursively reorganizing and reproducing their God, language, French, and exploitative ways of being-in-the-world, liberalism, and capitalism, is, however, a Western postmodern and Fukuyamaian liberal dialectical understanding of the events and their desire (captured in their postcolonial, post-structural, and postmodern discourses) to be like their white counterparts, which stands against the subsequent Kojèveian position of Jean-Jacques Dessalines, which sought to synthesize the liberal/mercantilist capitalism of the Affranchis and the communism of the Africans in order to constitute the Haitian nation-state post independence.

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