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5 **Abstract**

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7 *Index terms—*

8 **1 I. INTRODUCTION**

9 Like the Africans of North America who were enslaved by the British, the Africans of Haiti were enslaved by
10 the French on plantations to reproduce the colonial mercantilist system of global capitalism, which became
11 juxtaposed against an emerging liberalization of the latter ??Du Bois, 2004 ?? 2012; Mocombe, 2016). Whereas
12 the former, mercantilist capitalism, promoted colonies and protective measures in trade to protect those colonies
13 for the development of the colonial nation, i.e., metropole; the latter, promoted specialization and free trade
14 (McMichael, 2008). The dialectical struggles between capitalists promoting either model have shaped geopolitics
15 since the eighteenth century (Chase-Dunn, 1977; Wallerstein, 1982; McMichael, 2008).

16 Contemporarily, the distinction is drawn between protective measures and Keynesian economics, with
17 an emphasis on social welfare programs, state interventions into the economy, import substitutions, and
18 nationalization, on the one hand; and neoliberal identity politics, on the other, with an emphasis on trade
19 liberalization, austerity, financialization of economies, privatization, specialization, and identity politics (Sklair,
20 1995; McMichael, 2008). The latter has been promoted by America, the hegemon of the contemporary global
21 capitalist world-system, to countries seeking to develop and increase the well-being of their citizenry over the
22 former, which America itself used to develop its economy and society against European (British) colonialism
23 (McMichael, 2008). To date, the consequences for countries using the neoliberal model for development have
24 been disastrous: seeing, the rise of identity politics, with an emphasis on the queerification and feminization
25 of the work force; the privatization of state resources and the rise of a small oligarchy, working for, and with,
26 foreign capital to ascertain and (privately) control these resources; increased poverty for the masses; and a weak
27 state unable to provide social welfare for its citizenry who are dependent on outside foreign and domestic private
28 non-profit companies, i.e., nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and other non-state organizations for these
29 services. In essence, contemporarily, neoliberalism has become mercantilism in an effort to colonize the states
30 of the world for American, the new metropole replacing the Western European states of previous centuries,
31 agricultural, industrial, and post-industrial interests, against state nationalism and the Keynesian model.

32 **2 London Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Sci-
33 ences**

34 This work posits that the contemporary Haitian state is a paragon of the neoliberal state model. Haiti's neoliberal
35 state is a colonial/vassal state impoverished to serve American global capitalist hegemony under the auspices of
36 a Haitian comprador bourgeoisie composed of professionals, managers, intellectuals, and business elites in Haiti
37 and the diaspora. However, unlike Chile, which the West points to as the success of the neoliberal process, Haiti's
38 model is a complete failure, similar to the attempt to neoliberalize Russia post the fall of the Soviet Union in
39 1991. Whereas Russia, under Vladimir Putin, was able to combat the deleterious effects (poverty, unemployment,
40 death, etc.) of the neoliberal process by gaining control of the state, curtailing the powers of the oligarchy created
41 by the West, nationalizing its natural resources, and implementing Keynesian economic policies, Haiti is unable
42 to do so. The work posits that Haiti's failures rest on its colonial experiences under mercantilist and liberal
43 capitalism and the embourgeoisement of its population on the island and the diaspora against the African Vodou
44 Ethic and the spirit of communism in the mountains and provinces of the country.

45 3 II. BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

46 Unlike the black American, which became a structurally differentiated black other in America. In Haiti, given that
47 sixty-seven percent of the population were directly from Africa when the Revolution commenced, following the
48 Haitian Revolution, many of the Africans were able to maintain and institutionalize their practical consciousness
49 in the mountains and provinces of the island via the Kreyol language, the lakou system, and the Vodou Ethic
50 and the spirit of communism (Mocombe, 2016(Mocombe, , 2017; ; ?u Bois, 2004 ?? 2012). Hence two opposing
51 forms of system and social integration (i.e., social class language games), each with their own mode of production,
52 language, ideology, ideological apparatuses, and communicative discourse, would constitute the Haitian social
53 structure (Du Bois, 2004, 2012; Mocombe, 2016): the Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism of the Africans;
54 and the Protestant Ethic and the spirit of capitalism of the Affranchis, mulatto elites and petit-bourgeois blacks
55 in control of the state apparatuses (Mocombe, 2016).

56 The latter, given their interpellation and embourgeoisement in European languages, mode of production,
57 ideology, ideological apparatuses, and communicative discourse, sought to continue their participation in the
58 global capitalist processes of the Europeans via mercantilism and liberalism and control of the state and its
59 apparatuses of control. The former, the majority of the Africans, sought to constitute an alternative form of
60 system and social integration, i.e., a libertarian communal social class language game, by which they sought to
61 interpellate and socialize the masses, outside the state and its apparatuses of control under the Affranchis, for
62 subsistence living and sustainable development of the material resource framework over capitalist exploitation.
63 Dessalines, the founding father of the nation-state, attempted, in a Kojèveian sense, to synthesize the two positions
64 ??Mocombe, 2023). This Kojèveian constitution of Haiti by Dessalines did not sit well with the Affranchis who
65 desired their pre-war status and wealth, which tied them to the (mercantilist and liberal) global capitalist world-
66 system. Instead of focusing on fortification of the island, national production, food security, and agricultural
67 production for local consumption as Dessalines attempted to do with his equitable redistribution of land among
68 the population, the Affranchis assassinated him over his land and economic reforms, and the masses of Africans
69 fled to the mountainsides and provinces of the island (Du Bois, 2012).

70 With the assassination of Dessalines, the majority of the productive land was divided among the mulatto
71 elites, who took over their fathers' land and estates, and the black commanding officers of the revolution (Du
72 Bois, 2004). They kept intact the export based economic arrangements which existed under colonialism and
73 Toussaint's regime with the mulatto elites-because of their status as mulattoes-serving as the middle persons
74 between the nation-state and outside merchants. What emerged in Haiti, following the Revolution, was the same
75 colonial (mercantilist/liberal free-trade) class structure under the leadership of the Affranchis and their adversarial
76 partnership London Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Sciences with an emerging foreign white
77 merchant class, which assisted in the acquisition of manufactured goods, petit-bourgeois blacks who converted
78 their plantations into agribusinesses, and the Africans in the provinces and mountains whose products were
79 heavily taxed by the emerging nation-state under the leadership of the Affranchis (Du Bois, 2012).

80 4 III. THEORY AND METHODS

81 Haiti, since 1804, has been marked by this struggle between agents of these two forms of system and social
82 integration, the Protestant/Catholic Ethic and the spirit of capitalism and the Vodou Ethic and the spirit of
83 communism, with the merchant and landowning classes (agents of the former) constantly seeking to supplant
84 the Vodou Ethic and spirit of communism of the African majority via what Karl Polanyi calls the fictitious
85 commodities (land, labor, and money) of (liberal-bourgeois) capitalism: the commodification of the land of the
86 island, the labor of the African masses, and money (dollarization of the economy), which ties Haiti to the global
87 Protestant capitalist world-system of the Europeans and Americans. In other words, Haiti is caught between
88 the libertarian communism of the Africans in the mountains and provinces; the mercantilism, guised under the
89 umbrella of black nationalism, of the landowning Affranchis, both blacks and mulattoes; and the liberalism of a
90 merchant class (Arabs, mulattoes, and a few blacks) seeking to (neo) liberalize trade as they control the export
91 and import trade on the island. The latter two seek control of the state and its apparatuses backed by their
92 American and European handlers seeking to neoliberalize the country and its institutions or state apparatuses
93 of control.

94 5 IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

95 Contemporarily, the continuous struggle between the mulatto (and Arab) merchant/professional class and the
96 black landowning managerial classes for control of the state and its apparatuses, at the expense of the African
97 masses in the provinces and mountains whose children they arm and use against each other as they migrate to
98 Port-au-Prince amidst American neoliberal policies seeking to displace the masses off their land for diversified
99 consumerism, i.e., tourism, agro and textile industries, and athletics (basketball and soccer), and trickle-down
100 economics, continues to be a hindrance for the constitution of a sovereign Haitian nation-state amidst global
101 climate change. The former two, interpellated and embourgeoised in Western ideological apparatuses, seek to
102 constitute Haiti and the Haitian state, with the aid of whites (France, Canada, and America), as an export-
103 oriented periphery state within the capitalist world-system under American hegemony through the queerification

104 and feminization of the labor force, privatization of state assets and services, austerity measures, militarization,
105 and liberalization of trade with France, Canada, and the United States (Du Bois, 2012;
106 Mocombe, 2016). This neoliberal/mercantilist/colonial process stands against the desires of the masses of
107 Africans who have been ghettoized in the urban slums, provinces, and mountains while seeking to maintain
108 their komes, subsistence agriculture, and husbandry, which are deemed informal, against the gentrification of
109 the country. The new grandon class, composed of educated professionals, former drug dealers, entertainers,
110 and police officers attack the former Affranchis class, which is now a comprador (oligarchical) bourgeoisie
111 (composed of Arab merchants) seeking to build, own, and manage hotels (to promote Haitian culture) and
112 assembly factories producing electronics and clothing for the US market, under the moniker the children of
113 Dessalines against the children of Pétion in the name of the African masses of the island, the majority of whom
114 are peasant farmers interpellated and ounanified by the Vodou Ethic and the spirit of communism. Instead of
115 focusing on infrastructure (artificial lakes, potable water, food security, mache-modern market spaces for komes,
116 universities, and state-owned companies for the peasant class to sell, etc.) to augment national agriculture and
117 the productive forces of the latter group, who constitute eighty-five percent of the population, the mulatto/Arab
118 elites and petit-bourgeois blacks emphasize austerity, London Journal of Research in Humanities and Social
119 Sciences job creation through foreign direct investment in tourism, agro and textile industries, privatization of
120 public services, infrastructure for an export-oriented economy similar to the one they had under slavery, and
121 the constitution of a political bourgeoisie in control of the state apparatuses. However, their inabilities-given
122 the voting power of the majority-to constitute two dominant rotating political parties, between the grandon and
123 the black professional/managerial classes, to implement the desires of their former colonial slavemasters, leaves
124 Haiti in perpetual turmoil and poverty. As in slavery, the African masses continue to protest and fight, against
125 their interpellation, embourgeoisement, and differentiation as wage-earners (commodities) in the tourism trade
126 and textile factories of the Catholic/Protestant Ethic and spirit of capitalism of these two power elites seeking
127 equality of opportunity, recognition, and distribution with whites at their expense, for the Vodou Ethic and
128 the spirit of communism of ounan yo, manbo yo, and grannoun yo of Bois Caiman. As the current historical
129 conjuncture parallels the conjuncture of 1791 either a unifying national conference that parallels Bois Caiman or
130 a second war of independence will determine the outcome of this perpetual economic and cultural civil war in
131 Haiti. As for now, the masses of Port-au-Prince, galvanized by the grandon class, protest against the neoliberal
132 capitalist world-system under American hegemony under the moniker, the children of Pétion v. the children
133 of Dessalines. Although viewed within racial and nationalistic terms by the majority of the governing elites,
134 Pétion representing the mulatto elites and Dessalines the African masses, this work suggests that the metaphor,
135 contemporarily, have come to represent Marxist ideological categories for racial-class (nationalistic) struggles on
136 the island of Haiti against dictatorship, the Haitian oligarchs, and American neoliberal policies on the island: the
137 ideological position of Pétion representing the neoliberal views of the mulatto elites and petit-bourgeois blacks;
138 and Haitian nationalism, economic reform, and social justice representing the ideological position of Dessalines
139 as articulated by educated segments of the petit-bourgeois class, such as Moïse Jean-Charles, Assad Volcy, etc.,
140 claiming to speak for the African masses, the majority of whom are more so the descendants of Macaya and Sans
141 Souci (the African leadership during the Revolutionary period) than Pétion or Dessalines (Kreyol blacks of the
142 island). However, in the final analysis, both positions stand against the interests of the African masses as they
143 seek to maintain their subsistence agriculture, komes, and well-being amidst the desires of the two bourgeoisies
144 fighting for equality of opportunity, recognition, and distribution with whites within the global capitalist world-
145 system under American neoliberal hegemony (Fraser, 1997; Mocombe, 2016Mocombe, , 2017)).^{1 2}

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