DEMOCRATIZED REPUBLIC: HOW HAITI'S FAILED EMIGRATION PROGRAM
DESTABILIZED ITS DEMOCRACY

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Stanley Jean-Baptiste Lagrenade, B.A

Georgetown University
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Stanley Lagrenade, B.A

Mentor: Dr. Shelly K. Habel, PhD

ABSTRACT

The Republic of Haiti has been in a perpetual democratic transition since its independence on January 1, 1804. Its revolution was the final step in its emancipation from France, which prompted its nation building process and democratic transition. Democratic transitions are a country’s organic process of establishing democratic rule after a revolution or regime change, and they consist of creating the fundamental institutions of a democratic government. Haiti has been unsuccessful in establishing a democracy in the course of its two hundred year independence. Haiti’s failure to establish a stable democracy has trapped it in a vicious socio-political cycle in which the government has vacillated between a dictatorship and a fledgling democracy. Many of the analyses that have been done on Haiti’s democratic transition after its independence have examined its transition strictly from a socio-political perspective. These studies have postulated that Haiti’s failures are a result of a lack of gubernatorial organization, social fragmentation, and geopolitical isolation. While all of these assertions are valid when examining Haiti’s
democratic failures, they do not consider the possible effects of immigration on democratic transition.

This thesis explores Haiti’s democratic transition and nation building process in order to determine if immigration could have positively affected the formation of democracy in Haiti. It explores the failures of the Emigration Movement, enacted in the 1820’s, to relocate freed African American slaves to Haiti, to illustrate the ways in which a successful campaign could have aided in its democratization. This is accomplished through an analysis of the movement’s potential impact on the establishment of Haitian civil society, economic modes of production, social class organization, and political process through a variety of methods. First, there is a historical look at the Haitian revolution in order to gain perspectives on the origins of democracy in Haiti and to obtain a thorough understanding of Haiti’s pre-revolutionary social, political and economic structures. Next, there is an exploration of the transition after the revolution that examines the creation and transformation of all structures mentioned above. The transition period for any nation is particularly important due to its lack of institutional stability, the potential for conflict, and social fragmentation. Ultimately, this thesis demonstrates that while not necessary for the establishment of a stable democracy in all developing nations, Haiti’s social, political and economic structures would have benefitted from the positive effects of a vibrant immigration movement.
INTRODUCTION

Haiti became the first slave colony to gain independence from European rule on January 1, 1804, marking the culmination of 14 years of battle for emancipation from France. Immediately following its independence, Haiti was faced with the daunting task of nation building with very few, economic, social, political or educational structures to support itself. The part of the population that managed to survive the fight for independence was relatively small to start with, and the country lost another significant portion to emigration. Many Haitians left because they were unconvinced that democracy in Haiti could succeed. A lack of government capability was only one issue facing new citizens. Political instability created a social fragmentation that further hindered the democratic process.

Though the first colony of former slaves was relatively isolated from many major world powers, they were not entirely alone. Haiti was part of a massive campaign called the Emigration Movement between 1820 and 1864. North-American abolitionist leaders worked with the limited Haitian government to entice former slaves, free blacks, abolitionist leaders, and prominent political thinkers to emigrate from America to Haiti. The movement aimed to leverage the skills and talents of such individuals to help establish Haiti’s economic system, un-stratify its social classes, and help establish political and educational institutions.
The leaders of the movement hoped that the influx of new immigrants would help to break Haiti free from its plantation economy and increase economic output. In theory, these economic advances would spur a new wave of immigrants who would help to restructure the entrenched class system, and help build the necessary institutions for the support of democracy. The movement was deemed a failure by the late 1850's after Haiti failed to recruit the numbers that it had hoped for and those who had immigrated returned to America or left for other nearby islands.

This thesis analyzes Haiti’s failed democracy in order to determine if the Emigration Movement in the 1820’s could have assisted in building and maintaining the institutions necessary for establishing a democracy. The bulk of this study will explore the history of Haiti’s revolution and its transition to democracy after the revolution by examining its institution building process. There are several key requirements that are fundamental to building and maintaining a working democracy. These include functioning economic institutions, un-stratified social classes, and political and educational institutions. Together these make up what Robert Fatton calls the, “integral state.”¹ The process of creating a functioning civil society, known as democratization, is referenced throughout this thesis because civil society is

vital to the creation of democracy. This thesis utilizes the conflict theorist’s perspective in analyzing Haiti’s sociopolitical habitus. The conflict theorist’s perspective is particularly germane to discussions of Haiti given its history of violent conflict. Nearly every generation of Haitian citizens has seen violent upheaval and government crackdown in continuous cycles. This conflict is based on the complex class dynamics between the entrenched upper and lower classes, which have been a constant in Haitian history. Class dynamics permeate every aspect of Haitian society including politics and economics. The conflict theory will offer insight and allow for analysis of the socio-political class dynamics that were present in Haiti during the democratic transition and the Emigration Movement.

Concurrent with my analysis of the effects of the Emigration Movement of the 1820’s, I will provide a historical frame of reference for all of my discussions throughout this thesis. The first half of this thesis features a historical overview of the Haitian revolution, which serves as an important starting point for many of the conditions that hinder democratic development to the current day. This portion of the thesis will provide insight into the social class structure of pre-revolutionary Haiti. A complex class structure existed in colonial Haiti, which was based economically on the extractive constructs of slavery and the plantation system. When revolution removed slavery from Haiti it did little to change the economic structure. The plantation economy was still
firmly entrenched in free Haiti and slavery-based social hierarchy continued to be the norm. This exploitative economy perpetuated class-based domination, fragmentation, and social instability.

At the conclusion of the historical presentation, Haiti’s transition from slave colony to independent nation is analyzed. This thesis examines Haiti’s post revolution nation building and institutional creation process during its democratic transition. The viability of the institutions and structures that were established during this early period following its independence will be explored to determine if democracy’s vital institutions were created in Haiti’s initial attempts at democratization. The changes and decisions that took place during this period created an inability to commit to the democratic process that was outlined in its very own Constitution.

Central to the overall argument is the analysis of the Emigration Movement. The argument will explore the foundations of the Emigration Movement and examine its shortcomings, failures, and unintended consequences that had an effect on Haiti’s democratic transition. The conflict paradigm will be used to analyze the consequences of this failure for each of Haiti’s individual socio-political institutions. To this end, this thesis will ultimately illustrate ways in which the failed Emigration Movement of the 1820’s could have changed the course of Haiti’s democratic transition, preventing the catastrophic failure that followed.
First, without the influx of new immigrants, Haiti struggled to differentiate its economic institutions and social class structure from those of a slavery-based economy. Without the knowledge of the workings of a different economy, the island reverted to the agricultural plantation economy in which it was versed. This failure to create a new economy had a domino effect, which cascaded through the remainder of its institutions, ultimately leading to Haiti’s failure to establish an effective civil society. Ultimately, these failures were a result of Haiti’s inability to establish a more egalitarian class structure, educational system and an all-inclusive democratic political process. Civil society would have bonded the democratic concept to the island of Haiti, and without it, Haiti found itself in a never-ending democratic transition.
CHAPTER I
LITERATURE REVIEW

All countries must go through a process to become democratically viable. Many theorists agree that economic prosperity is a prerequisite for democracy. Economic prosperity on an individual level is not sufficient in and of itself for democracy to prosper. There is a transition process which countries must go through to become a stable democracy. Unfortunately, sometimes the very structures that aid democracy in most situations such as economic systems, class structure, and political organization, can work against it in others. Many of these particular situations exist in Haiti and they must be examined carefully for a full understanding of the situation.

Haiti has been unsuccessful in its democratic transition in the 200 years following its revolution in 1804. The revolution permanently ended slavery, which was the first step toward toppling the, “plantation complex.”¹ Immediately after the revolution, Haiti was faced with a multitude of economic, class and political conflicts, which stymied the development of civil society. The social structure based on racial and class inequality that was pervasive in Haiti during its pre-revolutionary period lingered in its early nation building process, and had a profound impact on its political process and democratic transition.

“The state that crystallized in the aftermath of the revolution reflected the chasm that separated rulers and the ruled, and came to embody the predatory instruments of a small class enjoying power, status and wealth.”

Haiti’s failure to establish a working democracy is rooted primarily in Haiti’s failure to establish what Robert Fatton calls the, “integral state.” An integral state is a nation that is able to unify the bridge between both political and civil society and represents the grassroots of the democratic spirit in modern societies. Civil society is a watchdog, which is a check against the abuses of sociopolitical power. It is a byproduct of modernization where the, “specific casual chains consist of sequences of industrialization, urbanization, education, communication, mobilization, and political incorporation. It is a progressive accumulation of social changes that ready a society to proceed to its culmination, democratization.”

In addition to this idea that the establishment of an “integral state” is necessary for a successful democratization, many theorists believe that there is


a relationship between the particular nature of a nation’s democratic transition and the resultant form of democracy. It is universally recognized that a sound economic system is the foundation upon which the social and cultural structures must rest.\(^6\) This section of the thesis explores the role of economics on the development of democracies supporting civil society structures such as social class, and politics. It explores how a nation’s transition can affect social class and politics and examines the effects of immigration on a developing nation.

Conflict theory is important to use when examining developing countries, such as Haiti. The vast inequality that is found throughout Haiti’s social structures coupled with the institutional conflicts make this paradigm applicable. Conflict theory is grounded in democratization, which has rooted in the establishment of civil society. Conflict theory, which was founded by Karl Marx, is the study of the “material inequality” that exists between social and political institutions. Conflict theory addresses both economic and social institutions as they relate to greater society. In his 1859 book, \textit{A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy}, Karl Marx posits that in any society men enter into production relationships which are not directly associated with their will.

The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which arises a legal and

It is important to note that Marx does not address race and ethnic conflict directly in his theories on the conflicts that exist within society. The applicable portion of his conflict theory is his notion of a power struggle between the ownership class, who controls the means of production, and the lower class, which produces the labor. In this relationship, those who control the means of production do so for their own benefit. The differences in what each group wants – the ownership class wants to maximize profits while the labor class wants to maximize wages – ultimately lead to internal tensions. Marx theorizes that this internal tension will lead to the system collapsing and being replaced by another. Marx believed that the disconnect which exists between class and economics was a major source of social disruption in the overall system.  

Conflict theory is useful in the examination of social class because it demonstrates how class, race, and ethnic conflict can develop, ultimately leading to the development of a caste system. Many proponents of the class conflict theory agree that, modern democracy is a product of the capitalist


8 Ibid.

They posit that the capitalist process is a prerequisite to the creation of a political culture that is based on democratic principles.

Sociologist Seymour believes that an, "increases of socioeconomic development stimulates the development of a social class of entrepreneurs, workers, intellectuals and that these classes challenge the established social groups, demanding civil rights and inclusion in political decision making." The class conflict paradigm takes a macro view of democratization and studies the country from both modernization and industrialization standpoints where increases in these two developments are viewed as a, “function of its historically determined position within that system.”

The way in which a country transitions to a democracy after a revolution is suggestive of the type of democracy that will evolve, and helps to explain the scope and potential of the new democracy. There is a direct correlation between the way that a country transitions and its propensity for democracy. In his study, “The transitional Modes of Democratization and Democratic Outcomes” author, Gary A. Stradiotto, explores several modes of democratic transitions en route toward democratization. He defines democratic transitions as follows:

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.
a political processes of movement aimed at establishing a democratic political system, initiated either from above or below a combination of both, promoting democratic values and goals, tolerating opposition, allowing bargaining and compromise among different political forces for the resolution of social conflicts, institutionalizing the pluralist structures and procedures by which different political forces are allowed to compete over the power, regularizing transfer of power, and engaging in the fundamental transformation of political structure.13

There are two types of transitions that a nation can take on its path to democracy, a regime transition or a democratic transition. A regime transition is the interval between one group of leaders and another, while a democratic transition is the interval between an, “authoritarian polity and a democratic one with the transfer of power being the key element by which definition equals democratization and consists of two distinct phases.”14 The main ingredients of democratic transitions are, “that political authority is derived from the free decisions of an electorate which consists of two simultaneous processes; a process of dissolution of the authoritarian regime and a process of emergence of democratic institutions.”15

Stradiotto defines two avenues that a developing nation can take during its transition, a pacted transition and a violent transition. The concept of pacted is, “a negotiating unit, comprised of incumbent and opposition groups,


14 Ibid., 9

15 Ibid.
attempting to bargain the transition away from authoritarian rule to
democracy.” Adam Przeworski disagrees, arguing that the danger of these
pacts will, “restrict competition and bar access and distribute the political
power among the insiders,” which would in effect, turn democracy into
private grounds where only the elite have access. When transitions happen
quickly as a result of revolutions, it reduces the incentives for those in power
positions to work cooperatively with others during the democratic process.
Stradiotto does mention the fact that, transitions that happen as a result of
regime collapses are violent transitions that are characterized by greater
disparities between the incumbents as opposed to negotiated transitions where
there is less asymmetry power.

The most important point that Stradiotto makes in his piece is regarding
violent transitions. He states that these types of transitions pose the biggest
threat to the democratization process particularly because of their inception. In
the beginning, members of the opposing groups unite with the desire to bring
about the fall of the current authoritarian government. Unfortunately, after
toppling the incumbent the group becomes divided and a struggle ensues, “over

\[16\] Ibid., 7
\[17\] Ibid., 8
\[18\] Ibid., 10
\[19\] Ibid., 11
the distribution of power and creation of a new regime.” Regime changes that are brought about by, “Rapid transitions result in greater uncertainty because they require a systemic effort in the creation and involvement of democratic transitions and the rule of law. While the collapse itself occurs quickly, the rebuilding of the state is a lengthy process carried out in an uncertain environment characterized by intense power struggles.” The result of this process is a tendency for the new nation to revert back to authoritarianism instead of progressing toward democracy. Regardless of the type of transition that a nation takes, it must have a plan throughout the process or else the, “structure of old regime elites, as they emerge from the breakdown phase, will determine institutional choice in the new democracy, aiding in the establishment of electoral rules which influence founding elections.” Once a nation begins its democratic transition, it becomes vital for that nation to establish the institutions that are going to carry it through to its democratic process.

\[^{20}\text{Ibid.,12}\]
\[^{21}\text{Ibid.}\]
\[^{22}\text{Ibid.}\]
The establishment of a sound economic system is one of the vital components necessary in establishing the democratic process.\textsuperscript{23} It is the first step in the democratic transition process in that, it allows for the creation of democracy’s vital components. The lack of a stable economy in any recently emancipated nation, leads to the, “Failed Saturnalia of Emancipation,”\textsuperscript{24} which leads to the creation of a predatory republic. A predatory republic is a nation where the government preys on its people without providing a fair return in the way of public services including education, law enforcement, health care, and social services.\textsuperscript{25}

Seymour Lipset argues in his article, “Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy,” that democracy is related to economic development, and there is an inexorable link between economic development and the success of a working democracy. These two concepts are a substrate of democratization and modernization.\textsuperscript{26} They are vital in the creation of civil society because they help facilitate social, political and economic structures. “Modernization consists of a gradual differentiation and

\begin{enumerate}
\item Fatton, “The Saturnalia of Emancipation,” 115-133.
\item Robert Fatton Jr., Haiti’s Predatory Republic.
\end{enumerate}
specialization of social structures that culminates in the separation of political structures and makes democracy possible.”  

Modernization is only possible when there is an established economic process that is not hindered by class or political conflict. This conflict based on inequality can only be overcome through a fundamental transformation of the existing relations in the society, and is productive of new social relations, which leads to modernization.  

Modernization theory was first developed by Lipset in his article, “Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy.” His theories are based on the work of Lerner, Marx and Durkheim who all postulate that, social transformations that are accompanied by the development of a sound economic system have a greater propensity for democratic development.  

Lipset examines economic development and legitimacy as two characteristics, vital to the establishment of the, “structural characteristics of a society which sustains a democratic political process.”  

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Economic development or what he calls, the economic development complex, is comprised of, industrialization, wealth, urbanization, and education. These in turn, serve to develop or validate the legitimacy and the effectiveness of the overall system. Lipset investigates the level of socioeconomic development among countries that were “well-to-do” in order to test this concept. He discovers that the more democratic countries maintained a higher level of socioeconomic development compared to their less democratic counterparts. “They had higher levels of wealth, industrialization, urbanization, and literacy.” Lipset was able to demonstrate a positive correlation between development and democracy concluding that, “democracy is related to the state of economic development and that the more well to do a nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy.” Therefore, economic development promotes democracy only by “effecting changes in political culture and social culture.” The changes that this process produces are only possible when individuals start to break free from poverty. Lipset argues that, “reducing poverty is critical for securing the basis of democracy and for equalizing the

32 Ibid.


34 Ibid., 131

35 Ibid.
subjective perception of honor and equality of some citizens in the eyes of other citizens.”\textsuperscript{36}

Lipset’s arguments are relevant in this thesis because every nation that has successfully transitioned into a democracy has done so by way of the concepts depicted by Lipset. Every country that failed to industrialize and modernize has failed to successfully transition to a working democracy.

In “The Contradiction of Modernization: A Conditional Model of Endogenous Modernization,” Ryan Kennedy presents a contradictory view to the conclusions demonstrated in Lipset’s 1959 study. Kennedy studies 178 countries from 1816 to 2004 and concludes that, “economic development decreases the probability of major institutional change, but, increases the probability that such a change will be toward democracy.”\textsuperscript{37} Kennedy avoids the traditional views held by Seymour Lipset and Adam Przeworski and instead argues that, “economic development generally increases the stability of authoritarian regimes. Although, when major institutional changes occur at higher levels of economic development, they are more likely to result in democracy.”\textsuperscript{38} From a maturation standpoint, “economic growth and development promote stability. It lowers the total number of major institutional

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., 132.

\textsuperscript{37} Kennedy, “The Contradiction of Modernization,” 785.

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.
changes in developed states, but a larger portion of those changes will be
democratic transitions.”39 The resulting democracy is possible because it
“heightens the difficulties of establishing a new autocracy and increasing the
attractiveness of mass appeals to power gain.”40 All of the countries studied by
Kennedy that had successfully democratized had maintained a high Gross
Domestic Product throughout a relatively long timeframe.

The relationship that exists between a nation’s GDP and its propensity for
democratization is examined by Adam Przeworski in his article,
“Modernization: Theories & Facts.” Przeworski tests the theory that democracy
emerges as a result of economic development, against the rate of development,
and the level of development. Przeworski concludes that the measure of the
level of development has a strong impact on the survival of democracies. His
study indicated that democracy never failed in countries when their GDP
exceeds $6,055. He concludes that democracy is a dependent variable to per
capita income confirming that per capita income can be used as a predictor of
democratic stability.41 His study also validates Lipset’s theory that democracy
was much more likely when a nation has a well-developed economy.42

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39 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
The caveat in his research is that, “the current wealth of a country is not decisive; democracy is much more likely to survive in a growing economy with less than $1000 per capita than in one with incomes of $1000-$2,000 that declines economically. If they succeed in generating development, democracies can survive even in the poorest nations.”

Although it should be noted that, “the expected life of democracy in countries with shrinking inequality is about 84 years, while the expected life of democracies with rising income inequality is about 22 years.” This development of a nation’s GDP is vital to its democratization process in that it serves as the foundation on which all of the other institutions will be built upon. Barbra Wejnert states:

The modernization approach demonstrates that economic development leads to increases in education, literacy, and media technology and in turn promotes the differentiation and specialization of social structures, which leads to a separation of political structures (e.g., governing institutions) from other social structures (e.g., economic or religious institutions).

This separation of a nation’s institutions is what prepares and allows a country to begin their democratization process. Democratization and modernization are two related theories based on several specific factors such as

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44 Yildiz, “Socioeconomic Development,” 133.

45 Barbara Wejnert, Diffusion, Development, and Democracy, 54.
economics, politics, and class. Democratization is the process by which an authoritarian form of government transitions to a more democratic state or civil society. Democratization is reached when, “the upper classes are not worried about the redistribution of wealth, but the middle classes still have incentives to push for democracy.” Several steps must be taken to facilitate the democratization process which is, “prompted by an organic crisis of authoritarian society.” A country at the beginning of this process undergoes a revolution that results in a regime change, in which a result will prompt economic reforms. These economic reforms allow for the creation of new modes of production, which are, “essential preconditions of the successful consolidation of democracy.” This consolidation leads to a change in the current political structure which, “requires the development of civil society,” The creation of civil society assists in the development of social class. Modernization becomes paramount in the development of the civil structures necessary to help the democratic transition in this final stage. Once these


47 Ibid., 791


49 Ibid., 210.

50 Ibid., 210.
processes are in place, they give way to the industrialization and urbanization of society by way of creating a capitalist mode of production.

In the article, “Toward an Alternative Explanation for the National Resource Curse: National Resources, Immigration and Democratization,” authors David Bearce and Jennifer Laks explore the relationship between immigration and its effects on forcing concessions from the elite class that benefit the non-elite class. Using the theory offered by Acemoglu and Robinson (A&R Model) they posit that immigration makes democratization less likely, because it facilitates redistributive concessions to appease the population within an autocratic regime.51

The A&R Model examines the power struggles that exist between groups in autocratic regimes. It begins with a small group of rich elites holding de jure political power and control over the nation’s institutions. These elites control the resources, they do not want to make concessions that would level the playing field. The larger group of poor citizens opposes the elites because they would like to democratize and gain access to a greater portion of the nation’s political and economic benefits. Although this small group lacks de jure political power, it does have de facto power based on its relative size. Given their size,

their only option is a revolt, but such a revolt would destroy the economy. The elites stand to lose the most from a revolution since they would lose all of their assets via expropriation.\(^{52}\)

To avoid a revolution, the elites have two possible choices; offer some redistributive concessions to the poor, or acquiesce to the population’s demand for a more democratic regime. The caveat to this theory is that when the population’s de facto power is transitional, the elites promises are less credible and could later be retracted. Therefore as the population’s power becomes more permanent, the elites promises become more credible since the revolutionary threat is more real.\(^{53}\) Bearce and Laks conclude that when this happens democratization is less, but this is counterintuitive to how this model will be used in this thesis. This model will be used to examine if the influx of immigrants from the Haitian emigration movement could have aided in forcing the elite to make concessions allowing for greater political participation and more economic and political access.

Democratization does have unintended consequences by forcing citizens to tolerate persistent authoritarian idioms and practices in the name of democracy. In the article, “Civil Society, Emigration and Democracy in Africa: An alternative Position”, Matthew Bradley writes that, “democratization can be a

\(^{52}\) Ibid.

\(^{53}\) Ibid.
highly disruptive process as it encourages existing conflicts to manifest freely.”54 He also notes that, “democracy presupposes and requires elite fragmentation and the formation of competing groups that jostle for power in a competing space.”55

In her essay, “Democracy, nationalism and (lack of) sovereignty: the complex dynamics of democratization in unrecognized states,” Nina Caspersen advances her argument that unrecognized states are not viable candidates for democratization because they are driven by ethno-nationalism and are marred by a legacy or war and international isolation.56 She concludes that these nations will suffer from weak institutions, which will ultimately lead to fragmentation and collapse.57 This fragmentation renders democracies prone to conflicts due to social, ethnic, and class struggles.58


55 Ibid.,441


57 Ibid.

The process by which a country moves from one political regime to another in its democratic transition has a significant impact on the democracy that results.\textsuperscript{59} In the article, “The Political Economy of Development: A Cross-National Causality Test of Development-Democracy-Growth Hypothesis,” Abbas Pourgerami examines whether or not, “the development-democracy-growth relationship demonstrates that the level of economic development determines the type of political institutions, or whether the type of political institutions impact the rate of economic growth.”\textsuperscript{60} Pourgerami states that countries transition as they develop economically which then renders the traditional institutions more difficult to maintain. When this happens new institutions are needed since this action requires the demise of the previously existing political rules. In order for this transition to occur the following conditions have to be met: “The existence or a more market oriented economy, higher levels of economic well being, a higher level of education, and greater social pluralism. They all agree with Weber’s assertion that, ‘the existence of a market-oriented economy is the only necessary and sufficient precondition to achieve democracy.’”\textsuperscript{61} Pourgerami concludes that there is a positive correlation

\textsuperscript{59} Wejnert, “Diffusion, Development, and Democracy,” 53-81.

between development and democracy, and democracy and growth.

“Development affects democracy directly and indirectly via education and investment. The positive causal association between democracy and growth is transmitted both directly and indirectly via labor and welfare.”62

Education is the other link between the economic development and democracy because, “Income is just a proxy for education.”63 It is widely accepted that the more financially stable a nation, the more likely its chances of supporting democracy.64 Education is one of the most important factors in, “creating the attitudes and values that are valuable for a participant culture, which is necessary to build the social cohesion, which is crucial for the reinforcement of democratic procedures.”65 Democracy is valued more through education because, “citizens come to value democracy more and to manifest a more tolerant, moderate, restrained and rational style with respect to politics and political opposition.”66 Education allows citizens to, “intelligently

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61 Ibid.,123

62 Ibid.,139


participate in politics and develop the self restraint necessary to avoid succumbing to the appeals of irresponsible demagogues.”

In his 1959 article, Lipset discovers that the better educated the population of a country, the better the chance for democracy. The “more democratic countries” that were studied, were found to have been almost entirely literate. The lowest literacy rate for any one of these countries in this category was a 96 percent literacy rate compared to the average rate of 85 percent for the countries that were deemed less democratic. Lipset takes this study one step further and observes that of these “less democratic” countries, there existed a difference of literacy rates of 75 percent for the “less dictatorial” and 46 percent for the “more dictatorial.”

Many sociologists have found that education and democracy are correlated. However, it is important to point out that education is a product of economic development.

Education presumably broadens a man’s outlook, enables him to understand the need for norms of tolerance, and restrains him from adhering to extremist doctrines, and increases his capacity to make rational electoral choices. The higher ones education, the more likely one is to believe in democratic values and support democratic processes.

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68 Ibid.


The economic growth spurred on by the establishment of an efficient economic system has a profound impact on social class. There is an inverse relationship between increased wealth and the overall level of social "object inequality."\textsuperscript{71} Karl Marx argued that societal organization is dependent on the means of production. Marx regarded that a mismatch between the economic base and social substructure creates a major conflict.\textsuperscript{72} In his argument, the base serves as the economic system and the super structure to the cultural and political system. Marx maintains that all societies advance and become stabilized through the "dialectic" of struggles that exists between the classes. This struggle exists between the dominant class, which in any society controls the means of production, and the lower class, or "proletariat," which produces the labor.\textsuperscript{73} "A society divided between a large impoverished mass and a small favored elite would result either in oligarchy (doctoral rule of the small upper stratum) or in tyranny (popularly based dictatorship)."\textsuperscript{74} One consistent theme

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{71} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{72} Marx, "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy," 264.
\item \textsuperscript{73} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{74} Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy," 68.
\end{itemize}
throughout many failed states is the set up of its social class structure. Karl Marx concluded in 1843 that as long as social inequality-class society persisted, real democracy, with the sovereignty of people, was impossible. “The middle class is the glue that holds society together. It is the defender of liberal democratic values, largely because of its superior education.” Marx did not anticipate the rise of a middle class but his argument is still relevant because he believed that the conflict that existed between the elites and the working class was a necessary evil for the change in the modes of production. “The lack of a middle class in failed states, therefore . . . forces the rich and the poor to confront each other directly and violently, and is often reflected in the nature of politics, which is usually dominated by either parties of the extreme right or left.” As it stands, there exists a direct link between class equality and a nation’s economic condition. “The poorer a country, and the lower the absolute standard of living of the lower classes, the greater the pressure on the upper


77 Gros, “Toward a Taxonomy of Failed States,” 455-471.

78 Ibid.
strata to treat the lower classes as beyond the pale human society, as a vulgar, as innately inferior, as a lower caste.”

The lack of a middle class has the tendency to generate crippling systemic constraints on any fledgling democracy. The divide that exists between the wealthy minority and the extremely large peasant class has a tendency to create social polarization and class hatred.

Based on an extremely weak economic foundation...class structure can inhibit the flowering of progressive changes. The absence of a productive upper class and a large working class, can render the democratic process contradictory, incomplete and inadvertently render the country into a predatory democracy, which is a system of governance based on a sum zero game of power in which factions of the political class fight for supremacy.

In her piece, “Democracy in Haiti: The Legacy of Anti-Democratic Political and Social Traditions,” author Yolaine Armand posits that much of Haiti’s democratic failures can be linked to socio-political, cultural and economic obstacles. In her article, she examines the unintended consequences

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80 Gros, “Toward a Taxonomy of Failed States,” 455-471.


82 Robert Fatton Jr., “Haiti’s Predatory Republic.”

of a socio-political system where power is centralized in a chief of state with the
distribution of political authority delegated to friends. This political process
effectively cripples any potential for checks and balances that could exist
amongst the Executive, Judicial, and legislative branches of government. The
nepotism that exists in the government makes it such that once political power
has been taken in Haiti; it is “legitimized by its mere existence.”

Armand cites an inadequate political process as being one of the main
culprits behind the reoccurrence of the rise of dictatorships with every passing
leader. She focuses on two main points regarding this theory. First, there is a
non-existence of key political institutions. She argues that there are insufficient
political institutions to channel the demands and the needs of the people. All of
the political institutions that exist in a traditional democracy to protect and
serve the people are not present in the Haitian political sphere. Instead the
institutions are, “rubber stamped” institutions that exist to carry out the wishes
of the leader. The political leaders are able to get away with this primarily
because every leader has amended and edited the constitution and thus the
document bears no weight. This has given rise to a political atmosphere where

\[84 \text{ Ibid.}\]
\[85 \text{ Ibid.}\]
\[86 \text{ Ibid.}\]
what the ruler wishes, is ultimately the supreme law of the land.\textsuperscript{87} “The strong socio-cultural traditions engendered by inequality foster distrust and reciprocal exploitation in Haitian society. Furthermore, since these traditions permeates the social organization of the country, they shape the nation’s political institutions and work against the institutionalization of democracy in Haiti.”\textsuperscript{88}

Armand cites a lack of political alternatives in leadership as the cause of Haiti’s failed democratic state. Dissenting voices are often quickly stifled in Haiti as a way to maintain the dictatorship. Many outspoken opponents pressured into hiding and rarely speak out in any effective manner. Every time a dictator is ousted, a surge of political hopefuls enter the political arena which has the effect of polarizing the people, even though none of these candidates possess any solid gubernatorial plan, comprehensive political platform, or a clear political ideology.\textsuperscript{89} Political fundraising does not exist in Haiti, thus candidates are usually the product of privileged social classes that are merely advancing the interests of their constituents. These conditions are cited as having lead to political corruption, waste, misappropriation of public property; lack of

\textsuperscript{87} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{88} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{89} Ibid.
accountability to the general public, and a widely practiced game of ‘musical chairs,’ which characterizes Haitian politics.”

There is a direct correlation between political achievement and class and status in Haiti. In here article, “Democracy in Haiti,” Armand writes that, “class and status distinctions are pervasive. They have a long history and have in some ways influenced the shape of Haiti’s political structure” Haiti has developed among both class and status dimensions following the 1804 revolution. Class is determined by income, education, and occupation. A person’s class determines their, “ownership of goods, patterns of consumption, areas and types of residence and general lifestyle.” Status determines person’s social privileges and assures respect and trust in Haitian society. The classes are “polarized along the dimensions of skin color, wealth, education, occupation, and other social characteristics.”

Professor Maurice De Young first introduced the concept of “status” in 1959 along three basic pyramids; the economic, the socio-occupational, and the

90 Ibid.
91 Ibid.
92 Ibid.
93 Ibid.
political”94 “He introduces the notion of status, which does not always correlate with class in Haitian society.”95 Armand’s work on the other hand establishes the existence of a dual stratification system between the mulatto elite and the dark skinned blacks.96

Haiti’s social structure is based on the correlation between wealth and skin color. After the war of independence in 1804, Haiti did not adopt a shared sense of national identity and purpose.97 “The established class divisions persisted along with their socio-cultural concomitants, even though the structure of the economy had drastically changed.”98 It was during the time after the war that Haiti began to see the, color differences which coincided with distinctions in family, education and wealth, continued as a marker of class differences.”99 These skin color differences were a result of the French colonial structure that had dominated Haiti for hundreds of years. At the top of the pyramid was a group of small European elites called the Grand Blancs. The mulattos who were of mixed race origins made up the other social group. This

94 Ibid.
95 Ibid.
96 Ibid.
97 Ibid.
98 Ibid.
99 Ibid.
group was more socially mobile than the slaves, or “noirs” who were in the lowest class of society that were made up of slaves of African decent. “The complex elements that contributed to the formation of classes in Haiti congealed into a social structure which, for the first century and a half of independence, was remarkably static.”

Prior to Haiti’s independence, skin color, wealth, and status were designated markers of stratification. The stratification between these two social groups grew after the war. The freed black slaves settled into subsistence farming while the mulattos settled into the Haitian cites and became the new bourgeoisies that was based on commerce, rental property and land ownership. This small group of elites maintained control over the entire economic and political system in Haiti after the revolution.

Skin color differences soon became class distinctions because color was a visual indicator of class; the lighter ones skin, the higher their social class. Mulattos, with light skin, made up the elite class. For over a hundred years after its independence, the Haitian economy existed as a separate entity for the two different groups.101 The first group was the black peasants who were only devoted to agriculture and the second was the mulattos who lived off

100 Ibid.

101 Ibid.
commercial activities. Any thing that was perceived as lower class became a negative status regardless of intrinsic value politically, economically, and socially. Everything done by this class was self-serving and done as a way to maintain power. “The strong socio-cultural traditions engendered by inequality soon fostered distrust and non-elite exploitation,”102 both politically and economically.

102 Ibid.
CHAPTER II:
THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION

Haiti has had numerous revolutions throughout its history with none more written about than the revolution that ended in 1804. During a turbulent fourteen-year span from 1789 to 1804, Haitians fought three distinct revolutions on the island. The first of the revolutions was for the establishment of republican principles and was confined to white slave owners. This revolution was mirrored on the fundamental rights of men to be free. The second revolution established the emancipation of the slaves from the slave and plantation owners. The third and final revolution achieved the independence of the colony from France.¹ These three revolutions were fought on the ideals that all men were meant be free and govern themselves.

The Haitian revolution for independence and later its democratic transition was one of the most dynamic times in Haitian history. The Haitian revolution was made possible in part by three great black leaders: Toussaint L’Overture, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, and Henri Christophe, all of whom ironically enough, had all served the French to some capacity either as slaves or

¹ Maurice Jackson and Jacqueline Bacon, eds., African Americans and the Haitian Revolution (New York: Routledge, 2010).
officers in the army.\textsuperscript{2} France played a major role in the development of Haiti from its democratic ideals, language, and its socio-cultural influences on class and social hierarchy.

From the middle of the eighteenth century to the French revolution, Haiti experienced a great amount of prosperity and was called "the richest colonial possession in the world."\textsuperscript{3} Haiti’s history can be traced all the way back to December 6, 1492 when Christopher Columbus first spotted the island of Haiti, and the island soon fall under Spanish influence. In 1697, The Treaty of Ryswick was signed which for the first time recognized, the right of the French to the western part of the island, then known as Santo Domingo.\textsuperscript{4} Very soon after this treaty, slaves began to be brought to Haiti from Africa and other parts of the Caribbean, to cultivate the rich land and natural resources that Haiti possessed. The plantations that began to appear on the Haitian island were spurred by the successful cultivation of indigo and cacao in 1665. These two crops soon became the most important sources of revenue for the small colony and furnished a large part of the world’s supply of chocolate.


\textsuperscript{3} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{4} Ibid.
In 1728, 50,000 slaves were employed on these various plantations and by 1754, the population was estimated to be at 190,000, including 14,000 whites, 4,000 mulattos, and 172,000 Negros. The slaves were responsible for cultivating approximately 2.5 million acres of land. Some of the exports that came out of Haiti during this slavery period included 177,230,000 pounds of sugar, 73,944,000 pounds of coffee, 6,820,000 pounds of cotton, 1,009,000 pounds of indigo, 29,000 pounds of molasses, and 6,788,634 pounds of dyewood. The value of these products in today’s market would exceed $50,000,000 and the total value of the establishments, land, slaves, and livestock would be valued at approximately $193,500,000.

The social political conditions that existed on the island during that time were very complicated. These conditions created a very unique, yet volatile, situation that would later plague Haiti for many years after its independence. Haiti was comprised of many different social and racial elements that made up its population leading up to the revolution. These different elements consisted of "whites that were born on the colony that were known as Creoles; French born bureaucrats; landowners of poor whites; mulattos, both freedmen and

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5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.
slaves; and the Negro Slaves.” The slaves and the free blacks exceeded the combined white and French population by a ratio of 10:1; yet, they were dominated by the small group of elite French landowners and mulattos who made up the upper sphere of Haitian slave society.

Multiple subgroups and categories existed within these groups that made up the whole of these groups. Within the whites there existed the “petit Blancs” who were artisans, shopkeepers who were not as wealthy as the white planters. There were 30,000 free persons of color. Half of this population was mulattoes, the children of white Frenchmen and slave women. The free persons of color strove to be like their white masters and land owners who followed the French social order. There existed several sub groups within the slave group, which included domestic slaves, who made up 100,000 of all salves on the island. Domestic slaves were generally treated far better than their field hand counter parts and tended to identify with white and mulatto citizens. “As a class they were longer in coming into the anti-slavery revolution, and often, in the early years, remained loyal to their owners.” The 400,000 field hands that lived

7 Ibid.


on the island had the harshest lives. Finally, the maroons lived outside the established societal hierarchy. This group was made up of runaway slaves who retreated deep into the mountains where they practiced subsistence farming.\textsuperscript{10}

In 1789, mulattos possessed about 10 percent of all productive land in Haiti and owned over 50,000 slaves. “The fundamental cause of the break between France and Haiti, which led finally to the loss of the colony, was the attempt of the French government to impose laws and regulations which controverted the prescribed status of the mulattos.”\textsuperscript{11} Under the arbitrary enforced colonial policy, the colony was compelled to buy only from France and to sell its products only to France.\textsuperscript{12} “The prosperity of St. Domengue (Haiti) was founded on the production of sugar, which in turn depended on slave labor. Therefore slavery was the basis of both the economic and social life of the colony.”\textsuperscript{13} The white and colored platters grossly opposed this law of exclusivity and thus began the growing independence movement, which was marked by a history of slave rebellions.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{11} Davis, “Black Democracy: The Story of Haiti.”

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{14} Bob Corbett, "Napoleon’s West Indian Policy and The Haitian ‘Gift’ to the United States,"
On January 1, 1804, Haiti officially declared itself, a free republic, making it the first of its kind in the Caribbean. Haiti was the first and only post colonial country that had a black leader, and the only nation that had gained its independence as a result of a slave rebellion. 1804 marked the official end of French colonialism on the island, but was only the beginning of the social-political conflicts that had been cultivating during Haiti’s slave period.

CHAPTER III

THE TRANSITION AFTER THE REVOLUTION

Immediately after the revolution, the leaders of Haiti were faced with the daunting task of creating a nation out of the former slave colony. Very few of the prior established institutions had survived the war and the new leaders, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, Alexandre Petion, and Henri Christophe had to build new institutions from scratch.\(^1\) Haiti had endured several violent revolutions that lasted close to a decade by the time that it had declared its independence.

The recently emancipated nation entered the international scene under some of the most adverse conditions. Jean-Jacques Dessalines, Alexandre Petion, and Henri Christophe, had all been great military leaders during the revolution, but neither had received a formal education in politics. The campaign for independence had completely depleted the colony’s massive prerevolutionary wealth, which left it in a state of uncertainty. At the time, “there was no social framework, no economic organization, and no schools that existed.”\(^2\) Haiti’s initial failures at establishing a government are attributed to the fact that its citizens, who were former slaves “at the beginning of their national careers had had no preliminary experience in their economic or

\(^1\) Jackson and Bacon, “African Americans and the Haitian Revolution.”

political self-direction.”\(^3\) This explains why Haiti’s initial attempts at injecting democracy into its societal structures resulted in failure. Its leaders attempted to forcibly inject democratic values into a society that was, “notably weak in capacity for social organization of any kind.”\(^4\)

The difference between the Haitian revolution and the American revolution is that, America was born of men who had emigrated from working democracies, which gave them the advantage of having participated in a functional democracy, both economically and socio-politically. Haitians were at a disadvantaged compared to their West Indian counterparts because blacks on some of the other West Indian islands continued to live, “in close contact with their former masters and remained largely under white tutelage. They entered organically into a well established social order and had their place in an ongoing economic system.”\(^5\) Following the Haitian revolt, former slaves and plantation owners were expelled, or fled under their own volition fearing retribution form the former slaves. This left only the emancipated slaves to attempt to establish a

\(^3\) Weatherly, "Haiti an Experiment in Pragmatism," 353-366.


\(^5\) Ibid.
working democracy. However the newly freed population was comprised of 400,000 former slaves who were illiterate and had no concept of democracy.\(^6\)

As a result, Haiti failed to create an, “Integral State” during the early phases of its transition period. “The integral state is a state that is capable of organizing both the political unity of the different factions of the ruling class and the organic relations between political society and civil society.”\(^7\) Haiti’s failure to create an integral state during it’s democratic transition had a profound impact on the later phases of its democratization process because, “democratic transitions are formative and defining moments for a new democracy, and the mode of transition helps explain the shape the new democracy will take.”\(^8\)

The establishment of the integral state was the first piece that was necessary in aiding Haiti’s “saturnalia of emancipation”. Without the proper political foundations, Haiti suffered from weak institutional structures because, “when internal sovereignty is absent, you run the risk of suffering from weak institutions,”\(^9\) including health care, access to education, and a sound capitalist economic framework. If a transitioning nation fails to establish the very basic


\(^7\) Fatton, “The Saturnalia of Emancipation,” 115-133.


internal structures of democracy, then that failure, “will bring with it fragmentation and collapse”\textsuperscript{10} throughout its social, political and economic structures.

One aspect of establishing the integral state is establishing educational institutions. Educational access was not made available during Haiti’s slave period, which meant that the peasants were grossly illiterate. The members of the elite class were the only members of Haitian society who had any formal education, which made them the only group that could effectively participate in government. Education is one of the most important factors in, “creating the attitudes and values that are valuable for a participant culture, which is necessary to build the social cohesion, which is crucial for the reinforcement of democratic procedures.”\textsuperscript{11} After the revolution, first Jean Jacques Dessalines (1804-1806) and Henri Christophe (1806-1807) were unsuccessful in establishing standardized universal education due to economic constraints and military challenges that the fledgling nation faced. The education that did exist was not standardized across the nation, with each town or province establishing its own curriculum. The education provided in these schools was, for the most part, inadequate, preventing most students from gaining the tools necessary to be active democratic citizens. From an economic standpoint, a lack of education

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid.

inhibited capitalist innovation, which could have helped Haiti break free from its militarized plantation economy. The few who had control over the plantation economy did not innovate because of the benefits they received through the current system. A lack of educational institutions is a contributing factor to the persistence of pre-revolutionary social structures.

Haiti made an attempt at establishing the integral state by electing Jean-Jacques Dessalines as the first head of state, and received the title of governor for life. He later named himself the Emperor of Haiti just as Napoleon had done in France during his reign. Dessalines served as emperor until his murder by his political opponents within two years. Alexandre Petion, a military governor, attempted to instill a republican form of government in Haiti after Dessalines’ death. In December of 1806, he called for an assembly to meet and vote a constitution into the existence. “The new constitution organized the republic; the executive power was delegated to a magistrate called The President of Haiti, who was to be elected for four years, the legislative power resided in the senate of eighty members, and the judicial power was vested.”

In accordance with the constitution of 1806, Henri Christophe was elected as president on December 28, 1806. He found his powers to be too

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13 Ibid.
restricted by the constitution and soon isolated himself in the north province, drafted a new constitution and elected himself, President for Life. A counsel convened in 1807 to impeach Christophe and elected Petion to be the president of the republic. He was elected again in 1811, and 1815. A new constitution was voted in 1816, which reaffirmed the separation of powers and reorganized the legislative branch of government. The new constitution gave the president the power to be elected for life and nominate his successor. This provision in the new constitution ended the democratic process of elections.

Under his rule, Alexandre Petion distributed national land to his officers, creating medium sized and small rural properties. Petion’s plan to cultivate the economy was to attach citizens to the land and soil that they cultivated. He was responsible for the creation of all of the small peasant farms and the rural democracy that existed in Haiti at the time. Petion believed that if Haiti was going to be successful he would have to increase agricultural production. Agriculture had once made Haiti the richest colony in the western hemisphere

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.


18 Ibid.
and was the most logical source of commercial revenue for the people of Haiti. Petion’s land distribution efforts caused, “the parcellisation of the plantation system that eventually engendered a republic of peasant proprietors bent mostly on subsistence production.”

This revised constitution also caused massive fragmentation within the government and between the government and the people. Officials were elected for life completely removing a democratic electoral process, and establishing Haiti as an authoritarian state. Thus, the first cycle between democracy and authoritarian regime was completed. This pattern has repeated many times over the last two hundred years. Politics soon became a way to socially advance oneself for those not born into wealth and privilege because political leaders had the ability to elect their successors. The political body was soon made a vessel for personal social advancement rather than serving the people. “Given that poverty and destitution have always been the norm, and that private avenues to wealth have always been rare, politics became an entrepreneur vocation virtually the sole means material and social advancement for those not born into wealth and privilege.”

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20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.
provisions gave rise to the “politique du ventre,” or the politics of the belly where political participation is based on the acquisition of personal wealth.22 Political leaders failed to create the appropriate political institutions to sustain the masses, deepening the disparity amongst the rulers and the citizens.

The masses that had just partaken in the Haitian revolution viewed revolution as the only means of exacting political change. This revolutionary mindset was the cause of numerous civil uprisings during this era, which made the government very unstable. To escape from this ineffective and volatile political atmosphere, many peasants decided to move to the mountains and other regions outside the gubernatorial jurisdiction. This migration quickly accounted for close to two thirds of the nation’s population. It created a new class of people that lived outside of the capital called Moune Andeyou, peasants living outside of the scope of politics. Political leaders leveraged this group’s ignorance throughout the political process as a means to maintain power without having to provide the necessary institutions to the people, marking the beginning of Haiti’s "predatory republic.”23

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.
The creation of effective institutional structures is dependent on the ruler’s capacity to go beyond their immediate interests.\textsuperscript{24} Haiti’s rulers wanted to begin the nation building process, but still had very real threats to worry about which precluded them from carrying out the process. Immediately following the revolution, Haiti was still a potential target of attacks from France seeking to reestablish its sovereignty over the island. It was not until Haiti paid a fee of 150 million francs that Haitian independence was recognized.\textsuperscript{25} This indemnity affected an already fragile economy, which forced the militarization of the republic. When this happened it profoundly damaged the Haitian democratization process, in particular, the establishment of its economy.

Haiti was in financial ruin after its plantation economy collapsed due to a depletion of workers who died during its battle for emancipation. The revolution dismantled the institution of slavery which was a major contributor to the Haitian economy that ironically had been, “founded on the production of sugar, which in turn depended on slave labor. Therefore slavery was the basis of both the economic and social life of the colony.”\textsuperscript{26} Haiti found itself in a socio economic conundrum because its citizens knew that they would only be free if

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{25} Bellegarde, “Alexandre Petion,” 167-173.

\textsuperscript{26} Davis, “Black Democracy: The Story of Haiti.”
they completely eradicated the plantation system, yet, there was an inextricable link between the plantation system and the Haitian economy, which were the origins of its wealth. “At independence the Haitian rulers were confronted by a crucial choice, if they preserved emancipation by supporting the former slaves aspirations to become independent peasants, they would ultimately condemn the country to material under development.”

By this time, many of the slaves had abandoned the plantation and taken up subsistence farming. Production came to a standstill overnight and the once wealthy slave colony watched the decline of its economic potential. The recently emancipated slaves only economic experience was the plantation system. In relation to the modes of production, the only thing that the slaves had learned regarding capitalism was that, “the master is the man who does not work, and being free means not working.” “Freedom for the mass of insurgent slaves, if it was to be realized at all, was fundamentally intertwined with an independent claim to land. Work and labor for the profit of another or for the production of export crops on which the colonies existence depended was profoundly antithetical to their own version of things.” This mindset troubled Toussaint

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because he believed that in order for Haiti to survive and secure its de facto independence, the plantation system was vitally important. This plantation economy was intended to serve Haiti in two ways. First, it would help bolster the Haitian economy by providing materials for export in the world economy thus returning Haiti to its pre-war prosperity and it would help provide revenue for the army of 40,000 men. “Paradoxically, the material foundation on which emancipation could flourish was itself inimical to individual freedom. Indeed, material recovery depended on agricultural exports based on plantation production, which in turn required coercive forms of labor.”

Toussaint formalized the militarization of Haiti’s plantation economy in the years immediately after its independence, which was, “a modern process of centralizing the fiscal and military apparatus of state.” Toussaint’s plan was to maintain the already centralized plantation system while, substituting the coercive nature of slavery. Toussaint and Haiti’s subsequent leaders used this system as a means to facilitate the collection of taxes and to support the military. This system would require surveillance of the former slaves and

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30 Ibid.


32 Ibid.
effectively reverted the nation back to slavery. The military system was set up in the same way that the slavery system had operated. Peasants were required to work the land and would be allowed to keep a portion of their production. The military acted as pseudo-slave masters who maintained strict discipline. This attempt to restore the plantation system reinforced a dictatorial culture and served to deeply entrench the leadership as the new upper class. The militarization of the plantation economy obstructed the clear communication between the state and civil society and was one of the reasons for the rise in Haiti’s predatory republic. Everyone who was not born into wealth or born into a slave family became marginalized within the Haitian society. Unfortunately, the plantation economy required a lot of capital, labor, and technology, all of which were lost in the war and the subsequent years following it, leading to the eventual failure of the plantation system.

The militarization of the plantation system was designed as a substitute for slavery. The early leaders knew the difficulties that would be encountered trying to coerce the recently emancipated slaves the importance of working for the development of the nation’s economy. The attempts by Toussaint to centralize and militarize the plantation economy for the purposes of generating

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.
revenue had the opposite effect. Those who did not flee were compelled to work on the plantation for a share of the produce. Toussaint used the army to, “impose the regime of forced labor and sanctioned the use of corporal punishment, and even supported the reintroduction of the slave trade to make up for the loss of power.”

These former slaves refused to become slaves again, escaping to the mountains and becoming subsistence-farming Maroons, which “represented more a brave and dangerous escape from the atrocious conditions on the plantations, than a systematic and powerful challenge to colonial slavery.”

“Ultimately by retaining and extending the militarized plantation system, Toussaint intensified, both physically and spiritually, the alienation of the mass of peasantry from the black elite” after the revolution.

The natural make up of Haiti was another factor that prevented the spread of democracy across the island. Haiti is a mountainous region with very few roads and structures that allow for the dissemination of information throughout the region. This meant that anyone living outside of the immediate capital was living outside of the reach of government. Haiti took an aggressive isolationist stance after expelling all of the former French slave and plantation owners after the revolution and decreeing that whites could not own land on


37 Ibid.
the island. This isolation was further compounded by the very make up of the island itself. “Except for a few plains in the north, center, and west, Haiti is a mountainous land.”\textsuperscript{38} The physical make up of the island made it extremely difficult for communications, laws, and social order to disseminate throughout the various regions. Many of the regions that bordered the Dominican Republic remained out of touch with the capital. These areas would later become the “habitat of bandits and professional revolutionists” that new governments could not control.\textsuperscript{39}

Many of the later revolutions, uprisings, and coup-d’états originated from these regions because of the animosity between the north and the west. The neglect of secondary towns that were created outside of the capital of Port-au-Prince made it extremely difficult to maintain control. For the latter part of Haitian History, most of Haiti’s economic activity has been highly centralized in the capital of Port-au-Prince. Twenty percent of Haiti’s population resides in the capital, which has been one reason for the wide socio-economic gap that has plagued the nation’s existence.

The chasm separating the wealthy minority from the adjustably poor inevitably fueled social polarization and class hatred. Based on the extremely weak economic foundation, the island class structure inhibited the flowering of truly progressive changes. Suffering from the absence of

\textsuperscript{38} Weatherly, “Haiti: An Experiment in Pragmatism,” 353-366.

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid.
both a productive bourgeoisies and a large working class, Haiti’s process of democratization was bound to be hesitant, contradictory, and incomplete. The absence of these two fundamental classes means that the country evolved into a predatory democracy.\textsuperscript{40}

The Haitian revolution produced the first free slave colony in the Americas and was an example of what was possible when men and women came together under democratic ideals to fight for democracy. Haitian politics became a, “zero sum game of power in which factions of political class fight for supremacy.”\textsuperscript{41} Looking at Haiti’s transition after its independence, it is clear that Haiti was caught in a vicious cycle of control and stagnation. “Many Haitians believed that through the industrialization of agriculture, implying the use of machinery and hired labor, would develop production considerably, it would bring with it the destruction of the class of small-proprietors.”\textsuperscript{42} This help would come in the form of the immigration movement of the 1820’s. The movement had been intended to address of the issues that plagued Haiti’s democratic transition and its failure seemed to condemn it to failure.

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\textsuperscript{40} Fatton, “The Saturnalia of Emancipation,” 115-133.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{42} Bellegarde, “Alexandre Petion,” 167-173.
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CHAPTER IV

THE EMIGRATION MOVEMENT

In 1925 William Watkins said that Haiti offered, “an irrefutable argument to prove that the decedents of Africa were never designed by their creator to sustain inferiority, or even mediocrity, in the chain of being; but they are capable of intellectual improvements as Europeans, or any other nation upon earth.”¹ If the new fledgling nation was going to be successful, it had to transition its inhabitants toward liberty and equality for all the races living on the island, and had to build its institutions from scratch. Despite their numerous failings, Henry Christophe and Alexander Petion set out to establish the foundational structures that were necessary for the nation building process. These components included public services, schools, roads, gubernatorial structures, land reforms, and the establishment and building of the nation’s defenses. Supporting these structures required a large amount of human capital, which Haiti lost during the revolution and due to such a large portion of its remaining people becoming Maroons. Its leaders decided that the best way to acquire the human capital necessary to support its institutions was to recruit new citizens to the island.

¹ Jackson and Bacon, “African Americans and the Haitian Revolution.”
The Haitian emigration movement was one of the first widespread Black Nationalist movements in history. “Between 6,000 and 13,000 African Americans from the northeastern United States migrated to Haiti in the 1820’s, the largest voluntary migration of African Americans up to that point in time.”

During the period of the Emigration Movement, Haiti recruited African Americans in the United States with the promise of, “universal education, economic advancement, suffrage, religious freedom, and a society with a republican ideology.” Dessalines believed that the Emigration Movement was a campaign that was vital to the survival of the Haitian republic. It would help grow the Haitian population, provide skilled manpower, and provide bodies to help build a military to help defend Haiti’s newly gained independence.

Dessalines had hoped that, "immigration of American blacks along with a return of the refugees who had fled to the United States during the revolution, would increase the black republic’s population." There is evidence to suggest that

\[\text{Ibid.}\]
\[\text{Ibid.}\]
\[\text{Ibid.}\]

only a “handful of blacks decided to emigrate, or return, to the island republic at the early stage.”

In addition to adding population to the island, the Emigration Movement was spurred along by the motivation of then-president Boyer to improve the economic condition of Haiti. Furthermore, he sought to restore the agricultural community in Haiti, and hoped that such a movement would improve Haitian American relations both socially and economically. The United States terminated all commercial and diplomatic relationships with the new republic after the Haitian revolution, because it had feared that its slaves would see Haiti as an example of what was possible with a slave revolt.

The massive land redistribution efforts that had been made by Petion had created scarcity of land. Landowners who possessed land were weary of relinquishing it, so Boyer looked to the emigration movement as an opportunity to increase the amount of non-aristocratic landowners. Very few landowners actually possessed the means to cultivate the land that they had and found it extremely difficult to acquire enough agricultural workers to appropriately work the land. The emigration movement thus, “represented little more than a

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

8 Jackson and Bacon, “African Americans and the Haitian Revolution.”
desire to alleviate the shortage of agricultural laborers,”9 while helping to increase production.

During the Haitian Emigration Movement President Dessalines was assassinated in 1806. The island became split upon his assassination into north and south sides by two competing governments. The south side was ruled by a mulatto named, Alexandre Petion. The north was led by a free black man named Henry Christophe. These two rivals ruled their respective sections of the island of Haiti until finally, in 1820, a mulatto named Jean-Pierre Boyer was able to secure both the north and south sides of the island finally establishing a small measure of political unity.10 Even after the two sides became ruled by one political entity, Haiti’s racial and political tensions still remained. The agricultural production during that time was reduced to a significantly smaller portion than what it had been in the years immediately following the revolution. The ongoing economic stalemate served as justification for any attempts to try and lure African Americans from the United States.

The Haitian emigration movement also looked to serve as an inspirational motivator for African Americans showing them that freedom was a possibility. Many whites and African Americans living in the United States

9 Dixon, “African America and Haiti.”

10 Ibid.
regarded, “the founding and survival of the island republic as tangible proof that blacks were not inferior to whites, and were capable of shaping their own destiny.”

The leaders of the emigration movement were “conscious that their achievements of black independence had international as well as domestic implications, there were occasions when the Haitian leaders were willing to play a part in the international politics of race.”

The Haitian leaders wanted the Haitian example to serve as inspiration to motivate black Southern slaves of what was possible if they banded together in revolt. Similarly, they understood how this image would, “serve as a warning of what might happen should African slaves revolt against the southern slaveocracy.”

News of the emigration movement had been disseminated in the north and the south of the United States with the hopes of “emboldening” American slaves to attempt their own revolution in the greater slave owning sections of America. “Although white Americans overstated the likelihood of a Haitian-type rebellion within the United States, the survival of the Haitian experiment not only constituted a

\[\text{\textsuperscript{11} Ibid.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{13} Davis, “Black Democracy: The Story of Haiti.”}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{14} Dixon, “African America and Haiti.”}\]
challenge to American slavery, but was a tangible beacon of freedom for blacks seeking sanctuary from American racism.”

Some of the early supporters for the Haitian revolution included a black schoolteacher from New England named Prince Saunders who was one of the most passionate advocates for the emigration movement. He strived to maintain a prominent awareness of Haiti in the mind of blacks both free and bound by slavery in America. Saunders worked as an advisor to Henri Christophe prior to the emigration movement. Christophe saw Saunders as a vital component to the establishment of schools in Haiti based on his level of education for a black man during that time. Christophe felt that Saunders could assist in establishing a school system in Haiti, which would have helped to elevate its citizens. Haiti had its ongoing race and class struggles between the mulattos and blacks, with the blacks being considered inferior by the mulattos. Christophe felt that the establishment of a school for blacks could help in disproving the mulatto and white ideologies. It comes as no surprise that when the emigration movement began; President Boyer leaned heavily on the assistance of Saunders to assist with the recruiting process. Saunders played a very prominent role in the emigration movement in the north where, through his relationships with British

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abolitionists, was able to create a plan to transport emancipated slaves to the island republic in 1820.¹⁶

There were still many stigmas attached to Haiti particularly because it had been a former slave colony that was now a sovereign nation. While the new republic had gained its freedom from France, it still had many looming doubts about the viability of democracy in such a place. In 1816, in an attempt to try to “excite a more lively concern for the promotion of the best interests, the improvement, the definitive independence, and happiness of the Haitian people.”¹⁷ The Haitian Papers were published and distributed widely around the United States. Despite the endorsement by Prince Saunders, the depictions in his writings left doubts in the minds of many of the readers about Haiti’s viability as a destination for blacks escaping slavery and seeking refuge outside of the United States. He quoted a need to “establish a definitive independence,”¹⁸ which implied that the republic was still under the influence of the colonial system. This was true of Haiti because it was in a state of neo-colonialism¹⁹,

³⁶ ¹⁶ Ibid.
³⁷ ¹⁷ Ibid.
³⁸ ¹⁸ Ibid.
³⁹ ¹⁹ Ibid.
after reverting back to the plantation system as a mode of production. Many African Americans who were contemplating a potential move to Haiti were worried that they would be trading one form of domination for another in a foreign country. Furthermore, many felt that the attempts to recruit African Americans to Haiti from the United States in an attempt to establish institutions that were similar to the United States, reinforced the repressive economic and political institutions of the United States. Such a movement would further prevent the advancement of African Americans as noted below:

. . . recreate the institutions and lifestyle to which they [former slaves] were accustomed was further evidence both of the ‘Americanization’ of black population, and the existence of a distinctly ‘African American’ culture in the United States. Perhaps most significant, in seeking the replication in Haiti of American institutions and customs, emigrations were implicitly endorsing the superiority of those institutions and customs.  

The movement proceeded with its initial stages of transporting African Americans from the United States to Haiti despite the lack of support from some. The Haitian government was able to subsidize the transportation of 6,000 free blacks to the north and then to Haiti and by the end of the 1820’s, 13,000 free blacks had migrated to Haiti. Initial reports indicated that the

21 Ibid.  
22 Jackson and Bacon, “African Americans and the Haitian Revolution.”
immigration movement had been a successful endeavor upon the African American’s early arrival. Shortly thereafter, many African Americans began experiencing major problems.

“African Americans were greeted with an immense amount of Pan African Solidarity: increasing the common blood of great Africa makes unbreakable ties, all blacks are brothers regardless of language and religious distinctions.”

However this was not the case for the African Americans living in Haiti. The reality of life on the island was much more difficult than many had originally anticipated. The immigrants were faced with a myriad of issues ranging from stark cultural differences to language barriers. Many African Americans felt that they had been lied to because the realities were starkly different than what had been promised. As many as two thirds of the immigrants that came to Haiti began to emigrate back to the United States beginning in the 1830s, and by the 1860’s, the emigration movement had been all but deemed a failure.

The immigration movement had been doomed from its inception primarily because Haiti did not have the appropriate structures in place, such as schools and communities, to support the influx of new immigrants. This is more evident when you consider the natural barriers that are associated with

\[23\] Ibid.
immigration such as language, cultural differences, and racial differences. The failures of the emigration movement can be tied to many things, but, none more than the cultural differences that existed between Haitians and the immigrating African Americans. The language barrier was one of the issues that both Haitians and African Americans faced. The Haitians on the island spoke Creole while the African Americans spoke English. With many of the peasants in Haiti and the African Slaves being illiterate and uneducated, they did not possess the ability to formally learn the respective languages of their peers. This made cooperation between the two groups impossible and interactions non-existent.

The African Americans, who had immigrated to Haiti, found the reality to be far different than what had been promised to them. First, Haiti was underdeveloped and did not have any institutions in place, which would have allowed for the seamless integration of the new class of immigrants. During the early periods of its nation building, Haiti failed to establish a working economy, which would have assisted in this transition by allowing the immigrants to become a part of the working class, thereby increasing economic output and productivity. Instead what the immigrants found was a plantation mode of production, which they all left back in the United States. As a result of the redistributive efforts that were made after the Haitian revolution, land was scarce and hard to come by for the purposes of production. This reality infuriated a lot of African Americans who had immigrated to Haiti under the
guise that they were going to be given land (which had been advertised in America).

The emigration movement had the potential to assist Haiti in its nation building process if it had the appropriate structures in place. These structures include a working economy, a sound political system, and an established social class. These structures would have allowed the new immigrants to integrate with Haitian society helping it to continue its democratic transition. Instead, the failure of this movement would have profound consequences on the next two hundred years of the development of democracy in Haiti.
CHAPTER V:

THE UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES OF THE FAILED EMIGRATION MOVEMENT

By the late 1830’s the immigration movement was deemed a failure due to a loss of interest from African Americans in the United States. Many who had emigrated returning to the United States based on the social and economic conditions that they discovered by upon their arrival in Haiti. The immigration movement was created primarily for the purposes of helping to establish the integral state, the Haitian economy, and assist in the creation of civil society.

Immigration can have a profound impact on a nation by affecting a multitude of structures including the economy, social class relations, and political institutions. All of these structures are vital to the democratization process as it plays out in the formation of the integral state. The influx of people that results from immigration helps to foster dialogue between institutions by creating interdependency and a sense of shared identity.

Haiti was trapped in a never-ending democratic transition for the last two hundred years after its revolution because of the way that it transitioned to democracy. Haiti had a violent transition, which results in the nation suffering from weak institutions and reverting back to a coercive authoritarian form of government.¹ The Haitian government did not have a viable plan as to how it

would transition to democracy, or establish its institutions after the revolution. Production had dramatically declined and a majority of the population had been decimated by the war. Many of the freed slaves ceased production for economic purposes and transitioned to subsistence farming. Then leader, Dessalines was forced to militarize the plantation system in order to generate revenue. If the nation was going to survive it had to produce and it needed some of its citizens to enlist in its military for its protection. The influx of immigrants during this time would have prevented Haiti from turning back to the economic mode of production that it had fought to rid itself of.

With the availability of more workers, the government could have avoided installing a militaristic mode of production thereby never opening the door for authoritarianism to return to Haiti.

A story told about country after country is that as they develop, social structure becomes complex, labor process begins to require the active cooperation of employees, and new groups emerge and organize. As a result, the system can no longer be effectively run by command; the society is too complex, technological change endows the producers with some autonomy and private information, civil society emerges, and dictatorial forms of control lose their effectiveness. Various groups whether the bourgeoisies, workers, or just the amorphous ‘Civil Society,’ rise against the doctorial regime, and it falls.²

Before the true creation of a democratic society would be possible, it was imperative that Haiti established some form of economic system. The

immigration movement could have aided in the establishment of different modes of production that were present in Haiti immediately following the Haitian revolution. Before the Haitian revolution, the mode of production was rooted primarily in the plantation system, which had its roots in the slave trade. After the Haitian revolution, many of the newly freed slaves transitioned into subsistence farming as a means of production. This directly affected the production output, which before the Haitian revolution had made Haiti one of the richest colonies in the Americas. During the height of the slave trade and the colonial period, Haiti was one of the most profitable islands producing a multitude of goods ranging from indigo, cotton, sugar, rum, and various other tropical products that were only native to islands in the west indies. After the Haitian revolution, the Haitian economy came to a standstill with most of the former slaves leaving the island or settling into a life of subsistence farming. Most of these former slaves returned back to their respective lands in various parts of Africa and other West Indian islands.

Like most of the countries in the tropics, Haiti is economically dependent, which means that the labor force does not operate along the same dynamics as they would in a traditional capitalist model. They do not have economic or employment obligations that are dependent on working for an employer. A considerable number of Haitians left the island after the revolution and those that remained did not have the tools or the desire to cultivate the
land. The actual production that took place in Haiti was non-existent, despite ideal growing conditions and extremely fertile soil, The land eventually began to deteriorate due to unchecked erosion, the absence of an agricultural plan, and the overall landowner's ignorance and lack of resources.\textsuperscript{3} Many of the money crops such as coffee, cotton were growing without much cultivation during the time immediately after the Haitian revolution and the emigration movement.\textsuperscript{4} An influx of new immigrants would have diversified Haiti's agricultural portfolio by producing additional cash crops such as sugar, tobacco, cacao, tropical fruits, and vegetables for export. They would have also been made available to cultivate these crops and used for export in the world economy in the hopes of increasing Haiti's GDP.

In 1922, the estimated average annual per capita income in Haiti did not exceed $20 dollars. The value of foreign trade was only $11.27 per capita compared to $32.95, $104.99, and $195.97 for Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, and Cuba respectively.\textsuperscript{5} The per capita income of a country has a strong impact on the overall survival of its democracy. In his research conducted in 1990 on the effects of GDP and its impact on Democracy, Adam Przeworski concludes that,

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item Armand, "Democracy in Haiti," 537-561.
\item Weatherly, "Haiti an Experiment in Pragmatism," 353-366.
\item Ibid.
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“democracies survival increases monotonically with per capita income. In countries with per capita income under $1000, the probability that a democracy would die during a particular year was 1.25 percent. Above $6,055 democracies could expect to last forever.”\(^6\) He also notes that dictatorships are far less stable once they have reached a per capita income of $4,000. “The probability that democracy will die in a country with an income above $4,000 is practically zero.”\(^7\)

The immigrants would have helped stabilize Haiti’s export economy due to the additional labor force they would have provided. The need for the immigrant labor force was necessary because production output was exceedingly low despite the coercive militarization of the plantation system. There was also a need to replace the laborers that were living outside of the capital who were not contributing to the Haiti’s overall economic output. The Haitian economy was based on agricultural exports, which required a lot of human capital for its success. The success of democracy is related to the establishment and maintenance its economic systems. The influx of African Americans would have aided in the modernization process by helping to specialize its economic modes of production, increase productivity, and


\(^7\) Ibid.
ultimately increase Haiti’s exports allowing it to raise its GDP and begin its modernization process. Once the new immigrants were able to help raise Haiti’s GDP, it would have helped to facilitate the democratization process.

Modernization consists of a gradual differentiation and specialization of social structures that culminates in a separation of political structures from other structures and make democracy possible. The specific casual chain consists of sequences of industrialization, urbanization, education, communication, mobilization, and political mobilization.\(^8\)

The influx of immigrants would have allowed for different economies or processes to develop within the framework that already existed. The Haitian economy became stagnant as a result of its militarization, which was done as a way to force production from the recently freed slaves. The stagnation of the economic modes of production made it impossible for the recently arrived immigrants to contribute in a meaningful way. The militarization of the plantation system created a homogenous economy in which there was no room for innovation stunting its growth. The economy had gotten to this point because it was not a free market economy that fostered innovation and small business. Agriculture was established as the national economy, which prevented the exploration of other economic alternatives. Had there been economic structures in place the immigrants could have had a more profound impact on the modernization process.

\(^{8}\) Ibid.
One other way to look at the potential influence that the emigration movement would have had on the Haitian economic system is to consider the model created by Acemoglu and Robinson the (A&R model), as it relates to politics and class. The A&R model is appropriate in the Haitian example because its foundation is based on a small group of rich elites holding de jure political power and control over a nation’s limited resource. These elites are in constant opposition with the larger group of poor citizens who ultimately want to move toward a democracy ultimately earning a larger share of the total wealth. “Although this poor population lacks de jure political power, it nonetheless has some de facto political power based on its size advantage over the smaller group of rich elites.” In this example the larger population could revolt, but the consequence of such a revolt would mean a reduction in the overall resources that would be available for consumption by both the elites and non-elites. A revolution would still be much more detrimental to the elites since they stand to lose the most as a result. “When the populations de facto power is only transitionary (which was and has always been the case in Haiti), the elites promises become non credible because the population knows that promised

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10 Ibid.
redistributive concessions are only temporary because of their transitional de facto political power.”

Immigration plays a large part in the redistributive process because immigration would have directly affected the de facto power of Haiti. It would have worked to increase the permanent de facto power of the poor non-landowners. The influx of laborers from the United States could have potentially increased their size exponentially and making the revolutionary threat much more likely. Thus as author David Bearce states, "the native population and immigrants together [would have formed] the labor class in the national economy with similar preferences at least for increased economic opportunities and greater political rights to help legally guarantee those economic opportunities.”

As a result of this new influx of immigrant workers, the working class could have banded together to force the elites to offer more, “redistributive concessions” as a way of quelling any potential socio-economic unrest, which would ultimately lead to revolution. “When the potential revolutionary threat of the domestic labor bloc is combined with that of the foreign labor bloc, the revolutionary threat facing the autocratic elite grows, making redistributive concessions ‘as an alternative to democracy’ more necessary for the elite and

\[11\] Ibid.

\[12\] Ibid.
more credible to the population." As it stands, without the new labor force that would have aided in the cultivation of the nation's resources, the Haitian elites did not have sufficient means to make these concessions to the population perpetuating a nation of social inequality.

The economic growth achieved as a result of immigration would have helped to produce societal changes. Social class is one aspect of society that this new labor economy would have had affected by creating a middle class. Throughout its democratic transition, Haiti never possessed a working middle class creating disparity between the wealthy classes and the peasants. One of the reasons for Haiti's failures is cited as it having non-working bourgeoisie. The entire labor fell onto the shoulders of the lower classes who themselves were more interested in subsistence farming. The difference between the non-working upper class in Haiti and those from other democracies is that Haiti did not have an established economy, a significant GDP, and high production outputs. Agriculture being the foundation of the Haitian economy meant that labor was the only means of generating revenue. With no class in between the two groups, those in the bottom rung saw the ascent into the upper class as impossible. The ascent by the lower classes was impossible because class was tied to color in Haiti, whereas in the rest of the world, it is tied to wealth and education. This created class polarization and exploitation between the upper

\[\text{13 Ibid.}\]
and lower classes. These conflicts were a result of the social stratification that existed during the colonial period, which was transplanted over to the new republic. The conflict theory is applicable here primarily because it is through class conflict that change can eventually happen in situations such as Haiti. One consistent theme throughout many failed states is the set up of its social class structure.\textsuperscript{14} Karl Marx concluded in 1843 that as long as social inequality-class society- persisted, real democracy, the sovereignty of people was impossible."\textsuperscript{15} Democracy is based on political participation of the masses and the effects of social inequality prevent true democratic dialogue amongst the masses. This theme is present in the organization of Haiti’s societal structure, which was designed to help the small elite class maintain power and domination over the lower classes. The elite classes controlled the modes of production and the political process, which meant that the lower classes did not have access to either of those things. The only way that the lower classes could gain access would be through a violent revolution against the upper classes which Marx describes as the inevitable outcomes of such a society.

The creation of a middle class would have the effect of preventing such an uprising by restructuring the social class ideologies. In Haiti, the, "classes are polarized along the dimensions of skin color, wealth, education, occupation, and

\footnote{Gros, "Toward a Taxonomy of Failed States," 455-471.}

\footnote{Marx, “A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy,” 264.}
other social characteristics.”\(^{16}\) These dimensions allowed the upper classes to maintain its domination over the lower classes. These dimensions are different than you would find anywhere else because color is associated with a certain status and class and so it becomes much harder to change social classes. The new wave of immigrants would have helped create a middle class that would have decreased the gap between the rich and the poor.

The final piece of the immigration movement is that it would have helped foster political participation. As a result of the educational institutions that it would have helped create by way of establishing a sound economic system, it would have created political access thereby including more citizens in the democratic process. There was a potential for the immigrants to band together with the lower classes and demand a more democratic system, yet, this did not happen due to the language and cultural barriers that existed between the two groups. This would have helped prevent the abuses that were all too common in the Halation politics that exist even today.

The immigration movement had been intended to increase the Haitian population hoping to provide the human capital necessary to create alternative modes of production, and to increase productivity. The failure of the immigration movement proved to be much more devastating than one could have ever imagined. Its failure had an effect on Haiti’s democratic transition.

\(^{16}\) Armand, “Democracy in Haiti,” 537-561.
because it was the human capital spark that Haiti needed to help establish its economic, social, and political institutions.
There are several factors, which can determine the success of democracy in any nation that is transitioning from an authoritarian regime to a democratic one. The way that a nation transitions has a profound impact on the steps that lead to that nation’s successful democratization. Along these lines, there are several important pieces that are necessary for the success of any democracy, which includes the establishment of a productive economic system, a non-stratified social class system, political participation and the establishment of educational institutions. Haiti is a classic example of the failures of a young nation that is transitioning from an authoritarian form of government to a democratic one. Its failures are marred in its inability to develop the vital institutions that are necessary for the fruition of democracy.

First, Haiti endured a violent revolution that was the culmination of a decade of battles and skirmishes, which led to the eventual emancipation of the former slave colony. At the time of its emancipation, all of the slaves were grossly illiterate and its leaders had had no formal education or training in government, which posed the first problem. The leaders had no plan in regard to how they would implement democracy in the new nation without reverting
back to the oppressive forms of governance, which they had just fought so hard to escape.

Second, Haiti maintained a complex class structure during its colonial time, which was socially, racially, and economically based on slavery and the plantation system. When the revolution occurred, it did little to change the social stratification that existed in Haitian class structure. This stratification was used as a tool for controlling the means of production by reverting Haiti back into the oppressive constructs of the plantation system. This regression back to the plantation economy was one of the reasons behind Haiti’s failures to establish sound economic modes of production. Rather then create a capitalist system; its leaders militarized the plantation system, which became as constrictive as the former slave system. This had the effect of causing mass emigration by many of its citizens out of the capital causing those that remained to grossly under produce, further contributing to Haiti’s economic decline.

Third, Haiti failed to set up sound educational institutions which would have helped un-stratify the social classes allowing the lower classes to gain education which would have allowed for the citizens to gain access to institutions like politics. The stratification that existed between the upper and lower classes was based on color. The upper classes were highly educated which allowed them access to politics and control over the lower classes. Haiti’s failure to establish a sound education system meant that its citizens could not
receive the education that would have allowed them to understand democracy and actively participate in the democratic process. This furthered the stratification that existed between the upper and lower classes allowing the upper classes to continued their use of politics a personal means of advancement and lower class domination.

Haiti’s attempts to entice African American’s emigrees were met with massive failures for many reasons. First, the cultural barriers that existed between the immigrants and the Haitians made it impossible to communicate let alone come together in revolution to overthrow the upper classes. Second the constrictive plantation system stymied any economic potential from the immigrants. The Emigration Movement had the potential to be a factor in the successful democratization of Haiti as is framers had intended except, Haiti did not have the proper institutions in place to support immigration. They did not have an established economic system, which the immigrants for the immigrants to integrate into. The addition of the immigrants did not help the cause of the lower class due to cultural barriers. The lack of schools meant that these differences could not be rectified by way of receiving an education and, the political institutions were controlled by the upper classes, which prevented political participation. Color also had an effect on the emigration movement in that it grouped the immigrants with the lower class black former slaves. This
had the effect of stymieing any potential economic or political advancement by
the immigrants.

Haiti failed to establish all of the vital components for the creation of a
successful democracy despite its attempts with the Emigration Movement. The
Haitian case shows us that democracy cannot be imported by way of
immigration without the proper institutions in place to support it. Haiti’s two
hundred year history demonstrates that democracy is an organic process, which
must mature and evolve with the help of supporting institutions. It
demonstrates that when potentially positive regime changes take place, they
can be easily disrupted by weak economic and political institutions. The Haitian
case is important because it demonstrates what can happen when the
underlying intuitional structures that contribute to democracy are simply
replaced with institutions, such as economics, that are based on group
domination. The Haitian revolution and its subsequent democratic transition
demonstrate examples of the true requirements that are necessary for the
fruition of democracy. There must be a concerted effort made by any
transitioning country to rid the society of any and all institutions that are based
on domination. Failure to commit to democracy in this way, will cause the
country to revert back to authoritarian systems with each passing revolution
reinforcing the crushing grip of authoritarian regimes, leaving its citizens in a
state of destitution with repeat revolutions being their only option.
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