

**Destrucción latente por sustitución de la sociedad haitiana:
una perspectiva epistemológica e histórica**

Latent destruction through substitution of Haitian society:
an epistemological and historical perspective

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Resumen

Este artículo pretende comprender y explicar, a través de una reflexión centrada en la epistemología histórica y el habitus de Bourdieu, cómo los países occidentales, específicamente Estados Unidos, España, Alemania, Canadá y Francia, están planificando cuidadosa y sutilmente el colapso de Haití por sustitución. Destaca cinco métodos de destrucción latente en los que se inscribe el escenario de una deconstrucción gradual para reemplazar a la sociedad haitiana imponiendo un entorno sociopolítico en perpetua inestabilidad que alienta a los jóvenes a huir de su país. Al final de la reflexión, el artículo concluye que los países occidentales quieren apoderarse de la tierra de Haití y expulsar a los negros salvajes del Caribe (como solían tratarlos) que la habitaban.

Palabras clave: genocidio, economicidio, etnocidio, linguicidio, epistemología histórica

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Abstract

This article aims to understand and explain, through a reflection focused on the historical epistemology and habitus of Bourdieu, how the Western countries, specifically, United States of America, Spain, Germany, Canada, and France are carefully and subtly planning Haiti's collapse by substitution. It highlights five methods of latent destruction in which is inscribed the setting of gradual deconstruction to replace the Haitian society by imposing a socio-political environment in perpetual instability that encourages young people to flee their country. At the end of the reflection, the article concludes that the Western countries want to take over the land of Haiti and drive out the black savages of the Caribbean (as they used to treat them) who inhabited it.

Keywords: genocide, economicide, ethnocide, linguicide, historical epistemology

Introduction

The two decades following Haiti's independence mark a formative and painful period for the new republic, which we now better understand as having been marked by numerous confrontations with various internal social groups and Western forces aiming to isolate Haiti to prevent the spread of Black freedom.

As Professor Pierre aptly noted that:

Haiti is known for having been the only successful slave revolt in modern history; it managed to defeat Napoleon's army, which was the most powerful in the world at the time. This victory was a defeat of white supremacy, colonialism, and slavery all at once. (Pierre, 2024)

For many, the various crises faced by the young republic fit into the logic of the continued colonization of Haiti by Western powers, which shape the perceptions, representations, and practices of Haitians according to Bourdieu's structuralist/constructivist logic (1987). As Bourdieu stated, "behaviors can be oriented towards ends without being consciously directed towards these ends, guided by these ends" (Bourdieu, 1987, p.20) in (Abraham, 2020, p.108).

In this regard, researchers and historians from various backgrounds almost unanimously recognize that Westerners are engaged in a perpetual war and endless chaos in Haiti to eradicate these "savage blacks of the Caribbean" (Janvier, 1884; Cassen, 1997; Étienne, 2007). They offer an illuminating comparison between Haiti's determination to resist for its survival and the Western powers' desire for its annihilation (Pierre, 2024; Étienne, 2007). Some of these researchers and historians, such as Étienne and Jemima Pierre, highlight the envy of Haiti's strategic position, while others emphasize its untapped wealth. However, to our knowledge, none have addressed the issue of its latent destruction by substitution.

Indeed, shortly after its independence, Haiti found itself facing a series of crises of varying magnitude. Sometimes these were political, resulting from national and international conspiracies, and other times they were socio-economic, with threats to suffocate the Haitian economy both domestically and abroad. Thus, we wonder if this situation of recurrent crises observed over the past two decades by various authors signifies merely the destabilization of the country or if it rather reveals a planned latent destruction by substitution of Haitian society.

In this perspective, raising the issue of the social phenomenon of "latent destruction by substitution" and its connection to various actions taken against Haiti by Western countries brings forth many questions about the fundamental meaning of this reality and the methods used to realize it in a country where chaos reigns continuously. While Westerners exploit Haiti's resources unequally and overtly, inequalities persist on all fronts: health, education, income, etc., affecting the entire Haitian population (Abraham, 2020). Meanwhile, gangs, supported by the United Nations, which encourages them to unite, rape, mutilate, and kill Haitians, pillaging and burning everything in their path.

This article, which aims to understand and explain the latent destruction by substitution of Haitian society, consists of five parts. The first part introduces the issue of latent destruction by substitution. The second part analyzes the concepts that will be used in our reflection to help understand and explain the latent process of destruction by substitution. The third part considers the different methods of destruction practiced by Western countries to annihilate Haitian society. The fourth part presents discussions of this historical epistemological approach aimed at demonstrating the evidence of destruction by substitution. Finally, we conclude the article with some recommendations and perspectives to continue resisting and potentially counteracting the unfolding plan.

1. Conceptualization

The contributions of this section explore various concepts that form the foundations of the issue of "latent destruction by substitution" of Haitian society in light of the multiple actions taken by Western countries against Haiti, within a distant temporal framework and through historical epistemology. Indeed, at first glance, the theme of "latent destruction by substitution" appears to refer to the theoretical observation that it is not a product of chance and can also be explained, through the lens of historical epistemology, by historical data and the challenges that the Haitian nation faced over time in relation to the international community. Because its socio-economic and political position at the time plays a significant role in its latent destruction by substitution, in the sense that Haiti overturned the global slave order and consequently redefined a new global relationship that frightens colonial and slaveholding powers, giving it a global social status and a relative social position that situates it either in a position of dominance or subjugation in relation to others in the concert of nations.

Thus, we approach the definition of the concepts that constitute the framework of our issue and guide our objective to understand and explain, in the context of historical epistemology and structuralist-constructivist theory, the question of the latent destruction of Haitian society by substitution. These concepts are genocide, ethnocide, linguicide, economicide, historical epistemology, structuralist constructivism/habitus, and latent destruction by substitution.

1.1 Genocide

Examining genocide is to question the nature of this social reality in Haiti as a historical fact constructed by Western countries and nationals in the service of the West. The theme has seen a resurgence of interest both in research works and on the political-social and international stage.

Indeed, the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) narrowly defines genocide as the deliberate destruction of members of a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. Genocidal acts include: (1) the killing of members of the group; (2) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (3) imposing living conditions calculated to bring about the group's total or partial physical destruction; (4) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (5) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group².

Lemkin, as cited by Palmiste (2012), goes beyond the United Nations in defining "genocide" as:

A coordinated project of various actions aimed at the destruction of the essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating them. The objectives of such a program include the disintegration of political and social institutions, culture, language, national sentiments, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, as well as the destruction of their personal security, freedom, health, dignity, including the lives of individuals within these groups³.

The two definitions mentioned above do not differentiate between genocide and destruction and implicitly allude to economicide, ethnocide, and linguicide, which we will define to

² Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the crime of genocide, art 2, 78 U.N.T.S. 277, 9 décembre 1948

³ Lemkin, R. (1944). *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of occupation, Analysis of government, Proposals for redress*, p. 79.

understand and explain, in the light of historical epistemology and habitus, how the various actions taken by Western countries against Haiti justify the issue of "latent destruction by substitution." However, it is worth noting that destruction is a more general term that can encompass various forms of harm or loss, whereas genocide is a specific and intentional form of destruction aimed at eliminating all or part of a group based on its identity.

In summary, genocide, as understood in this article, does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of the Haitian nation unless it is accomplished by the massacre of all its members. Instead, it signifies the implementation of various coordinated actions aimed at destroying the essential foundations of Haitians' lives, with the aim of their annihilation⁴. In this perspective, according to Lemkin's logic, genocide contains two aspects: the destruction of national characteristics and the establishment of the characteristics of the occupier.

1.2 Ethnocide or Cultural Genocide

The notion of cultural genocide emerged as early as 1944 with Raphael Lemkin, as we have already mentioned, a Polish lawyer. This concept was reintroduced in 1989 in a television interview by Robert Badinter, a French criminologist known for his opposition to the death penalty. In the presence of the 14th Dalai Lama, he referred in his intervention to the disappearance of Tibetan culture. The term cultural genocide was later adopted by the Dalai Lama himself in an interview he gave to the BBC⁵.

Ethnocide or cultural genocide is a related concept that refers to acts contributing to the disappearance of a culture, even if its bearers are not physically destroyed (Chamoun, 2008). Acts of ethnocide include denying a group the right to speak its language, practice its religion, teach its traditions and customs, create art, maintain its social institutions, or preserve its memories and history⁶.

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Eighty killed in Tibetan unrest, BBC news, march 16, 2008.

⁶ Lemkin, R. (1944). *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of occupation, Analysis of government, Proposals for redress*.

In summary, cultural genocide refers to the destruction of a population's culture. It represents a profound loss of cultural diversity and heritage.

The history of the Republic of Haiti leads us to understand that genocide and ethnocide against Haitians occur for numerous reasons, including, among others, the abolition of slavery in the Caribbean, greed for gold or other natural resources, nation-building efforts worldwide containing a black and mulatto population, and finally religious differences (vodou). In each case, these crimes against Haiti are justified and fueled by the racism of Western countries.

The Haitian people are victims of such crimes in part because they have been labeled by Westerners as "incapable blacks who do not deserve this land," "subhuman," practicing cannibalism..., savages, incapable of self-control, of governing, and that we must go and pacify, "vermin" and "nuisances," and other negative stereotypes since the 1800s (Pierre, 2024). These stereotypes "reinforce the tendencies of Haitian governments, put in place by Westerners, to establish destructive and oppressive racial policies."

1.3 Historical epistemology

Historical epistemology studies how our object of study evolves over time by analyzing historical contexts, cultural and Western influences, and dominant scientific paradigms. It is an approach that seeks to understand how the latent destruction by substitution of Haitian society is constructed and transformed over different epochs. Therefore, it allows us to place the constitutive or structural concepts of our issue into historical perspective.

1.4 Linguicide

Linguicide, one of the cruelest forms of genocide, refers to the extinction or prohibition of a generation from transmitting a language to the youth. In this perspective, we adopt these two definitions:

Nicholas (2011) defines linguicide as killing the language without killing the speakers” and Zwisler (2017, p.43) defines it as the elimination of a language via government policy aimed to destroy a group’s immediate means of linguistically othering themselves.

In essence, linguicide denotes the deliberate and systematic suppression or eradication of a language, often due to political, cultural, or social pressures.

1.5 Économicide

Économicide is not a standard concept, but it resembles a combination of economic and "genocide." However, Temple (1998) considers it as the destruction of the production structures of the reciprocity system in favor of the production structures of the free trade system; it is not just the economy at stake but the foundations of culture and ethics.

The devastation of an economy can occur due to various factors such as natural disasters, war or military occupation, political instability, or poor economic management. Recovery often requires considerable efforts, investments, and time to rebuild infrastructure, restore confidence, and stimulate growth.

1.6 Structuralist-constructivist/Habitus

The structuralist-constructivist approach of Bourdieu (1987) seeks to reconcile the objective (the social) and the subjective (the actors). Therefore, this theory provides a relevant theoretical framework alongside historical epistemology for research on latent destruction by substitution. According to the author, there is a social determinism that conditions the perceptions, representations, and practices of individuals.

Bourdieu (1987), as cited by Abraham (2020, pp. 106-107), defines "structuralist constructivism" at the intersection of the objective and the subjective. By structuralism, I mean that there exist, within the social world itself, objective structures independent of the

consciousness and will of agents, which are capable of guiding or constraining their practices and representations. By constructivism, I mean that there is a social genesis on the one hand of the schemes of perception, thought, and action that constitute what I call habitus, and on the other hand of social structures, particularly what I call fields (Bourdieu, 1987, cited in Corcuff Ph., 1995, pp. 30-31).

And the notion of habitus allows us to account for the paradox whereby "conducts can be oriented towards ends without being consciously directed towards these ends, directed by these ends" (Bourdieu, 1987, p. 20) in (Abraham, 2020, p. 108).

1.7 Latent Destruction by substitution

In the logic of Joseph Schumpeter, an Austrian economist, creative destruction can be described as the process by which new innovations and technologies replace old methods of production and management within a company (Schumpeter, 1942). This process of "destruction" is not necessarily literal destruction, but rather a means by which new enterprises, products, and ideas emerge, thereby stimulating long-term economic growth.

In other words, creative destruction implies that for an economy to progress, old structures, companies, and economic models must sometimes be replaced by new, more efficient, and innovative ones.

In the context of this article, however, this concept takes on a different meaning. Indeed, "latent destruction" indicates that the threat is not necessarily immediately apparent. The altered components may seemingly function normally for a period before their destructive effect becomes evident.

On a social level, this relates to the replacement of established values, norms, or traditions with new ideas, practices, or beliefs. Culturally, destruction by substitution involves the loss or replacement of traditional practices, languages, beliefs, customs, or cultural elements by external influences, often involuntarily or forcibly.

Moreover, cultural destruction by substitution typically means the disappearance or replacement of traditional cultural components by external influences, leading to the potential loss of cultural identity and the degradation of cultural heritage.

In the case of a population, destruction by substitution can have serious and profound implications for their identity, way of life, and overall well-being (programmed displacement and assimilation, cultural suppression, forced migrations and integration, etc.).

In all cases, "latent destruction by substitution" implies a radical change where something is lost or replaced by something new, often with significant consequences. In other words, it is when the annihilation of a people is planned over a distant time frame and in a subtle manner, replacing them with another group through methods of destruction.

2. Methods and materials

To understand and explain the latent destruction by substitution of Haitian society by Western powers, this article aims to analyze this issue through the lens of historical epistemology and Bourdieu's (1987) structuralist-constructivist approach, particularly focusing on the concept of habitus.

We utilized archival research, allowing us to consult various sources of data such as Google Scholar, Google, internet sites, books, scientific journals, scientific reports, and works by various authors and researchers. Our analysis fundamentally relies on the works of Haitian historians and those of other nationalities, including Roger Gaillard, Sauveur Pierre Étienne, Jemima Pierre, Suzy Castor, Diederich Bernard and Burt Al, Gérard Pierre-Charles, Louis Joseph Janvier, Bernard Cassen, Michael Dobbs, among others.

3. Results

The analysis of historical data reveals that several deliberate strategies have been employed by Western countries, particularly the United States, France, Spain, Canada, and Germany, to achieve the latent destruction by substitution of Haitian society. The Western powers utilize "silent weapons" that "do not produce any obvious explosions, do not cause obvious physical or mental damage, and do not evidently interfere with the social daily life of individuals," over a long-term horizon.

These weapons target the vitality and mobility of Haitians by understanding, manipulating, and diminishing their social and natural energy sources, cultural property, language, younger generations, as well as their physical, mental, and emotional strengths and weaknesses, with the aim of transforming Haiti into another country devoid of Haitians.

3.1 Économicide or the Destruction of the Haitian Economy

3.1.1 Control Over the Economy and Paralysis of the Haitian State

First, the United States imposed an economic embargo on Haiti that lasted nearly sixty years (1804-1863) and refused to recognize its independence. Meanwhile, France imposed a commercial veto by demanding a debt of 150 million francs as a condition for validating this independence (Pierre, 2024).

This approach resembles the appropriation of the Haitian economy, leading to what can be termed "economicide," the latent process of subtly destroying an economy. Indeed, shortly after Haiti's declaration of independence, there existed a German community, according to the American daily New York Times, that held disproportionate economic power and controlled approximately 80% of Haiti's international trade, exploiting services in Cap-Haïtien and Port-au-Prince (Slavicek, 2022).

Historians from various backgrounds report that "payments to France cost Haiti between \$21 billion and \$115 billion in lost economic growth, equivalent to €20 billion to €108 billion"⁷. The French indemnity began to accumulate interest and initiated a paralyzing cycle of debt for Haiti, which eroded its economic and political autonomy (Pierre, 2024).

According to Slavicek (2022), via the American daily, the New York Times, France took control of the National Bank of Haiti in 1880 through the *Crédit Industriel et Commercial* (CIC), which had its board of directors based in Paris. The CIC, according to the collected data, siphoned off tens of millions of francs from Haiti to the benefit of French investors, and the Haitian government could neither deposit nor withdraw funds without paying commissions (Slavicek, 2022).

Between 1910 and 1911, the United States acquired the sole commercial bank and national treasury, the National Bank of Haiti⁸. Consequently, French, German, and American shareholders became owners of the National Bank of Haiti due to the Republic's inability to honor its debts to American and French banks, in particular. Furthermore, in December 1914, American marines raided the National Bank and seized 500,000 dollars in gold. This is what we refer to as economic strangulation leading to economicide, which the American newspaper called "a spiral of debt that paralyzed the country for more than a century" (Slavicek, 2022; Cassen, 1997).

The United States invaded Haiti in 1915 and subsequently occupied the country from 1915 to 1934, claiming it was to protect their interests amid unrest and an assassination. They proceeded to take control of Haiti's economic system, infrastructure, and political system (customs and administrative institutions such as Haitian banks and the national treasury). After six weeks of occupation, the New York Times, the American newspaper, stated that in ten years, "a quarter of Haiti's total income went to repay debts controlled by the National City Bank" (Slavicek, 2022).

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Ibid

Finally, upon leaving the country, the occupying forces formally transferred authority to the Haitian armed forces, whose mission was essentially to continue defending the interests of the United States of America. In 1957, these forces installed François Duvalier as the head of power, who later passed on the reins of power to his son.

3.1.2 Decapitalization of Haitian Farmers

The destruction of Haiti's economy continued with the forced eradication of black pigs in Haiti. Indeed, under the Reagan administration, the Americans pressured the Haitian government, which was a dictatorship under Duvalier and protected by the United States, to decimate all their pigs purportedly to prevent the spread of a disease. These pigs were called black pigs. This action forced Haitians, especially in rural areas where farmers still owned their lands, to get rid of millions of their pigs. Pigs and food crops were their main sources of wealth (Pierre, 2024).

Thus, the second phase of economic destruction begins with the decimation of the peasant economy by substituting their black Creole pigs with white American pigs (Pierre, 2024).

3.1.3 The closure of state-owned enterprises

History remembers that Lesly Delatour, the Minister of Finance, in his open-market policy dictated by Western powers, allowed contraband to flood into the country. He lowered tariffs on imported rice and slashed the budget of the government's agricultural agency in the rice-producing Artibonite region by 30% (Dobbs, 2000; Cassen, 1997).

Haiti's sugar industry was severely affected by his policy, with the Haitian sugar company Hasco closing in April 1987, just days after the disappearance of the sugar mill in Les Cayes (Cloutier, 1987).

The two state sugar mills, the National Sugar Factory of Darbonne in the Léogâne region in autumn 1986, and the Citadelle Sugar Factory in Cap-Haïtien, were closed down. The flooding of Dominican contraband sugar into the Haitian market promoted by Delatour's policies contributed to sealing the fate of the Haitian sugar industry⁹.

His decision to open the country to subsidized American rice contributed to driving out local producers from the market. This led to the paralysis of the Haitian economy, or what can be termed as the economicide of the system.

3.2 Physical genocide or Destruction of the Haitian population

In Haiti's history, two major mechanisms of destruction of the Haitian population by Western powers are evident: weaponry (firearms, edged weapons, etc.) and biological weapons (Tuberculosis, COVID-19, AIDS, Cholera, etc.). Initially, historians report that during the American occupation between 1915-1920, occupying forces used military aircraft to bomb Haitian peasants. At times, they were mutilated and shot. It is reported that several thousand Haitians were massacred by the occupying forces (Gaillard, 1981). After the occupation, in 1937, between 20,000 and 35,000 Haitians were exterminated under the guise of ethnic cleansing on American-Dominican sugar plantations (Castor, 1988; Pierre, 2024).

In addition to these massacres, let's highlight the periods from 1957-1986 under the Duvalier regime, from 1986-1991 immediately after Duvalier, and from 1991 onwards with the FRAPH group, respectively. Approximately 30,000 to 50,000 Haitians, 15,000 and more than 10,000 to 30,000 were massacred during these periods (Diederich and Burt, 2005; Pierre-Charles, 2000).

The other form of physical genocide used is tuberculosis, AIDS, cholera, and other diseases caused by bacteria. Indeed, Haiti has one of the highest incidences of tuberculosis in the

⁹ Ibid

region, with transmission continuing to be facilitated. In 2022, 99 new cases of tuberculosis per 100,000 population were reported in Haiti. In the same year, the overall mortality rate due to tuberculosis (adjusted for age and per 100,000 population) was 9.2 (7.9 for females and 10.5 for males). The age-adjusted mortality rate from HIV was 28.3 per 100,000 population in 2019¹⁰. The same source reported that over 217,000 people have died from AIDS-related illnesses since the beginning of the epidemic.

Regarding COVID-19, according to estimates from the World Health Organization, in Haiti, in 2020, there were a total of 10,015 COVID-19 cases, which is 874.9 per million population. In 2021, there were 16,198 identified cases, which is 1,415.1 per million population. In 2020, there were 236 deaths directly caused by COVID-19 among diagnosed individuals, which is 20.6 per million population; in 2021, 537 deaths were reported, which is 46.9 per million. In 2020, Haiti ranked 45th in the Americas Region in terms of COVID-19 deaths, and 50th in 2021. Furthermore, it has been proven by numerous researchers that cholera originated from United Nations soldiers (Piarroux, R., Barraix, R., Faucher, B., Haus, R., Piarroux, M., Gaudart, J., & Raoult, D., 2011). Historical data¹¹ mentioned between October 2010 and February 2019, 9792 deaths from cholera and 820,000 Haitians infected and at risk of dying.

3.3 Linguicide and Génocide culturel or Ethnocide

The Westerners, through the school institutions, the Haitian public service, and religions, have waged a campaign against the Creole language, the language spoken by the masses and by all Haitians. They specifically aimed to destroy the Creole language by preventing its transmission to the younger generations. At school, Creole was formally prohibited under the threat of expulsion and punishment; all documents were written in French, the language of apartheid and segregation (Abraham, 2018).

¹⁰ <https://hia.paho.org/en/pays-22/profil-haiti>

¹¹ Organisation Mondiale de la Santé (12 octobre 2022). Bulletin d'information sur les flambées épidémiques; Choléra-Haiti.

In public administrations, anyone who spoke Creole was considered part of the "underclass" and could not receive the required services. It wasn't until 1982 that Creole was introduced into the classroom as a subject of study and a language of instruction, and the 1987 constitution recognized Creole as an official language on par with French, the language of the colonizers.

Furthermore, in 1860, under the government of Fabre Geffrard, the Haitian state signed an agreement (The Concordat) with the Holy See, making the Roman Catholic religion the religion of many Haitians. In practice, the concordat clergy took charge of social issues and controlled culture and education (Hurbon, 2004, cited in Clorméus, 2013). Such an agreement only served to marginalize the religion of the masses. It appears that we have a society based on an experience of acculturation, imposing French in all spheres of the country while denying Haitian Creole as the foundation of most Haitians. Thus, the culture of many Haitians is sidelined in favor of a minority empowered by Westerners.

Furthermore, historical data lead us to assert and believe that, based on this agreement, over time, there was a certain propaganda against Haitian culture that can even be considered as a programmed deculturation aimed at its destruction. Indeed, voodoo has always been persecuted in Haiti because it contains cultural practices that go against the Catholic religion, besides being the religion of the vast oppressed masses, under pressure from Western countries and the Holy See indicate that:

Our concordat government leaders of the time issued a series of decrees against the voodoo religion: Geffrard in 1864, Saget in 1873, Domingue in 1875, Auguste in 1912 and 1913, the presidents-protectors of the American occupation from 1915 to 1934, Vincent in 1935, Lescot in 1941-1942. (Blot, 1991, p.116)

Ultimately, one could say that combating Haitian culture was the *raison d'être* of the Church. Its pastoral work can be summed up as an anti-voodoo, anti-superstitious pastoral approach (sic). According to some researchers such as Blot (1991), this lack of concern for preaching Christian values and the lack of respect for the country's culture, in short, the lack of

integration of pastoral action, explains well why "in 1924, there were 5 Haitian priests out of 200. In 1957, there were a quarter of them and all 5 bishops were French" (Blot, 1991; Hurbon, 2004).

3.4 Emigration of Haitian Human Capital

The process of latent destruction by substitution of Haitian society continues through the migratory movements of the Haitian population to other countries (USA, Canada, France, the Caribbean, Africa, Latin America, etc.). Haitians were compelled to leave their country; it is evident that these displacements have had and continue to have the effect of draining the first black republic, Haiti, of its human capital and, specifically, all its vital forces. This is highlighted at various moments in the country's history:

- . The period of American occupation (1915-1934).
- . The Duvalier dictatorship (1957-1986).
- . Scholarships
- . Welcoming offers in the USA and Canada.
- . During the American occupation period (1915-1934)

In an article submitted to the online media outlet AlterPresse, Leslie Péan (2015) reported the displacement of 300,000 peasants - more than one-third of the local population for 15 years - as cane cutters on properties owned by American groups, established either in Cuba or the Dominican Republic. According to Péan, these peasants were sold by their compatriots, reminiscent of the slave trade era¹².

¹² Leslie Péan, Haïti — <https://www.alterpresse.org/spip.php?article18553#nb3> in *Economie Politique de la Corruption, Tome 2, L'Etat marron (1870-1915)*, Paris, Editions Maisonneuve et Larose, 2005, p. p. 277-278

3.4.1 During the Duvalier dictatorship (1957-1986)

Tofolon (2016), as cited by Gardy Jean Gilles (2021)¹³, reports a massive emigration of Haitians. In the 1960s, there was a noticeable wave of emigration of skilled personnel (doctors, nurses, teachers, administrators, technicians, etc.) to the USA (Laguerre, 1984) and Canada (Déjean, 1978).

Jean Gilles (s.f.) provided the following data:

Between 1959 and 1967, nearly 300 technicians and professionals emigrated each year (Weil et al., 1973). In 1969, only 3 out of 246 graduates from the Faculty of Medicine of the State University of Haiti, between 1959 and 1969, practiced in the country. By 1970, there were more Haitian doctors in New York or Montreal than in Haiti itself (King, 1980). (...) By the mid-1970s, 80% of Haitian professionals were already abroad.

3.4.2 Scholarships

From as early as 1860, Western countries, particularly France, began offering scholarships to Haitians, following the signing of the Concordat. Upon returning to their homeland, these scholarship recipients contributed to the establishment of alumni associations, supported by their respective embassies. These scholarship recipients developed a strong affinity for French culture, which became an expression of deep cultural alienation. The fervent Francophilia of these young scholarship recipients stripped them of any sense of nationalism. Additionally, in the early 2000s, Canada implemented a mechanism called the 'post-graduation work permit,' allowing former students to return, thereby resulting in a loss for the Haitian administration (both public and private).

¹³ Gardy Jean Gilles - <https://www.tripfoumi.com/blog/2021/01/06/fuite-des-cerveaux-haitiens-et-ses-effets-sur-ladministration-publique-haitienne/>

3.4.3 Welcoming offers in the USA and Canada

Under the Biden parole program, in July 2023, more than 185,000 Haitians became eligible to return to the USA¹⁴. Canada has recently implemented an accelerated family reunification program, following the lead of the US government.

4. Discussion

Our article seeks to understand and explain how Western countries have planned the latent destruction by substitution of Haitian society. Concerning this issue, it has been observed, based on historical data, that these countries meticulously devised and executed the destruction of its economy (economicide), followed by the paralysis of the Haitian state, then its genocide (physical and cultural), linguistic destruction, and the emigration of its human capital.

In our conceptual framework, we have seen with Lemkin (1944), Cassen (1997), Dobbs (2000), Zwisler (2017), Nicholas (2011), and Chamoun (2008) that economicide, physical genocide, ethnocide, linguicide, and forced emigration constitute mechanisms or reasoned approaches leading to the annihilation of a nation. Moreover, this method corresponds well to the various ways first described by Lemkin as latent destruction by substitution.

A coordinated project of various actions aimed at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating them. The objectives of such a program are the disintegration of political and social institutions, culture, language, national sentiments, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, as well as the destruction of their personal security, freedom, health, dignity, including the lives of individuals within these groups¹⁵. (Lemkin, 1944)

¹⁴ <https://www.dhs.gov/news/2023/07/25/fact-sheet-data-first-six-months-parole-processes-cubans-haitians-nicaraguans-and>.

¹⁵ Lemkin, R. (1944). *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of occupation, Analysis of government, Proposals for redress*, p. 79.

Then, by the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948), which corroborates Lemkin's analysis (1944) when it defines, in a comprehensive manner, genocide as the deliberate destruction of members of a society, invoking the following Article 7:

- . Any action aimed at depriving them of their integrity as distinct peoples or of their cultural or ethnic values.
- . Any action aiming at dispossessing them of their lands, territories, or resources.
- . Any form of population transfer intended to violate or diminish their rights.
- . Any form of assimilation or integration of their cultures or ways of life imposed upon them by legislative or administrative measures or other means.
- . Any form of propaganda directed against them.

Referring to these parameters as benchmarks characterizing the latent destruction by substitution of Haitian society (physical genocide, cultural or ethnocide genocide, economicide, linguicide, and coercive emigration), it is permissible to raise the question of whether the case of Haiti can be categorized as such.

This analysis of historical data on the latent destruction by substitution of Haitian society suggests that this issue must also be considered as a modality of power relations that traverse and structure the society, and which are expressed at all levels and in all social strata of the country. Furthermore, the programmed deculturation of Haitian society, the acquisition of land in Haiti by non-nationals, the establishment of NGOs in every corner of the country, and the appropriation of the country's wealth by Western powers lead us to understand this plan of latent destruction by substitution.

In conclusion, we believe the following deductions can be made. While Western practices toward Haiti may be perceived as aid from a Western perspective, it remains true that the same behavior exhibited by Western powers after 1804 is repeating itself in 2024, as evidenced by

the control over the airport, ports, finances, etc. Therefore, in line with our conceptual framework, historical data or facts suggest that the latent destruction by substitution of Haitian society is not merely a structural phenomenon, isolated from the interaction between Western powers and nationals who lack control over their actions, as per Bourdieu's habitus (1987). Instead, it serves as both the medium and the outcome of the significance of institutional apparatuses of the Haitian state controlled by Western powers and dominant social groups of Syrian Lebanese and Arab origin.

In response to our research question regarding how to understand and explain the latent destruction by substitution of Haitian society, it appears that Western countries have been planning this destruction over a long-term horizon in a latent manner to seize Haiti's land and resources, as former U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell once stated, accusing France and the United States of having corrupted and ruined Haiti for over two centuries: "The United States has worked for two hundred years to crush Haiti. We owe a heavy debt to Haiti"¹⁶, he exclaimed. The situation of this country today clearly fits the description of latent destruction by planned substitution orchestrated by Western powers.

Conclusions

This article on the latent destruction by substitution of Haitian society primarily sought to understand and explain how Western countries subtly planned this destruction. In this perspective, the research question was formulated as follows: how to understand and explain the latent destruction by substitution of Haitian society by Western powers?

First, to answer this question, we analyzed historical data found in archives. Secondly, on a theoretical level, the article relies on Bourdieu's constructivist structuralism as well as historical epistemology.

¹⁶ <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Gross-Powell.jpg>, une exclusive interview de Colin Powell

In response to the specific question of this article, the results and our conceptual framework allow us to conclude that Western powers have planned, in a distant horizon, the latent destruction by substitution of Haitian society, using at least five reasoned approaches or silent weapons (economicide, physical genocide, ethnocide, linguicide, and coercive emigration of human capital) to achieve this end.

Furthermore, the issue raised paves the way for further reflection or additional research on a thorny question threatening the life of a people without hope, merely resisting without knowing how. Additionally, we strongly encourage Haitians to raise public awareness about the stakes of destruction by substitution and promote respect and understanding of different cultures, languages, and ways of life. Moreover, supporting the research and documentation of threatened cultures and languages, as well as traditional practices, is essential to preserve their memory and heritage for future generations. Therefore, we must continue to resist by any means necessary.

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