

# Haiti is Dead and God Killed Her: Investigating the Theological Underpinnings of International Finance, Intervention, and Sovereignty in Haiti

*Xiomara Jean-Louis*  
*Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute School of Humanities,  
Arts, and Social Sciences*

\*\*\*

Contemporary politicians have long cast doubt on the veracity of proposed solutions to Haiti's incorrigible instability. Tragically, even some expatriated Haitians express a tepid acquiescence to malfunctioning governments despite their fellow citizens' continuing determined protests against inhumane conditions in the country, growing violence, gang activity, and foreign intervention. However, after the recent assassination of President Jovenel Moïse and the subsequent, U.S.-backed ascension of now-Prime Minister Ariel Henry, grassroots activists have fixated on the latter—foreign intervention—as the primary cause for Haiti's squalor, insofar as to form a coalition named the Commission to Search for a Haitian Solution to the Crisis repudiating the efforts of the international community to provide ways and means for Haiti to reestablish, however fragile, socioeconomic and political stability (Graham and Jorgic 2021) (Clesca 2021).

The insistence on self-determination and the hopeful appeal to the abrogation of overstepping policies from the world's major powers (namely, the disliked 'Core Group') is reminiscent of discussions around decolonization in the 1960s to 1970s, where activists (e.g., Frantz Fanon, Amílcar Lopes de Costa Cabral, and Kwame Nkrumah) successfully battled Western imperialist domination through revolt, trade disruptions, and academic

deliberation prior to the installation of neo-colonialism, as Nkrumah called it, through neoliberal international finance. However, further connections can be made through decolonization's academic successor, *decoloniality*, where scholar-activists attempt to reclaim their histories through targeted historiography and publications challenging the epistemology of the traditional sciences and humanities of imperial nations (a.k.a. the Global North, or colonial and settler-colonial nations, i.e., Western European nations, Japan, the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand).

Decoloniality surfaced after neocolonialism's rise had revealed the degree to which coloniality and imperialism had defined the histories, cultures, education, literature, humanity, interactions between—and the perception of—formerly colonized peoples. Decoloniality attempts to highlight and divest from existing colonial-imperial power relations, particularly within academic and social thought (colloquialized in the phrase 'decolonizing the mind'), whereas decolonization was a movement focused on achieving political and economic independence from imperialist colonizers who attempted to preserve their mercantilist properties.<sup>0</sup> Decolonizing the mind particularly entails in-depth introspection over one's faithful conformity to foundational beliefs that orient and inform sociopolitical praxis—including religions with origins in colonial-imperial cultures. Decoloniality therein questions the use of widely adopted Christianity in the Global South because it is a formative element of imperial epistemology, which is known to ignore—if not impugn and censure—ethnocultural knowledge.<sup>0</sup> Historically, Haiti has been a predominantly Christian nation. Colonial Haitians are partly descended from West Africans on the Bight of Benin, including the Kingdom of Warri who practiced Christianity for centuries after the region's colonialization by the Portuguese (Edwards 2021). The practice of Christianity was then passed through Black missionaries and teachers in the colony, notably including those that participated in the Haitian Revolution against the French. Upon achieving independence, Christianity was declared the principal Haitian religion and, thereafter, maintained a presence on the island.

Renowned Black theologian William R. Jones problematizes the prevalence of the religion on the island, and on all minds borne

from the African Diaspora. Jones writes in *Is God a White Racist?: A Preamble to Black Theology* (1978) that Black theology, a Black-positive spin on Christianity ('Whiteanity,' as Jones calls it) that lamp-shades histories of oppression as a precursor to an 'exaltation-liberation' event, is fundamentally unsound in its theistic reasonings and self-obstructing for Black peoples attempting to theologize their desired salvation from oppression. Similarly, Wendy Brown writes in *Walled States: Waning Sovereignty* (2017) that the theology of sovereignty—to return to Haiti's ongoing, grassroots reassertion of sovereignty—is inextricable from conceptions and implementations of government, whether liberal or authoritarian.<sup>3</sup> This relationship, where Christianity transforms or reasserts itself as a political theology, most notably in neoliberalism, problematizes the operations of 'well-meaning' international finance institutions that employ neoliberal economics and austerity to advance international development in Haiti and other nations in the Global South because they are historically derived from a Christian ontology. Here, there is a fatal contention. Haitians, along with other nations and multilateral institutions with Christian adherents, allegedly employ a theology and worldview that postcolonial theorists and critical theologians argue engenders the preservation of imperialism and sabotages attempts to regain sovereignty. Despite the difficulty in releasing oneself from the vices of organized religion, this study argues that it is necessary to radically reform EuroChristianity to progress the fight for Haiti's stability and sovereignty.

## **I. Origins of Oppression**

Haitian independence has never been fully realized. Despite the successful revolution concluding on January 1, 1804, bringing political independence to the island, France's blockade of Haiti's seaways and the threat of recolonization and enslavement in lieu of 'reparations' for France's losses effectively neutered the Haitians' efforts to meaningfully actualize self-determination before they truly began (Gamio, et al. 2022). Since then, Haiti has remained a template for the advent of colonialism through new and old forms, namely neoliberal finance and military occupation, respectively.

Traditional violence has vitiated Haitian claims to sovereignty since the Haitian Revolution. The French effort to calamitously

indebt Haiti through reparations and the threat of harm was a violent show of force, which is inarguable. However, while the French ships did not land on the shores of Quisqueya, American and United Nations ships did so decades later. In 1915, under urgent petitioning by National City Bank (now Citigroup) and concomitant intra-governmental rumblings yearning for hegemonic control of the Western hemisphere in the face of competing German, French, and other European influences, the United States began a military occupation of Haiti (Gebrekidan, et al. 2022).<sup>4</sup> Although some historians allege that infrastructural, governmental, jurisprudential, and financial reform imposed by American soldiers and imported financiers (which included the expedited repayment of the ‘debt’ owed to the French) were instrumental in propping up the island’s institutions, they also concede that the 1914 robbery of Haiti’s national bank, the subsequent forced labor (enslavement under penalty of death for resistance) of Haitians, the massacre of the Haitian laypeople, and the American embezzlement of public funds intended for social security grossly undermined these improvements. Even after withdrawing military forces from Port-au-Prince—the nation’s capital—American financiers remained on the island to maintain control of public coffers until 1934. Although the Haitian people enjoyed some self-governance afterward, albeit, under oppressive regimes, settler-colonial and colonial powers continued more covert interventionist tactics until 2010, when the newest military occupancy began.

After the 2004 coup d’état that shook the resolve of the nation, the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), otherwise understood as a ‘peacekeeping’ mission, began and operated for only months before receiving indignant castigation from Haitian civilians, world governments, and foreign activists who condemned MINUSTAH’s responsibility for the world’s most prolific and poorly timed (succeeding the 2010 earthquake) cholera epidemic. MINUSTAH’s base was built with pitiful sanitation stations that overflowed with rainwater; the site’s placement on Haiti’s Artibonite River, one of the island’s main tributaries of drinking water, made contamination inevitable. The United Nations refused to accept legal, political, or financial accountability for years until the outrage culminated in a damming

report solidifying the Mission's culpability (Chan, et al. 2013). Today, despite acquiescing to calls for the U.N. to accept responsibility and begin reparative measures, and despite the U.N.'s commitment of funds to the cause, no action has been taken (Pilkington 2020). This inaction demonstrates the indurate recalcitrance of even the most benevolent of the Global North's multilateral organizations. Subsequently, the United Nations Integrated Office in Haiti (BINUH) was established in 2019 to, *inter alia*, facilitate democratic elections, engage community and gang violence reduction programs, and oversee human rights protection efforts. No matter the ostensible goodwill of the occupation, Haitians decried the BINUH as an ardent reminder and continuation of foreign intervention in a society that simply wanted to be left to its own devices.

Developing concurrently with U.N. intervention was neoliberalism. Neoliberalism may be understood as a doctrine holding that "A society's political and economic institutions should be robustly liberal and capitalist but supplemented by a constitutionally limited democracy and a modest welfare state. Neoliberal[-ism] endorse[s] liberal rights and the free-market economy to protect freedom and promote economic prosperity" (Vallier 2021). This doctrine and world-systems of imperialist control are the same, a condition demonstrated in Susan George's *A Fate Worse than Debt: The World Financial Crisis and the Poor*, which chronologizes the implementation of various programs under the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Most pointedly, George criticizes the IMF's structural adjustment programs for imposing austerity on low-income nations predominantly in the Global South. The World Bank and the IMF were created to regulate and promote international trade after World War II in an effort to restore economic prosperity and revitalize growth.<sup>5</sup> They began expanding from the Western European states and settler-colonial nations to the liberated postcolonial states after the opportunity for additional markets for Global Northern goods was realized (Caufield 1998). However, because of the destitution wrought by a century of colonial exploitation and the expatriation of capital from the mercantile colonies, the Global South had limited resources to govern and provide for their people immediately after achieving independence, and thereafter, depended on loans and trade provided by their former

overseers. These overseers, having founded the international finance hegemony, also controlled their loaning protocol. Imperialists never pass up opportunities for domination, and they seized the chance to gatekeep aid (loans) on conditions of austerity, or requirements to divest from ‘discretionary’ programs and state-interventionist programs (e.g., food, healthcare, and road-building subsidies) that were seen by the laypeople as facilitating human development but viewed by the imperialists as anti-capitalist and unjust interference in otherwise free markets. Neoliberalism, a political ideology intent on maintaining and propagating markets with minimal government interference, was the invisible hand that guided these goodwill aid campaigns from the beginning. It also has deep connections to Christianity and its ripples throughout foreign policy and public administration.

The aid was quickly a necessity, insofar as its being a substantial portion of national budgets. The austerity-based conditions to privatize breadwinning industries, terminate government ‘overspending,’ and introduce conditions conducive to free-market capitalism (neoliberalism) were successful in balancing national deficits in the Global South to meet IMF demands but did so at the expense of withstanding famine, disease, and civil conflict.<sup>6</sup> Despite decades of the indebted nations castigating the IMF for using austerity to wrest control of development from the nations and handing it to the Global North, the IMF has publicly acquiesced but has later been found to maintain austerity and provide favorability to nations receiving assets from Western Europe. These nations have higher voting allotments within the IMF (distributed based on fiscal contributions to the Fund, inherently giving disproportionate voting power to well-endowed Global North countries and those closely aligned with them) and vote with the same bloc in the United Nations General Assembly (Ray, Gallagher and Kring 2020). This has led to the charge that the IMF and other international financial institutions are hypocritically undemocratic and participate in neo-colonialism—a claim that continues in Haiti today as the IMF encouraged the cessation of the Haitian government’s fuel subsidies that ordinary Haitians relied upon, partly spurring the dissentive violence and instability now rocking the island (Shellenberger 2022).

## II. Haiti as a Case Study

Understanding why Haiti presents itself as a premier case study in the relationship between neo-colonial imperialism, neoliberal economics, and Eurochristian worldviews requires a consideration of its situatedness in historical international relations. Cedric J. Robinson's analysis in *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* is a near-exhaustive study of Black international dialectics. Therein he writes that Black resistance has a rich history extending from the sixteenth century to the present: "At first, as a rule, resistance among the enslaved Africans took the form of flight to native or 'Indian' settlements... Once freed by their own wits, they returned to plague the Spanish colonists, appropriating food, clothes, arms, tools, and even religious artifacts" (Robinson 2020, 130). Thereafter, freemen, fugitive slaves, the regions' Indigenous, and other vengeful laborers from Spanish and French to English and Dutch settlements scattered throughout colonial Americas and the Caribbean renegaded so frequently that they began establishing social networks and cities of their own, for which the plurality of names are themselves indicative of their regularity: *palenques*, *quilombos*, *mocambos* and settlements of *cimarrones* or *maroons*. These cities were rarely on good terms with the administrations they rebelled against, but as was the case with San Lorenzo de los Negros and San Lorenzo Cerralvo, they nonetheless petitioned for independence and political recognition with limited but significant successes (Robinson 2020). Although these free city-states and settlements of Black peoples never lasted under the restless insurgencies waged by their colonial oppressors, the storied campaigns set a cultural precedent that continually sought no less than freedom for Black people under colonial rule.

The Haitian Revolution, having established the "first slave society to achieve the permanent destruction of a slave system" against the "most sophisticated armies of the day" despite the control imposed on the "most productive colony the modern world had known" (Robinson 2020, 144-45), became a galvanizing idea for independence movements worldwide. The very nature of the Haitians' success—and the hunger with which scholars of Black Radicalism, African studies, and postcolonial scholars continue to study it—ought to justify Haiti's usefulness as a case study in this

exploration of the forces behind neocolonialism. But, past the *idea* of revolution, Haiti provided an actionable *template* for a revolution that ought to cement the importance of reestablishing Haitian independence from Eurochristian economic control:

The national struggle against Bonaparte in Spain, the burning of Moscow by the Russians that fills the histories of the period, were anticipated and excelled by the Blacks and Mulattoes of the island of San Domingo... the revolution in Saint-Domingue propelled a revolution in black consciousness through the New World. (Robinson 2020, 149)

Robinson writes, here including notes of subsequent years-long independence efforts in South Carolina, Missouri, and Brazil, that Haiti in 1804 had achieved what the *palenques*, *quilombos*, and *mocambos* fought to achieve for the better part of two hundred years. With the present, nigh-unparalleled extent of foreign intervention in Haiti becoming comparable to the scale of the military might that attempted to suppress its nineteenth-century revolutionaries, analyzing the means with which Haiti may recover from its current malaise lends itself to the propagation of revolutionary spirits to the rest of the subjugated Global South.

### III. Anno Domini (“In the Year of the Lord”)

Heretofore this essay’s consideration of contemporary geopolitics neglects how Christianity relates to neoliberalism. This deficit is rectified with the consideration of Robert Kurt Green’s *Neoliberalism and Eurochristianity* and similar literature.<sup>7</sup> Although discussions of international development schemes and neocolonialism may appear removed from religious studies, postcolonial theorists have not given organized religion that epistemological reprieve. Green appears to affirm that presumption:

Christian evangelicalism has been intimately tied to ‘development efforts’ in U.S. hegemony over Central and South America, including collaborations with the C.I.A. to overthrow democratically elected governments... [the] history of nineteenth-century U.S. Protestant foreign missionary societies notes that a ‘hierarchy of



civilization' was essential to Christian imperialism.  
(Green 2021, 2)

Given Christianity's entrenchment in Haiti's embattled society prior to independence but after colonization, the relevance of Christianity in perpetuating Eurochristian governance and social organization strategies is self-evident. The IMF's adherence to neoliberal austerity is also implicated through the Eurochristian worldview through the continuing Eurochristian bifurcation of the Christian West and the non-Christian "other," (or Global North and Global South, or the developing and developed world). Specifically, the problems extend from human development progress tracking schemes, as well as Christianity's intractable hand in the positivism that upholds neoliberal economics continuing to dominate all diplomacy regarding trade, economic development, and conflict resolution. However, Green explicates this point more clearly in writing the following:

Neoliberalism is itself religious in the sense that it binds us ... not only to indebtedness and finance capital but also to an international context ... that cannot be accounted for by simply blaming it on rightwing politics, Chicago School economics, and free market capitalism .... 'Religion' and 'liberalism' both expressed their Eurochristian worldview as political ideology while implicitly accepting that Christianity had 'birthed' modern rationality, allowing a 'civilized mind' to 'naturally' dominate and infantilize its others.<sup>8</sup> (Green 2021, 5)

Here, Christianity not only replicates itself in neoliberalism through a political dogma seen through conservatism and the reflexive imposition of debt-serving and citizen-eliding austerity in the face of economic distress, but it perpetuates a Eurochristian worldview that informs and reinforces the same imperial epistemology that frustrates struggles for Haitian sovereignty and stability by encouraging multiple styles of foreign intervention in states akin to damsels in distress.

In maintaining a primarily Christian nation, Haiti implicitly supports Eurochristian world-systems that participate in its international disenfranchisement, exploitation, and sociopolitical destabilization. Similarly, by not critically evaluating the

pervasiveness of Eurochristian worldviews in its foreign policy, the United States cannot progress democracy and prosperity in the Caribbean despite its candor. While the notable primacy of Christianity in American politics may intuitively belie the operation of Christianity in American-influenced Haitian governments, there are less tenuous connections to be made. Christianity has informed—in fact, justified—American imperialism for centuries, with Reverend F. W. Farrar writing in 1900 that imperialism sought divine decree before venturing off into new lands: “[Imperialism] has the wider meaning of that view of national duty and policy which maintains that we are bound to uphold, even at the cost of war, and in spite of all hazards, the Empire over those vast regions which the Providence of God has placed under our dominion and immediate influence” (Farrar 1900, 289).<sup>9</sup> Afterward, in the midst of the violent, abusive American occupation of Haiti, Phillip Marshall Brown invoked Christianity in further justifying U.S.-Haiti intervention in the *American Journal of International Law* stating the following, unabashedly:

to protest against violations of representative government, of the sovereignty, independence and equality of a sister republic is to ignore the facts and the logic of the situation... This extraordinary point of view amounts virtually to the cynical dogma that “every nation should be permitted to go to the Devil in its own way.” (P. M. Brown 1922, 608)

This substantiates claims that Christianity has long informed American imperialism alongside neoliberalism, but how has the United States operationalized this justification? The U.S. has been implicated in aiding insurgents that deposed Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and has demonstrated a gratuitous willingness to continue its pattern of intervention through its involvement in the Core Group that installed Prime Minister Henry after Moïse’s assassination (while flagrantly ignoring calls from the populace for democratic elections, instigating the formation of the Commission to Search for a Haitian Solution to the Crisis) and now leading the charge in deploying additional U.N. peacekeeping forces to the island, despite the injustices of the last Mission (Bogdanich and Nordberg 2006) (Hudson and Mérancourt 2022).<sup>10</sup>

However, Eurochristian imperialism has never ceased advancing military and political intervention. Cannon in *Christian Imperialism and the Transatlantic Slave Trade* agrees:

The so-called master-race believed that an extension of their humanitarianism was to help the so-called barbarians grow up in their Eurocentric image, indoctrinating them in their worldview, texts, and languages. Those who put in place verifiable measures of superiority imposed cultural domination over Africans by trampling on every aspect of human rights in the name of religion. As part of conversion, Europeans attempted to normalize all social relations, behaviors, rights, duties, codes, and liberties. (Cannon 2008, 132)

The usage of humanitarianism also implicates the neoliberal-style international development industry, headed by the World Bank and IMF, who have participated in instigating the sociopolitical turmoil in Haiti in the name of appeasing hunger, poverty, violence, illiteracy, and other eleemosynary causes. More importantly, these causes highlight non-violent (“soft”) contemporary colonial-imperialism in Haiti. The U.S. Agency for International Development and the French Development Agency have both initiated humanitarian programs to educate Haitian children wherever schools are of insufficient quality or access to schooling has plummeted—both nations have concurrently been criticized for continuing the Eurocentric suppression of Haitian culture by suppressing education materials in the more popular Haitian Kreyòl language in favor of the seldom-used, elite-dominated French (Degraff 2022).<sup>11</sup>

Christianity, in informing neoliberal development schemes and American interventionism from the twentieth century by providing sociopolitical impetus to occupy, culturally homogenize, and economically ‘Westernize’ Haiti because it is within the West’s ‘God-given kingdom,’ has promulgated a worldview irreconcilable with Haitian sovereignty. Sovereignty requires the informed, uncoerced, optimistic, and didactic dialogue of a civil society to thoroughly determine its fate. For the U.S. to properly propagate actualized values of self-determination, democracy, and freedom, Christianity must be left behind or radically reformed. Thus far, this essay has argued that Christianity has informed and galvanized the

sociopolitical and economic oppression of Haiti and its people through American policy and global neoliberalism, but the intrinsic qualities of the faith that hinder the dissemination of sovereignty have yet to be delineated. Jones's *Is God a White Racist?* will prove instrumental here.

#### IV. Salvation by Inveiglement

How does Christianity conflict with conceptions of sovereignty, freedom from neocolonial oppression, and plans for renewed governance in Haiti? Where Christianity continues the imperial epistemology so perniciously entrapping colonized peoples is most evident through an analysis of Jones's work on Black theology. *Is God a White Racist?* (IGWR?) opens in the Preface with Jones repudiating the prior outrage towards his book's alleged purposeless blasphemy as a gross misunderstanding of his intent and argument. He reminds Black theologians that their conception of Black theology and liberation theology is flawed because it is deeply selective in its foundational beliefs that mutually conflict with the lived experiences of Black people. This preface also reminds readers of the importance of understanding the connections between theology, political sovereignty, and the Haitian crisis, particularly considering Christianity's popularity in Haiti and the insurmountable difficulty of rejecting systems of organized religion. An overview and application of Jones's book, as well as excerpts from Brown's *Walled States*, allow for parsing of those connections. It is useful to understand why Jones has reached his conclusion to better elucidate Christianity's effect on once-vehement Haitian nationalists.

Jones launches into the book with "Part I An Overview of Divine Racism," where he argues that the theodicy of Black theology and liberation theology (the vindication of divine benevolence, i.e., the belief that God is good and here to help) is incongruous with philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre's idea of 'actions building character,' because God has not shown Himself through action to be benevolent.<sup>12</sup> While the next presumption would be neutrality, Jones leans towards malice. The apparent perpetuity or recurrence of Black suffering provides an immediate counterpoint to arguments supporting God's omnibenevolence regardless of past victories. Theodicies of deserved punishment, which maintain

omnibenevolence but fault Black people for damnation under age-old sin, are similarly defunct because the severity of punishment does not appear congruous with any comprehensible sin (i.e., even the most damning of sins should not damn the world's poorest to psychological harm, economic, social, and political oppression, and the annihilation of cultures). Consequently, if Black peoples are not deserving of their punishment or they are not God's favored—suffering in preparation for servitude under Him, as liberation theodicies allege by assuming his omnibenevolence—God is either “demonic” by selectively inflicting suffering or a “divine racist” by allotting suffering to distinct ethnic groups.

Similarly defying reason, the very nature of His omniscience and omnipresence makes Him unknowable, and this unknowableness leaves interpretation to humans with intrinsically differing predispositions that contradict the universalist quality of God. Not only that, but God's punishment, according to Jones is multi-evidential or lends credence to multiple interpretations for intent (suffering can be “negative,” to punish sin, “positive,” to build character, or progress a person down His planned path). Logically, Black theology's theodicy (again, the unquestioning certainty that God is benevolent) cannot be relied upon for Haiti or the African diaspora's socioeconomic and political independence. Black theology and liberation theology are predicated on God's benevolence as they preach that adherence to God's principle will lead to the end of oppression (i.e., the *salvation* of the Black race). Jones argues that theology founded on shaky grounds is illegitimate and evaluates the veracity of eschatological (ends-oriented, fatalistic) theology by cross-examining God's actions in the Testaments and deconstructing the purpose, intent, and maldistribution (disproportionality) behind suffering.<sup>13</sup> Jones also argues, concurrently, that adherence to a flawed Black theology and liberation theology is only a hostile anachronism of colonization—a misreligion that provides complacency, not hope and method—and a newer edition of Black theology (which he calls “humanocentric theism”) must be employed to retrieve the mind and mission of African American Christians seeking to elevate the Black race. The idea of Christianity wresting agency from the oppressed lies in the absolute sovereignty of God poised in conventional theology. Essentially, should God have

complete dominion over humanity and its history, and He is presumed benevolent, then the impetus to resist or agitate the oppressors is removed, for He will either provide relief or salvation after death. Hence, I argue that Haitians, an acute example of failed economic and political independence for the foregoing reasons, cannot afford an epistemological or theological sedative when challenged with maintaining their source of national pride (becoming the first free Black republic). Should Christian theology be informing Haitian policymaking, activism, and impotence, it must be repudiated on these grounds.

In “Part II Black Suffering and Black Theology: An Internal Critique,” Jones attacks the presupposition that God is allied with, familiar to, or well-meaning towards Black peoples as wholly unfounded, and he argues that divine racism is intentionally ignored. To illustrate this, he quotes James Cone: “Either God is identified with the oppressed to the point that their experience becomes His, or He is a god of racism” (Jones 1978, 72). Because liberation theology requires that God’s agenda incorporates—or rather, centers—Black peoples in the ultimate plan for salvation or exaltation, the charge of divine racism falling short of acquittal in the works of prior Black theologians is damning. Without this reconciliation, Jones alleges that Christianity only serves to lead Black peoples into atheism and quietism. Jones demonstrates this through the poetry of other theologians that highlights the incongruity of His word, His action, and the promise of equal favor.<sup>14</sup> Jones relies most on the continuing evolution (or devolution) of Black progress as seen in increasing intra- and inter-race income inequalities, unemployment rates, and healthcare accessibility despite the perceived wins of desegregation, affirmative action, and civil rights protections.

Having established the untrustworthiness in purpose and facticity of Black theology by highlighting stipulations that presume His omnibenevolence without basis or that slyly (but clumsily) circumvent the idea of divine racism through cherry-picking supportive evidence and negligence of the counterevidence, Jones vaults into his conclusory “Part III Toward a Black Theodicy for Today” where he introduces “humanocentric theism,” a belief system distinct from humanism (or secular humanism) in that the metaphysical power of humanity is deemed not absolute and instead

bifurcated with God. Humanocentric theism's importance is illuminated through its principles: Man's ontology is delegated and affirmed as the cocreator of human existence with God; the ameliorative redefining of the 'divine sovereignty' and His role in dictating history; and an intractable emphasis on the activity, choice, and the freedom of man. In substantiating the "functional ultimacy of man," humanocentric theism provides a vehicle for the epistemological and theological emancipation of Haitians heretofore shackled to the unyielding grounds of imperial obsequiousness after colonization. The "coequal responsibility" that God provides man under humanocentric theism allows for the bastardization of Christian belief to commit genocide and other inhumane crimes without positing that God ordered it Himself, as is thought under theodicies confirming His ultimate sovereignty over life and history thereafter leading to the charge of divine racism. However, granting humans their agency is an incomplete endeavor without then defining what humans may do with that agency. Feminist theologies have historically used Christian beliefs as a sociopolitical organizer and a basis for collective action.

## **V. Considerations of Feminist Theologies**

The argument of the previous section lends itself to several questions: If Black liberation theology is so flawed, and EuroChristianity is so thoroughly constitutive of the impoverishing neoliberal economic paradigm dominating U.S.-Haitian relations, what is one to do about it? Is the world's most popular faith, one that contributed to Haiti's nominal independence, no longer viable and its institutions irretrievably subsumed by colonialism? The answer is an optimistic and enthusiastic no. The writings of several feminist theologians allege that the parenetic hermeneutics with which Christianity facilitates colonial-imperialist domination also allow for a radical reformation if used adeptly.

In her chapter on *Women & Christianity*, Tuere Bowles writes that the Christian faith is a sociopolitical mobilizer, a force that deputizes the laypeople to take up arms in protest for the sake of their neighbors and thereafter informs the virtues that cohere the movement. In Bowles's ethnographic study of American environmental justice movements, activists cite their faith not only

as what provides the wisdom to confront and surpass the challenges and failures that accompany petitions for change in obdurate governments, but also as what provides psychological reprieve in the face of the deterring magnitude of the issues they contest as well as the unifying belief system that transforms the movement from a political organization to a community (Bowles 2010).

Similarly, and in the same book, Pamela Brubaker cites the history of Catholicism providing the basis for transnational networks for activism as a prime reason not to abandon the faith as an instrument to challenge the current world-system. Because of a convoluted series of misogynistic hermeneutics, relying on Biblical narratives that minimalized women's agency and assumed women's inferiority to men as a representation and interlocutor of Christ, women had and have been barred from ordination and higher-level participation or administration in the clergy (Brubaker 2010). In combating this, Catholic women reassert their humanity and right to ordination as coequal creations of God, using the continuously dismissive and fallacious refutations as the fuel for the fires of their indignation. Fortunately, using one's humanity as an argumentative tool invites consideration of concurrent issues under the term's jurisdiction.

In challenging the papacy's hierarchical sexism, Catholic women activists expanded their rhetoric to further challenge the church to do more to uplift women around the world—particularly in the Global South, where structural adjustment policies engendered a wealth redistribution *away* from the poor, while endangering families, female health, employment, and the environment. Impoverished women in nations under SAPs were hit hardest, and the Church's inaction was seen as counterproductive to the theological cause of community-building and health promotion. The challenges to neoliberal economics were made through transnational activist networks like the World Council of Churches' establishment of its "Women & Globalization Programme" and the Programme's flagship conference, the "Ecumenical Women's Forum for Life-Promoting Trade" that alleged in an open letter to the World Trade Organization that the WTO's free-market ideology "undermines the fullness of life for all" by denying the "theological covenant among peoples, communities and the earth, serving instead the interests of



transnational capital and corporations” (Brubaker 2010). These sentiments dovetailed with the cries for the inclusion of women’s reproductive rights on the U.N.’s Millennium Development Goals, also headed by faithful women intent on seeing change through ecclesiastical forums regardless of the broader Catholic support for the international development paradigm as it were.

However, the Church cannot so cleanly repudiate its Eurochristian upbringing in favor of sociopolitical and economic independence in Haiti. Nowhere else is this clearer than in the Anglophone Caribbean. Althea Miller illustrates this through a reclamation and retelling of women’s history in the Christian Caribbean, beginning with the Spanish royalty’s political merging of colonial rule-making and ecclesiastical institutions in an attempt to ameliorate the difficulties of civilizing the ‘savages’ of the pagan Caribbean islands. But by subsuming the Church into the state, the state subordinated the Church to its interests; the British replicated this system in their own colonies in the 17<sup>th</sup> century by roping the administration of their slave economy over religious administration (Miller 2010). However, the mission to civilize the slaves through Catholic catechism entailed programs that were uneconomical. How profitable were Christian slaves if they spent their days at pews and desks and not in the fields? The Church had to maintain a healthy revenue stream lest it upset the colonial governments of their homelands, so it released the slaves back to the fields only to be confronted with the second problem of maintaining a productive slave population. Plantation overseers were under no incentive to keep slaves alive, but their frequent deaths proved to be a danger to production, so they took it upon themselves to “produce” more labor by raping and impregnating the women (Miller 2010). The Church grew alarmed at the increasing frequency of interracial coitus and the danger it posed to an ethnocentric society and Catholic ideals around marriage and family, so it carefully demonized and theologically undermined African sexuality while championing the “staidness” of European women—but the damage was done. Miller writes that the Church had, by that time, resolutely set its course. “[The Church] had signal[ed] the dependence of Christian desire for evangelization of slaves upon estate economics... the masculinist... fidelity to the Christian faith lay in required acquiescence to the social

order, no matter how corrupt and unjust it may have been” (Miller 2010). There is little to suggest that the Caribbean Church has not extricated itself from this theologically jeopardizing economic dependence. That leaves the burden on those looking into the institution, not those looking out from within. Women have coordinated international movements rooted in Christian principles to demand justice; it is conceivable that Haitians may do the same.

## VI. Conclusion

Although Jones argues that Christianity, particularly the Black liberation theology that remains so popular across all denominations, is irrecoverable, the writings in *Women & Christianity* provide a narrow avenue towards progress (albeit without resolving that incongruity). Fully realized Haitian independence may be achieved through the radical reinterpretation of Christian principles, a practice familiar to Caribbean and Western theologians. Christianity itself informed European beliefs like the Prester John myth—where a prophet of God, a king, had found and cultivated the Promised Land and was waiting for Europeans to join him and defend the kingdom from pagans and Muslims—that justified the colonization and Westernization of other cultures and ethnic ontologies so that they may better fall in place under “God’s domain.” Eurochristianity also provided the theological foundations for the Enlightenment, which birthed the most enduring ideas in use today behind government and governance, democracy, and the hierarchy between science and religion. Eurochristian Enlightenment conceived the positivism that later justified the aggressive dismissal and overwriting of “unscientific” autochthonous knowledges and cosmologies. With the breadth of its influence on world history, it is unsurprising that Eurochristianity has also had a hand in American foreign policy and U.S.-Haiti relations to devastating effect. Haiti has been invaded and occupied by foreign forces and finance far more than its Caribbean neighbors, and its reputation outside of scholarly circles has spiraled from the pride of Black radicalism, the hope of Africa and the African diaspora, to the infamous “poorest nation in the Western hemisphere.”

Haitian revolutionary nationalism may be revived with the thorough repurposing or reformation of colonial Christian theology

(Whitenity) with a Black humanocentric theism, where Haitian agency may be reaffirmed, extracted from the ignorant heavens, and emphasized in the existing grassroots movements employing survival tactics. Despite the Global North's incorporation—nay, their foundation—in Eurochristianity and its inclusion in the neoliberal economic praxis that dominates interventionist international development initiatives, there remains room for Christianity to be employed as a unifying, radically self-affirming and revolutionary force that can progress rather than undermine the continuing fight for international respect of Haitian sovereignty. Although it appears impossible to extract oneself from the epistemological roots of Eurochristianity, it remains unproven that these same ways of thinking may not be effectively used for righteous means.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> See also Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, & Society*, 1(1), 1–40. Therein “decolonizing the mind” is problematized: “Yet we wonder whether another settler move to innocence is to focus on decolonizing the mind, or the cultivation of critical consciousness, as if it were the sole activity of decolonization; to allow conscientization to stand in for the more uncomfortable task of relinquishing stolen land. We agree that curricula, literature, and pedagogy can be crafted to aid people in learning to see settler colonialism, to articulate critiques of settler epistemology, and set aside settler histories and values in search of ethics that reject domination and exploitation; this is not unimportant work. However, the front-loading of critical consciousness building can waylay decolonization, even though the experience of teaching and learning to be critical of settler colonialism can be so powerful it can feel like it is indeed making change. Until stolen land is relinquished, critical consciousness does not translate into action that disrupts settler colonialism” (19). It must be acknowledged that decoloniality or decolonization is only achieved through irrevocable action that solidifies Haitian socioeconomic and political independence from France, the United States, and other hegemonic nations with a hold on the island’s operations.

<sup>2</sup> It is important to note that some nations in the Global South, e.g., Ethiopia, had adopted and adapted Christianity before European introduction. In this essay, focus is placed on non-Indigenous (European) forms of Christianity imposed by colonial-imperialists and its ramifications. These differences may be better understood through the following resources: (Diamant 2020); (Daniels 2017).

Epistemology is the philosophical study of what differentiates justified belief from opinion, colloquially “how we know what we know.” *Imperial* epistemology is that which stems from imperialism, a geopolitical phenomenon where nations attempt to build hegemony over other nations through military force or diplomatic action. Within postcolonial studies, where this paper operates, imperial epistemology is the subject of critique for its teleological and essentialist foundationalism—in lay terms, it is objectionable for positing that Western/European thought and cultures are supreme and universal, whereas non-Western cultures are hierarchically inferior or condescendingly comparable only to Western cultures in their validity and importance in defining global affairs. A prime example is that of Christianity’s Commandments, which hold that the Abrahamic God is

true, while all others are false approximations or illegitimate and malicious icons. Imperial epistemology similarly discredits non-Western viewpoints and actively marginalizes (“subalternizes”) them through appropriation and assimilation.

<sup>3</sup> Brown writes, “The persistent theological dimension of sovereignty is even evident in the respective religious modalities through which contemporary theorists conceive sovereignty. Think of Agamben's formalistic account, in which sovereignty and *homo sacer* are as timeless and eternal as the Latin Mass. Or of Connolly's (still theological) atheism, which attempts to withdraw omnipotence, supreme power, and totality from the concept of sovereignty, insisting instead on its porous, layered, oscillating, and pluralizable character, even making it quotidian, rather than awe-inducing and otherworldly... Or think of Hardt and Negri, for whom sovereignty only and always suppresses the multitude and must be opposed, as God must be, for the multitude to know and enact its own messianic powers. The point is that even at the theoretical level, political sovereignty is never without theological structure and overtones, whether it is impersonating, dispelling, killing, rivaling, or serving God” (W. Brown 2017, 61).

<sup>4</sup> Financial and military occupation of Haiti are easy to see. Political subjugation may be less visible. In the same *New York Times* series cited here, clarity to the depth of American intervention is provided: “More than a century after American forces landed, the United States remains an abiding feature of Haitian politics. Washington has propped up successive presidents, at times even the Duvaliers, the father and son dictators who ruled for three decades after the occupation. Jovenel Moïse, the president assassinated in his bedroom last July, also enjoyed the public backing of two American presidents despite mounting evidence of his government's abuses, enraging opponents of his autocratic rule.”

<sup>5</sup> The IMF's structural adjustment programs were intended to aid failing economies (primarily when they defaulted on sovereign debt or began signaling difficulties repaying interest on said debt) in restarting interest payments and debt repayments by earning more money to repay with. This was done by limiting government spending, privatizing industry, and transitioning industry from domestic production to export-focused production. Many newly independent nations were exploited for agricultural commodities and mineral resources, meaning SAPs thereafter the nations had little other economic activity to take advantage of. To “structurally adjust” then meant selling cash crops for profit and funds for debt repayment rather than feeding the laypeople or forgoing domestic infrastructure development for the increased sale of metals and building

materials. This led to widespread hunger, the shuttering of health and violence prevention programs, and sociopolitical strife in the debtor nations as governments prioritized accounting over national well-being. See (George 1988).

<sup>6</sup> According to George, “The case of Morocco, a reasonably well-off developing country of North Africa, illustrates how the [IMF] model works and how it comes to grief... It shows how a country, by following IMF and World Bank instructions, can, in less than twenty years, take a direct route from the export-oriented model to increased unemployment, malnutrition and absolute poverty for a substantial slice of the population – with bloody IMF riots as milestones along the road” (George 1988, 78).

<sup>7</sup> Eurochristianity is a ‘worldview’—what Green likens to a “cognitive map.” The concept asserts that European-borne Christianity informs ideas of morality, ethics, and governance that thereafter inform sociopolitical practices like law and diplomacy. Eurochristianity informs neoliberalism through this framework, where adherence to the law is succeeded by adherence to economic principles like neoliberalism’s free-market capitalism. The dominance of Eurochristianity through colonial-imperialism has marginalized all other ways of thinking and self-exalted itself to unquestionable status (Green 2021, 3-4).

<sup>8</sup> Cannon also alludes to this in questioning, “Our reimagining of Christianity is necessary in order to redeem it from the desecrated imagery of white Christians who snatched black Africans from Africa in slave ships named Jesus, Mary, Liberty, John the Baptist, and Justice... when it comes to questions of parallel dynamics between the transatlantic slave trade and the globalized, capitalist free-trade market, why does the church often look on silently while the descendants of those who were stolen from Africa and scattered throughout the diaspora continue to suffer from economic exploitation and underdevelopment?” Cannon alleges, as Jones will later in *Is God a White Racist?* that Christianity and the Abrahamic God are implicated in imbalanced world power relations through action or inaction, thus requiring our repudiation of Him (Cannon 2008, 133-34).

<sup>9</sup> Brown also cited the U.S.’s ‘moral mandate’ to intervene in Haiti, despite the atrocities the Americans had committed there: “In the light of all the facts and in spite of acknowledged blunders, it would seem clear that the United States is under a moral mandate to assist in the rehabilitation of this unhappy republic and should not be diverted from its lofty mission by any base imputations against its original intervention or prolonged occupation.” (P. M. Brown 1922). Eurochristianity unquestionably informs, if not establishes, conventional morality. See also (Newman 2019) (Prashad 2022).

<sup>10</sup> This commission has repeatedly petitioned, as part of its plan for a post-Moise transitional government named the Montana Accords, for the U.S. to allow Haitians to practice self-governance. In fact, in his resignation from his ambassadorship, Daniel Foote wrote “But what our Haitian friends really want, and need, is the opportunity to chart their own course, without international puppeteering and favored candidates but with genuine support for that course.”

<sup>11</sup> According to Rodney and Davis, “From the viewpoint of the colonizers, once the frontiers of a colony were firmly decided, the major problem remained that of securing African compliance in carrying out policies favorable to the metropolises... Only education could lay the basis for a smooth-functioning colonial administration. In the first place, there was the elementary language problem of Europeans communicating with Africans. Most of the time, Europeans used translators to pass on orders, but it was known that African translators seized the opportunity to promote themselves and to modify or even sabotage orders. There was a saying in French colonial Africa that “translation is equal to treason,” and the only way to avoid that was to teach the mass of the people French” (Rodney and Davis 2018, 262).

<sup>12</sup> Black theology and liberation theology are distinct but not dissimilar in my conceptualization. Interpreting *IGWR?*, Black theology, as previously described, is Christianity with Black peoples recast as protagonists in contrast to the colonial Western European’s theological framing of Black peoples as Godless and necessitating subjugation, indoctrination, and racialization. Liberation theology, oft considered adjacent to or a subset of Black theology, identifies Black peoples as “God’s favored” and thus victims of positive suffering in preparation for exaltation to holy servitude and simultaneous freedom from oppression. The distinction lies in the praxis: Black theology assuages theological or existential listlessness among peoples unsure of their role in dominant conceptions of Christianity, and Liberation theology provides impetus to theologians and Christians conflicted between their experience as the oppressed and their trust in Him.

<sup>13</sup> This can be summarized as follows: White worshippers receive positive suffering; Black worshippers receive negative suffering; should God allot negative suffering with deliberate disproportionality, as Jones finds, this implies divine racism or ‘ethnic suffering’ and necessitates the abandonment of Black theology. See (Jones 1978, 43).

<sup>14</sup> Jones writes, “He says in effect that he will not believe until the suffering of blacks is no more... I receive the impression that he doubts that liberation will in fact occur. And is this not a tacit admission that God is

not for black people? ... This...vividly illustrates that the dehumanizing situation of blacks that invites the charge of divine racism can also lead to the acceptance of atheism, agnosticism, or humanism as appropriate religious options. In addition, [this] throws light upon the logical affinity of black atheism and black humanism, and these, in turn, with the affirmation of divine racism” (Jones 1978, 28-29).



## References

- Bogdanich, Walt, and Jenny Nordberg. 2006. *Mixed U.S. Signals Helped Tilt Haiti Toward Chaos*. The New York Times. 01 29. Accessed 10 2022.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/29/world/americas/mixed-us-signals-helped-tilt-haiti-toward-chaos.html>.
- Bowles, Tuere. 2010. *Righteous Anger and Sustaining Faith: Black Women's Activism in the Environmental Justice Movement*. Vols. I: Women, Family, Environment, chap. 2 in *Women and Christianity*, edited by Cheryl A. Kirk-Duggan and Karen Jo Torjesen, 27-50. Santa Barbara, California: Praeger; ABC-CLIO. Accessed 01 2023. doi:978-0-275-99155-5.
- Brown, Phillip Marshall. 1922. "American Intervention in Haiti." *American Journal of International Law* 16 (4): 607-610. doi:10.2307/2187582.
- Brown, Wendy. 2017. "Sovereignty and Enclosure." Chap. 2 in *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*, by Wendy Brown, 55-83. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. Accessed 10 2022.
- Brubaker, Pamela K. 2010. *Gender and Society: Competing Visions of Women's Agency, Equality and Well-Being*. Vols. II: Socioeconomics, Politics, Authority, chap. 5 in *Women and Christianity*, edited by Cheryl A. Kirk-Duggan and Karen Jo Torjesen, 93-114. Santa Barbara, California: Praeger/ABC-CLIO. doi:978-0-275-99155-5.
- Cannon, Katie Geneva. 2008. "Christian Imperialism and the Transatlantic Slave Trade." *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 24 (1): 127-34. Accessed 11 2022.  
doi:<https://doi.org/10.2979/fsr.2008.24.1.127>.
- Caufield, Catherine. 1998. *Masters of Illusion: The World Bank and the Poverty of Nations*. London: Pan Books. doi:978-0333662625.
- Chan, Rosalyn, Krishnaswami Charanya, Samuel Oliker-Friedland, and Perez Carballo Celso. 2013. *Peacekeeping without Accountability: The United Nations' Responsibility for the Haitian Cholera Epidemic*. Yale Law School, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut: Transnational Development Clinic. Accessed 10 2022.

- Clesca, Monique. 2021. *My Group Can Save Haiti. Biden is Standing in Our Way*. The New York Times. 12 1. Accessed 10 2022. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/01/opinion/haiti-commission-government.html>. .
- Daniels, David D. 2017. *Martin Luther and Ethiopian Christianity: Historical Traces*. The University of Chicago. 11 2. Accessed 10 2022. <https://divinity.uchicago.edu/sightings/articles/martin-luther-and-ethiopian-christianity-historical-traces>.
- Degraff, Michael. 2022. *As a Child in Haiti, I Was Taught to Despise My Language and Myself*. The New York Times. 10 14. Accessed 10 2022. <https://www.nytimes.com>.
- Diamant, Jeff. 2020. *Ethiopia Is an Outlier in the Orthodox Christian World*. 08 17. Accessed 10 2022. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/11/28/ethiopia-is-an-outlier-in-the-orthodox-christian-world/>.
- Edwards, Erica Johnson. 2021. "Christianity's Role in Colonial and Revolutionary Haiti (Article Commentary)." *Studies in Religion and the Enlightenment* 2 (2): 1-4. doi:10.32655/srej.2021.2.2.1.
- Farrar, F. W. 1900. "Imperialism and Christianity." *The North American Review* 171 (526): 289-295. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25105052>.
- Gamio, Lazaro, Constant Méheut, Catherine Porter, Selam Gebrekidan, Allison McCann, and Matt Apuzzo. 2022. *The Ransom: Haiti's Lost Billions*. The New York Times. 05 20. Accessed 10 2022. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/05/20/world/americas/enslaved-haiti-debt-timeline.html>.
- Gebrekidan, Selam, Matt Apuzzo, Catherine Porter, and Constant Méheut. 2022. *The Ransom: Invade Haiti, Wall Street Urged. The U.S. Obligated*. The New York Times. 05 26. Accessed 10 2022. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/20/world/haiti-wall-street-us-banks.html>.
- George, Susan. 1988. *A Fate Worse than Debt: The World Financial Crisis and the Poor*. London: Penguin Books. Accessed 08 2022. doi:978-0-14-022789-5.

- Graham, Dave, and Drazen Jorgic. 2021. *Ariel Henry formally appointed prime minister of Haiti in ceremony*. 20 07. Accessed 10 2022. <https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/ariel-henry-formally-appointed-prime-minister-haiti-ceremony-reuters-witness-2021-07-20/>.
- Green, Roger Kurt. 2021. "Neoliberalism and eurochristianity." Edited by Carl Raschke. *Religions* (MDPI) 12 (9): 1-25. Accessed 10 2022. doi:<https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12090688>.
- Hudson, John, and Widlore Mérancourt. 2022. *U.S. backs sending international forces to Haiti, draft proposal says*. The Washington Post. 10 15. Accessed 10 2022. <https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/world/u-s-backs-sending-international-forces-to-haiti-draft-proposal-says/ar-AA12ZZm8>.
- Jones, William R. 1978. *Is God a White Racist? A Preamble to Black Theology*. Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press. Accessed 10 2022. doi:9780807010327.
- Miller, Althea Spencer. 2010. *Women and Christianity in the Caribbean: Living Past the Colonial Legacy*. Vols. V: Women, Worldview, Religious Practice, chap. 13 in *Women and Christianity*, edited by Cheryl A. Kirk-Duggan and Karen Jo Torjesen, 273-304. Santa Barbara, California: Praegar/ABC-CLIO. Accessed 12 2022. doi:978-0-275-99155-5.
- Newman, Lucia. 2019. *Trump revives Monroe Doctrine as warning to China and Russia*. 06 19. Accessed 10 2022. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/6/19/trump-revives-monroe-doctrine-as-warning-to-china-and-russia>.
- Pilkington, Ed. 2020. *UN response to Haiti cholera epidemic lambasted by its own rights monitors*. 05 04. Accessed 10 2022. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/may/04/united-nations-un-haiti-cholera-letter-rights-monitors>.
- Prashad, Vijay. 2022. *Consortium News*. Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research. 06 20. Accessed 10 2021. <https://consortiumnews.com/2022/06/20/the-lethality-of-the-global-monroe-doctrine/>.
- Ray, Rebecca, Kevin P. Gallagher, and William Kring. 2020. "IMF Austerity Since the Global Financial Crisis: New Data, Same Trend, and Similar Determinants." Working Paper, Global

Development Policy Center: Global Economic Governance Initiative, Boston University, Boston, 43. Accessed 10 2022. <https://www.bu.edu/gdp/files/2020/11/IMF-Austerity-Since-the-Global-Financial-Crisis-WP.pdf>.

Robinson, Cedric J. 2020. "The Historical Archaeology of the Black Radical Tradition." Chap. 6 in *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*, by Cedric J. Robinson, Damien Sojoyner and Robin D.G. Kelley, 182-228. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press. Accessed 03 2022. doi:9798212269889.

Rodney, Walter, and Angela Davis. 2018. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Brooklyn, New York: Verso Books. Accessed 07 2022. doi:9781788731188.

Shellenberger, Michael. 2022. *Haiti Riots Triggered by IMF Advice to Cut Fuel Subsidies*. 09 22. Accessed 10 2022. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/michaelshellenberger/2022/09/22/haiti-riots-triggered-by-imf-advice-to-cut-fuel-subsidies/?sh=189d35775169>.

Vallier, Kevin. 2021. *Neoliberalism*. Stanford University. 06 09. Accessed 10 2022. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/neoliberalism/>.