



**MOHSANA**

Mouvement haïtien de sauvetage national

# Manifesto



for the refoundation of the Nation-State

FOR A SOVEREIGN, PROSPEROUS,  
INCLUSIVE AND STABLE HAITI



[www.mohsana.net](http://www.mohsana.net)

# Preamble

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*Haiti today faces major challenges: political instability, widespread insecurity, impunity, corruption, economic recession, extreme poverty, seismic risks, and environmental degradation. For several decades, social and political convulsions have irresistibly drawn the country toward the abyss and chaos.*

The first major determinant of the structural crisis affecting Haiti today is the congenital malformation of the Haitian state, the process leading to its birth being an unintended consequence of the actions of colonial political elites, whose original intention was not to found a country, but a protectorate.

This congenital malformation imprints on the young Haitian state its principal defects: it makes it an anti-national, sexist, weak, despotic, repressive, corrupt, and predatory state.

- ▶ Haitian elites have moreover built the new state on the ruins and ashes of Saint-Domingue. The flight of capital, technology, and know-how, due to the war of independence and its ravages, the isolation of the new state, the hostility and sabotage of the major colonialist and slave-owning powers of the time, the unpreparedness of political elites and the narrowness of their recruitment base, all constituted obstacles to the construction of a modern state in Haiti.
- ▶ A succession of economic and financial crises, the depreciation of the gourde resulting from inflation, the “ransom” of independence, pressures and aggressions from Western powers (Germany, England, Spain, France) de-

manding indemnities for their nationals, widespread corruption, smuggling, collusion between foreign merchants and high officials to plunder the public treasury, not to mention rivalries within the military oligarchy, all contributed to the complete disintegration of the dual monopoly of physical constraint and taxation that would lead to the American occupation of 1915.

- ▶ The American occupation between 1915 and 1934 created the illusion of a modern state in Haiti by allowing it to occupy, control, and organize its territorial space, to have the resources essential for its proper functioning, to respect its obligations both internally and externally, and to carry out major public works. But these advances would not withstand the combined effects of demographic explosion, natural disasters, social mutations, and the process of slum formation and ruralization of major cities in subsequent years.
- ▶ The monopolization of all decision-making centers by the mulatto “state bourgeoisie,” idle, unproductive, hedonistic, and venal; the dominant model of accumulation based on capturing income (agricultural, commercial, monetary, extractive) through speculation, sabotage of competition, the creation of commercial monopolies; the pursuit of neopatrimonial practices including nepotism, corruption, personalization of power, and the grip of a small group on the state machinery, will once again precipitate the failure of the state. In this antidemocratic political system, crisis, coup d’état, and political assassinations constitute the true mechanisms of political alternation, instead of elections that are merely rewards for violence and the distribution of dirty money.
- ▶ Later, widespread corruption, smuggling, and trafficking of arms and drugs at the highest level of the post-Duva-

lier state accelerated the process of decomposition of its repressive and administrative apparatuses. The Haitian neocolonial state quickly became a narco-state.

- ▶ Haitian economic and political elites, as well as the international community, are co-responsible for this disaster.

***Faced with the collapse of the state, the crumbling of the economy, the disarticulation of society, and the bewilderment of the elites, what should be done?***

## The movement

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The **Haitian National Salvation Movement (MOHSANA)** is a general call for collective mobilization to transcend differences in social class, color, and gender, as well as religious, ideological, and political divisions, to collectively meet the challenges of the moment.

- ▶ MOHSANA calls upon the community, the vital and integral forces of the country, for national salvation. It makes the diaspora a major asset for the decisive contribution of Haitian women, men, and youth to the emergence of the new nation-state.
- ▶ MOHSANA is an act of faith in the original project of making Haiti a land of freedom, opportunity, solidarity, justice, and happiness for every Haitian woman and man both within the country and in the diaspora.
- ▶ MOHSANA, however, does not aim to seize power; it aspires instead to influence civil society organizations and to guide public policies for the advent of a new Haiti.

- ▶ MOHSANA offers concrete solutions for national salvation based on prosperity, sovereignty, solidarity, the rule of law, good governance, and citizen participation.

## The milestones

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*MOHSANA proposes a roadmap focused on seven axes of reform.*

### 1. Security and state authority

#### ***Restore Security and State Authority***

Provide the state with an autonomous, agile, and effective repressive apparatus, capable of guaranteeing its dual monopoly of physical violence and taxation. Strengthen national defense mechanisms. Wage a war effort against insecurity and build secure communities in rural and urban settings. Ensure the protection and reparation of victims.

### 2. Political governance

#### ***Renew Political Governance***

Establish transitional governance based on competence and the highest ethical values (integrity, loyalty to the republic, justice, respect for rights and human dignity), with a limited mandate to restore public order, cleanse the political space, and lay the foundations for the re-foundation of the nation-state. Strengthen accountability mechanisms and control mechanisms. Create a special anti-corruption Court and promote new Haitian leadership.

### **3. National institutions**

#### ***Strengthen National Institutions***

Rebuild and modernize public administration, fight against corruption and impunity, and free the state from its dependence on external aid. Reform internal security forces. Review and implement the national security strategy in its components of intelligence, prevention, surveillance, alert, and repression. Establish the National Security and Defense Council (CNSD), the National Intelligence Agency (ANI), the national prosecutor's office specialized in anti-gang affairs, special tribunals, etc.

### **4. Rule of law**

#### ***Strengthen the rule of law***

Finalize the revision of the Constitution to reinforce the separation of powers, guarantee the independence of justice, and establish mechanisms for controlling political mandates. Finalize legislative reforms, continue the fight against corruption, and combat impunity. Strengthen the fight against arms, drug, and ammunition trafficking.

### **5. Self-determination and national unity -**

#### ***Reaffirm our self-determination and build national unity***

End foreign tutelage and interference, redefine relations with foreign partners based on mutual respect and non-interference. Reform public development aid. Invest in food sovereignty and digital sovereignty. Organize a major national conference to define together a new social contract. Promote transitional justice and establish a truth and reconciliation commission to address past and current injustices. Galvanize the engagement of the Haitian diaspora in this national salvation project. Value and

protect Haitian identity. Value Haitian culture and works. Value Haiti's tangible and intangible heritage. Implement measures to prevent or respond to sexual violence, harassment, and discrimination against women and girls. Respect the minimum quota of 30% women in decision-making and leadership positions. Protect internally displaced populations and people deported from abroad against any physical, psychological, and discriminatory mistreatment and respect their right to live in dignity.

## 6. Youth

### ***Mobilize and train Haitian youth***

Mobilize Haitian youth through training, creation, and entrepreneurship programs in the crucial sectors of national life: population census and identification, cadastral census, technological innovation, cybersecurity and artificial intelligence, promotion of Haitian culture, agro-industry, etc. Invest in quality education for all.

## 7. Economy

### ***Build a resilient economy and share wealth***

Break with the practices of the rent economy, revive local production, encourage local and diaspora investments, support entrepreneurship, diversify the economy, and restore public finances. Develop specific support and assistance programs for peasant organizations, "madan-sara," women in the informal sector. Invest in agriculture, manufacturing, and crafts to revive national production and reduce dependence on imports. Support Haitian youth in their entrepreneurial initiatives. Strengthen national infrastructure by rebuilding roads, providing access to electricity based on renewable energies (solar, hydroelectric). Implement a major fiscal reform. Control and reduce inflation. Strengthen the national

currency and reduce the country's dependence on the US dollar for local transactions. Adopt and enforce strict laws regulating mining, forestry, and water exploitation, ensuring that the benefits primarily benefit the Haitian population. Create a sovereign Fund for reparation and reconstruction from the recovery of the independence "ransom," the restitution of funds stolen from the coffers of the National Bank of Haiti on December 17, 1914, money seized from transnational organized crime, the freezing of assets of the protagonists of the contemporary Haitian disaster, etc., to take care of victims of armed violence, organize the reception and support of internally displaced persons and those deported from abroad.

## Conclusion

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The salvation of Haiti will come neither from abroad nor from a miracle, but from a collective commitment of citizens and a firm political will of Haitian elites.

This manifesto is a call to action to rebuild a nation-state for a Haiti that is free, prosperous, independent, and proud of its heritage.

The Haitian people are only waiting for you to reconnect with the founding genius of their revolution and to write a new chapter of their history, with the letters of dignity, prosperity, equity, solidarity, and hope. What are you waiting for ?



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