

**MANIFESTO FOR THE REFOUNDATION OF THE NATION-STATE  
(MARENA)**  
**FOR A SOVEREIGN, PROSPEROUS, INCLUSIVE AND STABLE HAITI**

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**Synthesis**

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Preamble. - Haiti, cradle of the world's first victorious black revolution and symbol of freedom, is today going through one of the deepest crises in its history. The challenges facing the country are major: political instability, widespread insecurity, impunity, corruption, economic recession, extreme poverty, seismic risks and environmental degradation. A rereading of Haiti's history, from independence in 1804 to the present day, highlights an overwhelming observation: a succession of periods of great instability, episodes of latent crisis interrupted by relatively stable despotic regimes. At the heart of this undemocratic political system, crisis, coup d'état and political assassinations constitute the real mechanisms of political alternation, instead of elections.

For several decades, social and political convulsions have irresistibly dragged the country towards the abyss and chaos. The disaster is such that most traditional political parties and civil society organizations are coupling with heavily armed gangs to give birth, under the surgical care of the international community, to a Transitional Presidential Council (TPC) composed of nine (9) president-counselors. The repeated scandals during this extraordinary and interim administration show - if it were needed - that the reign of death, suffering and terror (necropolitics), the power of the mediocre (mediocracy), the government of the corrupt (kleptocracy) and the stateless have ended up relegating to the background the humanism, intelligence, courage, virtue and patriotism that once characterized the Haitian soul.

The Haitian economic and political elites, as well as the international community, are co-responsible for this disaster. However, it must be recognized that throughout national history, enlightened, honest and patriotic voices have been raised, but have been systematically ignored or silenced.

Origins of the crisis. - The first major determinant of the structural crisis affecting Haiti today is the congenital malformation of the Haitian state, an unintended consequence of the actions of the colonial political elites, whose original intention was not to found a country, but a protectorate. This congenital malformation, which imprinted on the young Haitian state its main defects (anti-nationalism, weakness, despotism, repression, corruption and predation), results from the articulation of two dynamics: internally, the structure and struggle of social and racial classes in colonial society; and externally, the transnational power relations at work through European expansionism and the rivalries between the Western powers of the time—France, Spain and England—for the conquest and division of the world.

National progress was thus compromised from the outset by the ravages, the flight of capital, technology and know-how during the war of independence, the isolation of the new state, the hostility and sabotage from the great colonialist and slave-owning powers of the time, not to mention the unpreparedness, excessive ambitions and rivalries within the Haitian elites. On the political front, regionalism, militarism and autocracy contributed to the emergence of a political system that generated crises and civil wars.

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) demanding 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 impoverishment of the postcolonial Haitian state, to recurrent revolts in rural areas and among the urban popular masses, to conflicts between various factions of the national elites, and ultimately to the complete disintegration of the double monopoly of physical constraint and taxation that would lead to the American occupation of 1915.

Despite its harmful consequences for the country, the American occupation of Haiti (1915-1934) created the illusion of a modern state in Haiti, 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 the demographic explosion, natural disasters, social changes and the process of slum formation and ruralization of large 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 rents (agricultural, commercial, monetary, extractive) through speculation, sabotage of competition, the

manufacturing of commercial monopolies; the continuation of neopatrimonial practices including nepotism, corruption, the personalization of power and the control of a small group over the state machinery, would again precipitate the failure of the state.

Later, widespread corruption, smuggling and trafficking in arms and drugs at the highest level of the post-Duvalier state accelerated the process of decomposition of its repressive and administrative apparatuses. The Haitian neocolonial state quickly became a narco-state. Since 2018, the situation of terror, anarchy and chaos has intensified. The assassination of President Jovenel Moïse on July 7, 2021, the repetitive mass massacres and the consecutive displacements of the population stage the collapse of the neocolonial state at the orders of Uncle Sam. The management of the current crisis by the international community and the decision to establish the Multinational Security Support Mission (MSSM) demonstrate a criminal negligence and culpability for the crime of non-assistance to a population in great danger.

After the mirage of development, Haiti today seems caught in the traps of democracy and the rule of law: two pretexts for lowering the flag of its sovereignty and self-determination. The problem is that, in return, the right of intervention by the United States and the international community has not kept its promises of security, political stability, economic prosperity and social progress. It is rather contemporary with the acceleration of necropolitics and the amplification of the power of the mafia at the top of the state apparatus.

Faced with the collapse of the neocolonial state, the collapse of the economy, the disarticulation of society and the straying of the elites, a call is launched to Haitians, both from within and from the diaspora, asking them to be outraged and to roll up their sleeves in order to collectively meet the challenges of the moment, with the help of a new social movement: the Haitian Movement for National Salvation (MOHSANA).

A general call.- 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 that have so far prevented the worthy heirs of the gesture of Vertières from meeting, talking, associating and acting together against insecurity, impunity, corruption, injustice, social exclusion and the degradation of the country's physical environment. It crystallizes the association of the "most capable" and the "greatest number," in a fraternal solidarity, to assume and affirm their haitianity in the face of all those who believe they can make them ashamed of it. It is an act of faith in the original project of

making Haiti a land of freedom, opportunity, solidarity, justice and happiness for every Haitian from within and from the diaspora.

MOHSANA appeals to the collective, to Haitian men, women and youth for the emergence of the new nation-state. However, it does not aim to take power. It preferably aspires to influence civil society organizations and guide public policies for the advent of a new Haiti. It proposes a roadmap with concrete solutions for national salvation based on prosperity, sovereignty, solidarity, the rule of law, good governance and citizen participation.

Milestones for national salvation. - MOHSANA proposes a roadmap focused on seven areas of reform:

1. Restoration of Security and State Authority: provide the State with an autonomous, agile and effective repressive apparatus, capable of guaranteeing its double monopoly of physical violence and taxation. Launch a series of operations, supported or not by an international partnership, to dismantle all armed gangs without exception, to protect lives and property, to stop arms, ammunition and drug trafficking, to demilitarize neighborhoods, to clean up cities, to reopen transport routes and health infrastructures, etc. Develop a new doctrine of security as a common good co-produced by a diversity of actors, including internal security and defense forces, civil society, the population, etc. Develop and implement a national strategy to integrate citizen vigilantism into the chain of surveillance, alert and response to different security risks and threats. Build secure communities by putting in place protective measures (community policing, healthy families and family support, inclusive neighborhoods, healthy school environments, social protection, digital protection), and by reducing risk factors for delinquency (material and social disadvantage, pressing housing needs, strong inequalities, poor urban planning, presence of gangs, exposure to or access to drugs and weapons, etc.). Establish a system of aid, compensation and care for victims of armed violence.
2. Renewal of Political Governance: establish a transitional governance based on competence and the highest ethical values (integrity, loyalty to the republic, justice, respect for the rights and dignity of the person), with a limited mandate to restore public order, cleanse the political space and lay the foundations for the refoundation of the nation-state. Strengthen accountability mechanisms and control mechanisms. Conduct audits of public finances. Create a special anti-corruption court to initiate

proceedings and take severe sanctions against those who have plundered the public treasury and development aid funds, including the confiscation of ill-gotten gains. Promote new strong Haitian leadership based on competence, integrity, commitment to seeking the common good in Haiti and defending the national interest.

3. **Strengthening National Institutions:** rebuild and modernize public administration, fight against corruption and impunity, and free the State from its dependence on external aid. Depoliticize, modernize and professionalize the Haitian National Police (HNP) so that it can ensure internal security. Strengthen the organizational and operational capacities of the FADH as a national defense force, under the control of a civilian power resulting from democratic elections, to protect the country's borders and resources against all kinds of physical, technological, digital, bacteriological threats... Establish the National Security and Defense Council (NSDC) to redefine the State's policy and national strategies with regard to the research, collection, processing, analysis, management and dissemination of strategic information and intelligence. Establish the National Intelligence Agency (NIA). Strengthen the capacities of the courts; create new specialized prosecutors' offices and courts for matters related to organized crime, corruption and money laundering; promote the independence of judges and accelerate judicial procedures to fight against impunity and prolonged preventive detention. Reform the prison institution with the help of a new legal, administrative and financial framework. Strengthen civil society organizations, support community organizations working as a complementary social safety net, and strengthen local communities to promote local and community development.
4. **Strengthening the Rule of Law:** finalize the revision of the Constitution to reinforce the separation of powers, guarantee the independence of the judiciary and establish mechanisms for controlling political mandates. Finalize the modernization of the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure; adopt a decree-law on prison administration to review the organization of the sector, its financing, its legal and regulatory framework, its administration, its purposes; adopt a decree-law on the independence of the judiciary to guarantee the autonomy of judges and government commissioners by protecting their appointment, their career and their decisions against any political influence; adopt a Global Anti-Corruption Law defining a complete legal framework to prevent, investigate and sanction acts of corruption in the public and private sectors. Strengthen independent anti-corruption institutions, with powers of investigation, prosecution and sanction; establish special courts (anti-corruption courts, anti-gang courts and courts for economic and financial crimes); etc. Create a Special Anti-Impunity Unit composed of specialized judges, prosecutors and

investigators, supported by international experts, preferably of Haitian origin. Implement training programs based on international best practices in the fight against impunity. Use technologies to avoid corruption, improve case monitoring and reduce processing times. Fight against arbitrary and abusive detention and sanction state agents who are responsible for it. Fight against drug, arms and ammunition trafficking using an integrated approach that combines repression, prevention and international cooperation efforts. Strengthen laws on the acquisition, possession and carrying of firearms to regulate the sector and limit diversions to the illicit market. Use traditional and community media as well as social networks to inform citizens about their rights and complaint and denunciation mechanisms.

5. Reaffirmation of our self-determination and building of national unity: end foreign interference, redefine relations with foreign partners on the basis of mutual respect and non-interference. Implement proactive diplomacy with the help of an action plan that relocates and strengthens Haiti's embassies and consulates abroad, in order to better defend the country's interests and improve its image. Close most honorary consulates that may represent a risk to national security. Impose an obligation of alignment, transparency and tangible results on international aid operators, whether humanitarian, technical or financial. Establish mechanisms to control the action of NGOs and their compliance with the framework documents of international cooperation in Haiti. Invest in the country's food sovereignty by promoting local agro-industry value chains. Develop a national digital sovereignty strategy to control the production, validity and security of national data (demographic, economic, police, judicial, environmental...). Establish a national cybersecurity protection system. Organize a large 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 commitment of the Haitian diaspora in this national salvation project. Enhance and protect Haitian identity. Enhance Haitian culture and works. Enhance Haiti's tangible and intangible heritage. Integrate Haitian history, culture and values into school curricula to strengthen national identity. Implement measures aimed at preventing or responding to sexual violence, harassment and discrimination against women and girls. Conduct a campaign against sexual and gender stereotypes. Promote equality in employment and implement measures facilitating work-family reconciliation, targeting primarily single-parent families. Respect the minimum quota of 30% of 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 for their right to live with dignity. Implement a program providing reception and support services to internally displaced persons and people



deported from abroad. Among these services, prioritize efforts aimed at family reunification, relief distribution, water supply, hygiene and health care programs, etc. Provide identity documents to internally displaced persons who have lost them. Respect their property rights.

6. Mobilization and training of Haitian youth: mobilize Haitian youth through training, creation and entrepreneurship programs in the critical 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. Develop trade schools to meet the needs of the labor market and enhance professional training. Reform school curricula by integrating practical subjects such as agriculture, computer science, cooking, etc. Enhance Creole and effective bilingualism. Invest in strengthening and applying the skills of Haitian youth in technology, especially in the computer, digital, robotic and artificial intelligence sectors.
7. Resilient production and wealth sharing: break with the practices of the rent economy, revive local production, encourage local and diaspora investments, support entrepreneurship, diversify the economy and clean up public finances. Develop specific supervision and support programs for peasant organizations, "madan-sara", traders in the informal sector. Invest in agriculture, manufacturing and crafts to revive national production and reduce dependence on imports. Modernize agricultural equipment, reforest and fight against erosion for sustainable agriculture. Develop value chains in each productive sector. Establish sovereign funds to finance strategic national projects and support national production in key sectors such as the agricultural, agri-food and agro-industrial sector, the tourism industry, the mining industry, telecommunications, construction, etc. Rethink the policy of free zones and review the zoning of industrial, commercial, technological and service free zones. Establish tax incentives for Haitians living abroad who decide to invest in Haiti. Facilitate credit for small and medium-sized enterprises. Lighten the tax burden for startups. Accompany Haitian youth in their entrepreneurial initiatives. Strengthen national infrastructures by rebuilding roads, providing access to electricity based on renewable energies (solar, hydroelectric). Carry out a major tax reform based on the clean-up of public finances, the broadening of the tax base, the fight against tax evasion and the transparent use of public resources. Control and decrease 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 mainly benefit the Haitian population. Invest in solar, wind and hydroelectric energy projects to reduce

dependence on charcoal. Conduct national campaigns for massive reforestation and waste management to preserve ecosystems, with the participation of local communities. Establish effective waste collection and recycling systems. Raise awareness among the population about environmental issues. Create a Sovereign Fund for Reparation and Reconstruction from the recovery of the "ransom" of independence, 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 people deported from abroad, build local infrastructures for Crime Prevention through Environmental Design and finance the social reintegration of young people from marginalized neighborhoods.

Conclusion. - 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 the Haitian elites.

This manifesto is a call to action to rebuild a nation-state for a free, prosperous, independent Haiti proud of its heritage. It is therefore up to all Haitians from within and from the diaspora, women, youth, intellectuals, peasants, workers, taxi drivers, the middle class, community leaders, patriots, to appropriate it and contribute, in their measure, to its realization. Today, the time has come for the children of Haiti to unite their forces to build a stable, prosperous, just country worthy of the aspirations of their ancestors. The time has come to raise awareness and mobilize around a new project of society a people with no intention of compromising on the principles of freedom, equality and solidarity. The time has come to write a new page in the history of Haiti, one that celebrates with the world the unconditional refusal of a population to yield to terror, impunity, injustice, exploitation and the excess of a global order of domination of which gangs are a control device.

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