



# Peacebuilding in Haiti

## *A Progress Report*

Brian W. Greene  
*DRDC CORA*

DRDC CORA TM 2009-007  
January 2009

**Defence R&D Canada**  
**Centre for Operational Research & Analysis**

ADM(Pol)

# **Peacebuilding in Haiti**

## *A Progress Report*

Brian W. Greene  
DRDC CORA

The views expressed in this Technical Memorandum are those of the author and do not represent, or otherwise reflect, any official opinion or position of Defence Research and Development Canada, the Department of National Defence, or the Government of Canada.

## **Defence R&D Canada – CORA**

Technical Memorandum  
DRDC CORA TM 2009-007  
January 2009

Principal Author

*Original signed by Brian W. Greene, Ph.D.*

---

Brian W. Greene, Ph.D.  
DRDC CORA Defence Scientist

Approved by

*Original signed by Stéphane Lefebvre*

---

Stéphane Lefebvre  
DRDC CORA Section Head Strategic Analysis

Approved for release by

*Original signed by Dale Reding*

---

Dale Reding  
DRDC CORA Chief Scientist

This Technical Memorandum was prepared in response to a request for information from the Assistant Deputy Minister (Policy).

Defence R&D Canada – Centre for Operational Research and Analysis (CORA)

- © Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada, as represented by the Minister of National Defence, 2009
- © Sa Majesté la Reine (en droit du Canada), telle que représentée par le ministre de la Défense nationale, 2009

## **Abstract**

---

This Technical Memorandum provides an overview of the international community's peacebuilding efforts in Haiti since 2004, with a special emphasis on the role of the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). The paper concludes that while some progress has been recorded since MINUSTAH's deployment, Haiti remains incapable of fulfilling essential governance tasks, including the provision of basic services to a largely destitute population. As such, it is expected that Haiti will remain in need of large-scale international assistance for the foreseeable future.

## **Résumé**

---

La présente note technique trace les grandes lignes des efforts déployés depuis 2004 par la communauté internationale en matière de consolidation de la paix en Haïti et se penche plus particulièrement sur le rôle de la Mission des Nations Unies pour la stabilisation en Haïti (MINUSTAH). Bien qu'on ait noté certains progrès depuis le déploiement de la MINUSTAH, Haïti demeure incapable de s'acquitter de certaines tâches fondamentales liées à la gouvernance, notamment la prestation de services de base auprès d'une population qui vit en grande partie dans la misère. Aussi, on s'attend à ce qu'Haïti continue à avoir besoin d'une aide internationale à grande échelle pour les années à venir.

This page intentionally left blank.

## Executive summary

---

### Peacebuilding in Haiti: A Progress Report

**Brian W. Greene; DRDC CORA TM 2009-007; Defence R&D Canada – CORA;  
January 2009.**

Throughout the more than twenty years that have passed since the fall of the notorious Duvalier family dictatorship in 1986, Haiti has consistently shown itself to be incapable of establishing a minimally acceptable level of democratic self-governance, a dubious record of achievement that has led to a series of mostly ineffective international interventions.

The most recent intervention dates to 2004, when the United Nations Security Council established the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), a multidimensional stabilization operation consisting of both military and civilian components. The mission was created in the wake of a major revolt against the government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who was forced to flee the country in February 2004. More than four years on, MINUSTAH remains in place, assisting Haitian authorities in nearly every facet of governance and economic development.

MINUSTAH's efforts have produced mixed results. On the political front, MINUSTAH successfully midwifed new municipal, parliamentary, and presidential elections. It has also played a key role in improving the government's policy-making and implementation capabilities. MINUSTAH has been decidedly less successful in getting Haiti's lawmakers to work together for the good of the nation. Government operations were paralyzed for months following the dismissal of Prime Minister Jacques-Édouard Alexis last April amidst escalating social unrest over the rising cost of food. Should the millions of Haitians currently struggling to survive not soon see a tangible improvement in their lives, it is reasonable to assume that further social and political unrest will follow.

MINUSTAH's greatest impact has arguably been in the security realm. As expected, the insertion of a sizeable and well-armed international military force had a dramatic effect on the level of political violence. Common crime continues to plague the country, however. To date, MINUSTAH's security sector reform efforts have been primarily directed towards the Haitian National Police (HNP), with a special emphasis on assisting in the training of new recruits. The 2006 Haitian National Police Reform Plan set a goal of 14,000 officers for basic policing duties, along with another 18,000 to 20,000 uniformed personnel to undertake other security-related tasks such as border control, corrections, and firefighting. As of August 2008, there were 8,546 officers serving in the HNP. However, approximately 1,000 of that number are assigned to non-policing tasks. Considerable work thus remains to be done in this area. Other points of focus have been the country's judicial system, which remains largely dysfunctional, and its correctional system, which is simply incapable of handling the number of prisoners now in custody.

Underlying most of Haiti's problems are its difficult economic and social conditions. According to the 2007/2008 Human Development Report, Haiti's Human Development Index is 0.529, placing it 146<sup>th</sup> out of 177 countries worldwide. Although considerable effort has gone into addressing the country's economic and social deficiencies over the last four years, there are few

signs of tangible progress. Indeed, the recent spike in food and fuel prices more than doubled the number of Haitians facing food insecurity (up from approximately one million people in 2007 to 2.5 million now). In effect, more than four years into the current mission, Haiti remains the object of a vast humanitarian relief operation.

While Haiti is far more stable today than it was prior to MINUSTAH's deployment in 2004, it is apparent that the peacebuilding campaign has not produced the kind of results that the mission's backers had hoped for when they embarked on this most recent intervention. For the moment, however, the international community remains committed to the peacebuilding template that has guided its approach in Haiti for the last four years.

No matter what approach the international community adopts, the humanitarian and development challenges confronting Haiti are likely to remain severe for many years to come. As such, it is to be expected that the international community will not soon be departing the country. Indeed, considering the extent of the challenges facing Haiti, it is difficult to foresee when that time might come.

# Sommaire

---

## Peacebuilding in Haiti: A Progress Report

**Brian W. Greene; DRDC CORA TM 2009-007; R & D pour la défense Canada – CORA; Janvier 2009.**

Pendant la vingtaine d'années qui a suivi le renversement de la tristement célèbre dictature de la famille Duvalier, en 1986, Haïti s'est montrée incapable de maintenir un seuil acceptable d'auto-gouvernance démocratique. Ce mince bilan au chapitre des réalisations a entraîné une série d'interventions internationales qui, pour la plupart, n'ont eu aucun effet.

La plus récente de ces interventions remonte à 2004, lorsque le Conseil de sécurité des Nations Unies a mis en place la Mission des Nations Unies pour la stabilisation en Haïti, une opération de stabilisation multidimensionnelle comportant à la fois un volet militaire et un volet civil. L'établissement de la mission a fait suite à une révolte majeure contre le gouvernement du président Jean-Bertrand Aristide, qui a été forcé de quitter le pays en février 2004. Plus de quatre ans plus tard, la MINUSTAH poursuit son œuvre, prêtant main-forte aux autorités haïtiennes dans presque toutes les facettes de la gouvernance et de la croissance économique.

Les efforts de la MINUSTAH ont donné des résultats en demi-teinte. Sur la scène politique, par exemple, de nouvelles élections municipales, législatives et présidentielles ont vu le jour. De plus, la mission a joué un rôle important dans l'amélioration des capacités du gouvernement en matière d'élaboration et de mise en œuvre des politiques. Cependant, l'initiative de la MINUSTAH destinée à inciter les législateurs d'Haïti à travailler ensemble pour le bien de la nation a connu un succès nettement moindre. En effet, à la suite du renvoi du premier ministre Jacques-Édouard Alexis, en avril dernier, le gouvernement s'est retrouvé paralysé au beau milieu d'une agitation sociale s'intensifiant au rythme de la croissance du coût des aliments. Si les conditions de millions d'Haïtiens luttant à l'heure actuelle pour leur survie ne connaissent pas d'amélioration tangible d'ici peu, on peut supposer, avec raison, que d'autres troubles sociaux s'ensuivront, accompagnés de toutes les conséquences imaginables sur le plan politique.

La sécurité est peut-être le secteur où l'influence de la MINUSTAH s'est faite le plus ressentir. Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, la mise en place d'une force militaire internationale de taille, bien armée, a radicalement influé sur le niveau de violence politique. Le crime de droit commun, par contre, continue à affliger le pays. Jusqu'à présent, les efforts de la MINUSTAH en matière de réforme du secteur de la sécurité ont été déployés principalement auprès de la Police nationale d'Haïti (PNH) et ont mis l'accent sur la formation des recrues. D'ailleurs, selon le plan de réforme de la Police nationale d'Haïti, établi en 2006, l'objectif visé est l'affectation de 14 000 policiers aux tâches policières de base, et de 18 000 à 20 000 autres agents à des fonctions en lien avec la sécurité, tels que le contrôle frontalier, les services correctionnels et la lutte contre les incendies. En août 2008, la PNH comptait 8 546 policiers; or, environ 1 000 d'entre eux étaient affectés à des tâches non liées au maintien de l'ordre. Ainsi, le travail qu'il reste à accomplir à ce chapitre est considérable. Par ailleurs, d'autres secteurs d'intérêt incluent l'appareil judiciaire du pays, encore largement déficient, de même que le système correctionnel, puisque celui-ci est tout simplement incapable de gérer le nombre actuel de détenus.



La plupart des problèmes à Haïti trouvent leur origine le contexte social et économique difficile. Selon le Rapport mondial sur le développement humain de 2007-2008, Haïti a un indice de développement humain de 0,529, ce qui le place au 146<sup>e</sup> rang parmi les 177 pays du monde ciblés par l'étude. Bien qu'on se soit considérablement penché sur les faiblesses sociales et économiques du pays pendant les quatre dernières années, les signes de progrès sont peu nombreux. En effet, en raison de la flambée récente du coût des aliments et du carburant, le nombre d'Haïtiens aux prises avec une insécurité alimentaire a plus que doublé (passant d'environ 1 million de personnes en 2007 à 2,5 millions aujourd'hui). Dans les faits, plus de quatre ans après le début de la mission en cours, Haïti fait donc toujours l'objet d'une vaste opération de secours humanitaire.

Même si Haïti est un pays beaucoup plus stable qu'il ne l'était avant le déploiement de la MINUSTAH, en 2004, il est évident que la campagne de consolidation de la paix n'a pas donné les résultats escomptés à l'origine par les bailleurs de fonds de la mission. Pour l'instant, toutefois, la communauté internationale s'en tient au modèle de consolidation de la paix ayant guidé son approche en Haïti pendant les quatre dernières années.

Mais peu importe l'approche adoptée par la communauté internationale, les difficultés que devra affronter Haïti, sur le plan de sa croissance comme sur le plan humanitaire, risquent de demeurer graves pour de nombreuses années encore. On ne s'attend donc pas à ce que la communauté internationale se retire du pays de sitôt. En effet, devant l'ampleur des épreuves auxquelles Haïti doit faire face, il est difficile d'entrevoir le moment où cela sera possible.

# Table of contents

---

Abstract .....	i
Résumé .....	i
Executive summary .....	iii
Sommaire .....	v
Table of contents .....	vii
List of figures .....	viii
Acknowledgements .....	ix
1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background .....	1
1.2 Aim.....	3
1.3 Outline .....	3
2 Politics: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back.....	4
2.1 A Promising Start .....	4
2.2 Building State Capacity .....	5
2.3 The Return of Political Instability .....	6
3 Security: A Fragile Peace .....	8
3.1 Overview .....	8
3.2 Rule-of-Law Structures .....	9
3.2.1 Police.....	9
3.2.2 Judicial System .....	10
3.2.3 Correctional System.....	11
3.3 Human Rights.....	11
4 Development: Struggling to Survive .....	12
4.1 The Development Challenge .....	12
4.2 Demography and Environment.....	14
4.3 Doing Business in Haiti.....	16
5 Conclusion .....	18
Annex A Map .....	20
Distribution list.....	21

## List of figures

---

Figure 1: A UN civilian peacekeeper assists an elderly woman to a voting booth in Bel Air on election day, 7 February 2006.....	4
Figure 2: Haitian President René Préal.....	5
Figure 3: MINUSTAH peacekeepers patrol Port-au-Prince following the outbreak of protests against the rising cost of food, 8 April 2008.....	7
Figure 4: MINUSTAH peacekeepers engaged in heavy fighting with gangs in the Cité Soleil neighbourhood of Port-au-Prince, 9 February 2007.....	9
Figure 5: A man is fingerprinted as part of the registration process for new police officers, 15 November 2005.....	10
Figure 6: A family sitting outside their home in Port-au-Prince. ....	13
Figure 7: The border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Haiti is to the left and the Dominican Republic is the greener/darker area to the right.....	15
Figure 8: An aerial view of Gonaïves following Tropical Storm Hanna, 3 September 2008.....	16

## Acknowledgements

---

I wish to thank Stephen Baranyi and Carlo Dade for taking the time to share their thoughts and insights on Haiti with me. I also want to thank Robert Fattouh Jr. and François Pierre-Louis for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of the paper.



# 1 Introduction

---

## 1.1 Background

Throughout the more than twenty years that have passed since the fall of the notorious Duvalier family dictatorship in 1986,<sup>1</sup> Haiti has consistently shown itself to be incapable of establishing a minimally acceptable level of democratic self-governance, a dubious record of achievement that has led to a series of mostly ineffective international interventions.

After five years of near constant political tumult following Jean-Claude Duvalier's departure into exile – a period that included five changes in administration, two coups and one aborted national election – Haiti's first truly free elections since gaining independence in 1804 were held in December 1990 and January 1991. As important as the elections were in further strengthening the country's new democratic order (the 1987 Constitution had laid the foundation), Haiti had yet to close the door on its troubled past. A mere eight months after his installation as president in February 1991, the popular Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a Catholic priest and well-respected social activist, was deposed in a military coup. The army's bold attempt to turn back the clock on the democratization process met with a decidedly stern reaction from the international community. Both the Organization of American States (OAS) and the United Nations (UN) imposed sweeping diplomatic and economic sanctions on the regime. The sanctions would prove relatively ineffective as a tool of coercion. Only under threat of invasion from a multinational force led by the United States did the military junta finally yield to the international pressure, thereby clearing the way for Aristide's return in October 1994.

Along with Aristide came a much larger international presence in the country.<sup>2</sup> By the summer of 1994 it had become apparent that Haiti could not make the transition to democratic stability on its own. The essential task of securing and stabilizing the country would have to be assumed by the international community. Initially, that responsibility fell to the American-led multinational force, which began arriving in Haiti in September 1994 to oversee the transfer of power from the military junta back to the duly elected government. The UN plan called for the 28-nation force, operating under a Chapter VII mandate, to establish an environment conducive to the restoration and maintenance of democracy. Once this had been accomplished, the force's national contingents would either be withdrawn or absorbed into a much smaller Chapter VI operation, the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH), which would then assume responsibility for the maintenance of public order.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> François Duvalier ruled Haiti from 1957 until his death in 1971, at which time his son, Jean-Claude Duvalier, assumed the presidency. The younger Duvalier remained in office until being forced into exile in 1986.

<sup>2</sup> Prior to this point in time, the UN's involvement in Haiti had been limited to the provision of observers to oversee the 1990-1991 elections (the United Nations Observer Group for the Verification of the Elections in Haiti, ONUVEH) and the deployment of a team of human rights monitors in 1993 as part of the joint UN-OAS International Civilian Mission in Haiti (MICIVIH).

<sup>3</sup> Background, United Nations Mission in Haiti;  
[http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co\\_mission/unmihbackgr2.html#four](http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/co_mission/unmihbackgr2.html#four).

UNMIH was the first in what would turn out to be an unbroken succession of UN peacekeeping/peacebuilding missions deployed to Haiti between 1994 and 2001.<sup>4</sup> Although the intervention was not without its accomplishments, by the time the last UN mission departed the country in February 2001, Haiti was headed on a downward track once again. The first signs of trouble emerged during the 1995 elections, which, in addition to generating an abysmally low voter participation rate (only about fifteen percent of eligible voters went to the polls for the December presidential election), saw pro-Aristide candidates emerge victorious at all levels. Subsequent elections witnessed similar irregularities. For the international community, which had seen its ambitious statebuilding and economic development efforts repeatedly frustrated by the inability of Haiti's various political factions to work together, the 2000 legislative and presidential elections were the final straw. In response to credible evidence of vote rigging by supporters of the pro-Aristide Lavalas Party during the first round of legislative elections in May 2000, most opposition parties decided to sit out the second round (with predictable results), as well as boycott the November presidential election. Running virtually unopposed, Aristide, now in search of a second term in office, swept to victory in the presidential race, a contest in which less than ten percent of eligible voters participated.<sup>5</sup>

In the absence of international oversight, all of the security gains of the previous seven years were quickly swept away. Political violence became ever more common as the government sought to defend its hold on power. By the end of 2001, Haiti was well on its way to imploding once again. The violence reached its apex in February 2004 when an armed opposition movement launched a major revolt against the government. Within a matter of weeks the insurgents had seized control of much of the northern part of the country, including two of Haiti's largest cities, Cap-Haïtien and Gonaïves, as well as the southern port city of Les Cayes. Fearing a bloodbath should the rebels take the battle to the streets of Port-au-Prince, home to Aristide's most fervent supporters, the international community began to pressure Aristide to step aside in the best interests of the country. Following days of intense diplomatic negotiations, Aristide resigned his office on 29 February and fled to exile in the Central African Republic.<sup>6</sup>

Aristide would subsequently claim that the United States had orchestrated his removal in what amounted to a coup, a charge emphatically denied by the American government.<sup>7</sup> True or not, the only fact that mattered at this point was that Aristide was gone and the international community was back in the middle of Haiti's affairs. In response to a request for emergency assistance from Haiti's acting president, Boniface Alexandre, the UN Security Council authorized the deployment of a multinational military force (the Multinational Interim Force, MIF) to help restore peace and security to the country.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> UNMIH was followed, in succession, by the United Nations Support Mission in Haiti (UNSMIH), the United Nations Transition Mission in Haiti (UNTMIH), the United Nations Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (MIPONUH), and the International Civilian Support Mission in Haiti (MICAH).

<sup>5</sup> Hérard Jadotte and Yves-François Pierre, "Local Governance and Sustainable Peace: The Haitian Case," in Stephen Baranyi, ed., *The Paradoxes of Peacebuilding Post-9/11* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008), pp. 85-109, pp. 92-93.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 94-95; and Background, United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti; <http://www.un.org/depts/dpko/missions/minustah/background.html>.

<sup>7</sup> "Aristide Says U.S. Deposed Him in 'Coup d'État'," *CNN International*, 2 March 2004.

<sup>8</sup> "Security Council Authorizes Three-Month Multinational Interim Force for Haiti," *UN News*, 29 February 2004.

It was now widely accepted that the UN's past efforts in Haiti had been wholly inadequate and that the time had come for a new approach. As UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan stated ahead of the Security Council's meeting, "...we are not only going to help stabilize the current situation, but assist the Haitians over the long haul and really help them pick up the pieces and build a stable country."<sup>9</sup> In line with that pledge, on 30 April 2004 the Security Council established the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), a multidimensional stabilization operation consisting of both military and civilian components.<sup>10</sup> Almost five years on, MINUSTAH remains in place, assisting Haitian authorities in nearly every facet of governance and economic development.

## **1.2 Aim**

This Technical Memorandum provides an overview of the international community's peacebuilding efforts in Haiti since 2004, with a special emphasis on the role of MINUSTAH. The aim of the paper is to assess the level of progress achieved thus far and delineate where additional gains must be made in order to achieve the stated objective of transforming Haiti into a stable, self-sustaining democracy.

## **1.3 Outline**

The paper is organized as follows. Section two examines the political landscape in Haiti. As last year's political crisis demonstrated, political stability is an essential prerequisite to the realization of progress in other areas. Section three assesses the security situation in the country. Although criminal gangs and drug trafficking operations continue to pose a serious threat to stability, the security climate is arguably better now than at any time in the last twenty years. Section four explores Haiti's development challenges. While security is usually portrayed as the key variable in the peacebuilding equation, economic development is arguably as important, if not more so. Indeed, most of Haiti's problems derive from its economic deficiencies. Section five summarizes the findings and explores what lies ahead for Haiti over the next several years.

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Background, United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti.



## 2 Politics: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back

---

### 2.1 A Promising Start

On the political front, the first two years following Aristide's departure were almost entirely devoted to laying the groundwork for new municipal, parliamentary, and presidential elections. Most of the international community's efforts in this regard took place behind the scenes. For example, in the spring of 2005 MINUSTAH organized a series of meetings between the leaders of the country's various political parties. The meetings were intended to get Haiti's leadership class talking about some of the key challenges facing the country. Among the products of those gatherings were a joint declaration establishing an ethical code of conduct for political parties and a commitment to establish a parliamentary commission on corruption following the elections. MINUSTAH also assumed a leading role in promoting the participation of women in the electoral process. Working with a local non-governmental organization, MINUSTAH launched a radio program aimed at raising awareness of female candidates. Voter registration was another area in which the international community was particularly active. By the time the process was completed at the end of October 2005, more than 70 percent of Haiti's estimated 4 million eligible voters had been registered.<sup>11</sup>



Figure 1: A UN civilian peacekeeper assists an elderly woman to a voting booth in Bel Air on election day, 7 February 2006.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, United Nations Security Council, S/2005/631, 6 October 2005, pp. 2-3.

<sup>12</sup> Photo courtesy of the United Nations/Sophia Paris;  
<http://www.un.org/events/peacekeeping60/photos2/dest4/pages/blueSoldierLady.shtml>.

After several postponements, the first round of national elections was finally held on 7 February 2006. With voter participation topping more than 60 percent and only a few isolated incidents of poll-related violence, the elections were widely regarded as a success. Perhaps most significantly, the legitimacy of the elections was not contested. In the presidential race, former president René Préval garnered just over 51 percent of the vote in the first round, thus negating the need for a run-off ballot. Préval's party also came out on top in the legislative elections, albeit short of a majority in both the Senate and the House of Deputies. As a result, Préval was compelled to form a coalition government.<sup>13</sup>



Figure 2: Haitian President René Préval.<sup>14</sup>

## 2.2 Building State Capacity

With the elections over and a new government in place, the international community's focus shifted to strengthening Haiti's governance institutions, where the problems ranged from a lack of qualified personnel, to insufficient infrastructure, to limited budgetary and material resources.<sup>15</sup> Many of MINUSTAH's initiatives in this realm have been aimed at improving the central

---

<sup>13</sup> Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, United Nations Security Council, S/2006/592, 28 July 2006, pp. 1-3.

<sup>14</sup> Photo courtesy of Encyclopaedia Britannica Online; <http://search.eb.com/eb/art-94050>.

<sup>15</sup> Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, 28 July 2006, p. 16.

government's policy-making and implementation capabilities. In one project, international advisors were made directly available to several key ministries, including the Ministry of Interior and Territorial Collectivities, the Ministry of Planning and External Cooperation, and the Ministry of Economy and Finance. MINUSTAH has also played a key role in organizing training programs for government officials, covering such basic topics as local finances, budgetary principles, and management.<sup>16</sup>

The effort to enhance local governance capacity has run up against several obstacles, the most serious of which is the lack of resources available to finance the vast array of institutions – five political/administrative levels, multiple legislative and executive authorities, and frequent elections – that underpin the system. As the International Crisis Group notes, “Haiti cannot afford, and donors will not finance indefinitely, such a complex system requiring constant elections.”<sup>17</sup> That, in and of itself, would seem to dictate that the system be streamlined. For the moment, however, the emphasis remains on working within the present structure.

### 2.3 The Return of Political Instability

Over the last year Haiti's political system has again begun to display signs of stress. In response to allegations of financial fraud and criminal activity within the Provisional Electoral Council (the body that oversees the country's elections), Senate elections scheduled for November 2007 were postponed.<sup>18</sup> As of the time of writing, the elections still had not been held. Then came Préval's call for a major overhaul of the country's constitution. While the proposal was not without its merits, particularly with regard to the need to simplify the electoral calendar, most legislators rejected the idea out of hand, arguing that the government should instead be focused on addressing the many pressing social and economic challenges facing the country. Said opposition leader Mirlande Manigat, herself an advocate of constitutional reform, “This is not the climate to have this kind of debate. The government lacks credibility, and they will lose even more credibility if they continue to pursue this.”<sup>19</sup>

Just how precarious the situation is in Haiti became clear in April, when Prime Minister Jacques-Édouard Alexis was forced from office amidst escalating social unrest over the rising cost of food.<sup>20</sup> Three nominees and almost four months later, Haiti finally had a new prime minister (social activist Michele Pierre-Louis).<sup>21</sup> During the interim, government operations essentially ground to a halt, which only made a bad situation that much worse. While Préval and parliament squabbled, contracts for public works projects went unsigned, international investment dried up,

---

<sup>16</sup> Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, United Nations Security Council, S/2006/1003, 19 December 2006, p. 10.

<sup>17</sup> International Crisis Group, *Consolidating Stability in Haiti*, Latin America/Caribbean Report No. 21, 18 July 2007, p. 18.

<sup>18</sup> “Haiti Delays Senate Elections Amid Infighting on Electoral Council,” *International Herald Tribune*, 10 October 2007.

<sup>19</sup> “Haiti's President Calls to Amend Constitution, Change Limits on Presidential Terms,” *International Herald Tribune*, 17 October 2007; and Jacqueline Charles, “Political Turbulence Stirring Again in Haiti,” *Miami Herald*, 2 November 2007.

<sup>20</sup> “Haitian Senators Vote to Fire PM,” *BBC News*, 12 April 2008.

<sup>21</sup> “Haitian MPs Reject New PM Candidate,” *BBC News*, 13 May 2008; Jacqueline Charles, “Another Nominee for Haitian Premier is Rejected,” *Miami Herald*, 12 June 2008; and “Haitian Senators Approve New PM,” *BBC News*, 31 July 2008.

and, perhaps most damaging of all, a donors' conference scheduled for April was postponed indefinitely, costing the country as much as US\$100 million in additional aid.<sup>22</sup>



Figure 3: MINUSTAH peacekeepers patrol Port-au-Prince following the outbreak of protests against the rising cost of food, 8 April 2008.<sup>23</sup>

The new administration must now demonstrate its competence, and quickly so on some issues. Should the millions of Haitians currently struggling to survive not soon see a tangible improvement in their lives, it is reasonable to assume that further social and political unrest will follow. Despite the very real progress that has been made in the political realm under the international community's tutelage, the economic state of the country remains such that all of those gains could yet be reversed.

---

<sup>22</sup> Jacqueline Charles, "Haitians Pay Dearly for Political Gridlock," *Miami Herald*, 31 July 2008.

<sup>23</sup> Photo courtesy of the United Nations/Logan Abassi;  
<http://www.unmultimedia.org/photo/detail/173/0173401.html>.

## 3 Security: A Fragile Peace

---

### 3.1 Overview

The eruption of violence that compelled the international community's return to Haiti in 2004 was almost ten years in the making. Following his reinstatement in 1994, Aristide disbanded the Haitian armed forces. Astonishingly, the government made no provisions for securing the forces' weapons. Scores of rifles and other small arms subsequently found their way onto Haiti's streets and into the hands of various armed groups. The security situation was further undermined over the succeeding decade by the politicization and disintegration of the newly-created Haitian National Police (HNP). As conditions deteriorated, many Haitians took up arms in self-defence and private security companies proliferated, all of which contributed to a highly unstable environment.<sup>24</sup>

The political violence would have been enough of a challenge for MINUSTAH, but it had also to deal with a massive breakdown in general law and order. During the uprising in February 2004, the country's entire prison population (approximately 3,800 in total) was set free. Additionally, rioters destroyed most of the prisons, along with all of their records.<sup>25</sup>

As expected, the insertion of a sizeable and well-armed international military force had a dramatic effect on the level of political violence. Common crime continues to plague the country, however. While Haiti's murder rate is thought to be well below that of many other countries in the region (there are no official statistics),<sup>26</sup> gangs remain a serious problem, particularly in the slums of Port-au-Prince. The gangs are essentially economic enterprises, engaged in drug trafficking, for which Haiti is now a major trans-shipment point into North America, and other illicit activities for profit, the most terrifying of which is kidnapping. Thanks to a more aggressive anti-kidnapping campaign launched by MINUSTAH and the HNP in late 2006, the number of kidnappings was reduced to just 300 last year, down from a reported 760 in 2005. Unfortunately, 2008 has seen a resurgence in the practice. According to the UN, if the current rate of abduction holds, Haiti could see approximately 400 kidnappings this year.<sup>27</sup> The latest trend in this disturbing practice has seen the kidnappers shift their focus to children. Indeed, half of all kidnapping victims are now minors.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> Report of the Secretary-General on Haiti, United Nations Security Council, S/2004/300, 16 April 2004, p. 6.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>26</sup> See Carlo Dade, "Haiti: Economic Growth and Violence," *Focalpoint*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (January-February 2007), pp. 1-3.

<sup>27</sup> Orin Gordon, "Targeting Haiti's Kidnap Trade," *BBC News*, 24 July 2008.

<sup>28</sup> "Three More Girls Kidnapped in Haiti, UN Mission Reports," *UN News*, 26 August 2008.





Figure 4: MINUSTAH peacekeepers engaged in heavy fighting with gangs in the Cité Soleil neighbourhood of Port-au-Prince, 9 February 2007.<sup>29</sup>

## 3.2 Rule-of-Law Structures

### 3.2.1 Police

Reforming the Haitian National Police has been a MINUSTAH priority from the outset. Much of the effort to date has gone towards assisting in the training of new recruits. As is widely understood, until the HNP are brought up to a satisfactory level of capability and competence, the international community will have to continue to provide for Haiti's internal and external security.

The 2006 Haitian National Police Reform Plan set a goal of 14,000 officers for basic policing duties, along with another 18,000 to 20,000 uniformed personnel to undertake other security-related tasks such as border control, corrections, and firefighting. As of August 2008, there were 8,546 officers serving in the HNP. However, approximately 1,000 of that number are assigned to non-policing tasks. Considerable work thus remains to be done in this area.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> Photo courtesy of the United Nations/Logan Abassi;

<http://www.un.org/events/peacekeeping60/photos2/dest4/pages/behindwall.shtml>.

<sup>30</sup> Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, United Nations Security Council, S/2008/202, 26 March 2008, p. 6; and Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, United Nations Security Council, S/2008/586, 27 August 2008, p. 7.



Figure 5: A man is fingerprinted as part of the registration process for new police officers, 15 November 2005.<sup>31</sup>

### 3.2.2 Judicial System

As in other areas of administration, Haiti's judicial system had deteriorated to the point of complete collapse by 2004 and it has remained largely dysfunctional ever since. A comprehensive review of the system carried out by MINUSTAH in 2005 found that many legal cases were not being dealt with in conformity with international standards, court decisions were rarely implemented, few Haitians had access to the courts, and, perhaps most troubling of all, the administration of justice was arbitrary and citizens could not count on the law to be applied fairly and impartially. Corruption was highlighted as a particularly corrosive influence, as was the excessive politicization of the legal system.<sup>32</sup>

MINUSTAH's efforts have been primarily directed towards enhancing the professionalism of Haiti's judiciary, prosecutors, and other officials. It has also assisted with the restructuring of key institutions. However, it has only been within the last year that Haiti has set out its own reform plan. The government's Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper identifies a wide range of issues that must be addressed over the next three years. Heading the list of priorities is the reorganization and modernization of the Ministry of Justice and Public Security, along with measures to strengthen the judiciary and improve public access to the courts.<sup>33</sup> While some progress has been made towards realizing those objectives, most of the projects intended to address the underlying problems remain in the planning stage.

---

<sup>31</sup> Photo courtesy of the United Nations/Sophia Paris;  
<http://www.unmultimedia.org/photo/detail/103/0103853.html>.

<sup>32</sup> Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, United Nations Security Council, S/2006/60, 2 February 2006, p. 9.

<sup>33</sup> Republic of Haiti, "Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper," November 2007, p. 50.

### 3.2.3 Correctional System

Haiti's correctional system is another source of insecurity. According to the International Crisis Group, "Haiti's overcrowded, understaffed and insecure prisons are powder kegs awaiting a spark. Any explosion of violence or mass prisoner escape could undermine recent steps by the government and UN peacekeepers to combat urban gangs and organised crime."<sup>34</sup>

As of 31 July 2008, Haiti's 17 prisons held more than 7,500 detainees, a number well in excess of the prisons' actual capacity. The situation is most dire at the National Penitentiary in Port-au-Prince, a facility designed to accommodate no more than 438 prisoners that is currently home to nearly half of the country's inmates (3,239). Overcrowding is merely one facet of the problem. Arguably even more concerning is the fact that the vast majority of Haiti's prisoners (approximately 83 percent) are still awaiting trial. To date, little has been done to rectify either problem. Projects aimed at improving the system's infrastructure remain in the planning stage. And while 800 prisoners were released on the recommendation of the Consultative Commission on Prolonged Pretrial Detention, their places have been quickly taken by new detainees.<sup>35</sup>

### 3.3 Human Rights

The human rights situation in Haiti has improved markedly in the years since MINUSTAH was first deployed. Still, the country's human rights record remains poor. The litany of abuses recorded by the U.S. State Department in 2007 included the alleged participation by HNP officers in unlawful killings and kidnappings; arbitrary arrest and detention; widespread violence and discrimination against women; child abuse, including the internal trafficking of children and the use of child domestic labour; and the ineffective enforcement of trade union organizing rights.<sup>36</sup>

Many of the abuses are derivative of the weaknesses in Haiti's rule-of-law institutions. For example, with the police and courts seemingly powerless to protect ordinary Haitians against the ravages of gangs and crime, lynching has become increasingly common. 2007 saw approximately 100 people killed by lynching and dozens more maimed or seriously injured.<sup>37</sup> As the UN Secretary-General has noted, in light of such abuses, it is imperative that the Haitian government and international community balance their emphasis on long-term institutional reform with additional concrete and symbolic measures in the short-term that would strengthen public confidence in the system.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> International Crisis Group, *Haiti: Prison Reform and the Rule of Law*, Latin America/Caribbean Briefing No. 15, 4 May 2007, p. 1.

<sup>35</sup> Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, 26 March 2008, p. 9; and Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, 27 August 2008, p. 9.

<sup>36</sup> United States Department of State, "Haiti," *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices 2007*, 11 March 2008; <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2007/100643.htm>.

<sup>37</sup> Human Rights Watch, "Haiti: Events of 2007," *Human Rights Watch World Report 2008*; <http://hrw.org/englishwr2k8/docs/2008/01/31/haiti17768.htm>; and Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, 26 March 2008, p. 10.

<sup>38</sup> Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, 26 March 2008, p. 9.



## 4 Development: Struggling to Survive

---

### 4.1 The Development Challenge

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has devised several indices for the purpose of measuring national levels of human development. The indices are intended to serve as alternatives, either individually or collectively, to the use of income data as a summary measure of human welfare.

The most well known and cited of the UNDP indices is the Human Development Index (HDI), a composite indicator comprised of three variables: life expectancy at birth, educational attainment (measured by the adult literacy rate and the combined gross primary, secondary, and tertiary enrolment ratios), and gross domestic product (GDP) per capita (measured in purchasing power parity terms). According to the 2007/2008 Human Development Report, Haiti's HDI is 0.529, placing it 146<sup>th</sup> out of 177 countries worldwide and dead last in Latin America and the Caribbean, where the average HDI is a respectable 0.803. Life expectancy at birth in Haiti is a mere 59.5 years. In comparison, the regional average is 72.8 years, second only to that of the high-income countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Haiti's adult literacy rate is estimated at 54.8 percent, well below the regional average of 90.3. A similar disparity is evident in gross enrolment ratios. Haiti's is a paltry 53 percent, compared to 81.2 percent throughout the region. Lastly, Haiti's GDP per capita in 2005 was US\$1,663, less than a fifth of the regional average.<sup>39</sup>

The Human Poverty Index (HPI) paints an equally grim picture of life in Haiti. Whereas the HDI reflects average achievements, the HPI focuses on deprivations. At 35.4, Haiti's HPI places it 74<sup>th</sup> out of the 108 developing countries for which the index has been calculated. In Haiti, the probability at birth of not surviving to age 40 is 21.4 percent; 45.2 percent of the adult population is illiterate; 46 percent of the population lack access to an improved water source; and 17 percent of children under the age of five are underweight. As an additional measure of relative deprivation, it is estimated that 53.9 percent of Haitians live on less than US\$1 a day (among the worst in the world); the number rises to 78 percent if the indicator is doubled to US\$2 per day. Overall, a staggering 65 percent of Haitians live below the national poverty line.<sup>40</sup>

Insufficient data has prevented the UNDP from calculating Haiti's Gender-Related Development Index (GDI), a gender-specific version of the HDI that takes note of inequalities in achievement between men and women, as well as its Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), an indicator designed to evaluate progress in advancing women's political and economic opportunities. Nevertheless, the data that is available is enlightening. Reflecting the global trend, Haitian women can expect to outlive their male counterparts by about four years (life expectancy at birth averages 61.3 years for women versus 57.7 years for men). The economic story is decidedly less positive. On average, Haitian women earn only about half as much as Haitian men. Significantly, just over half (55.6 percent) of all women aged fifteen and older participate in the formal

---

<sup>39</sup> United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 2007/2008, Fighting Climate Change: Human Solidarity in a Divided World* (New York: United Nations Development Programme, 2007), pp. 229-232.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 238-240.

economy. Of that number, the vast majority (94 percent) are employed in the low-paying agricultural and services industries (a slightly lower percentage of men work in those sectors). The political front continues to pose distinct challenges as well. As of 2007, female legislators held only 6.3 percent of the seats in parliament, although women's representation in cabinet (25 percent) is somewhat more substantial.<sup>41</sup>

Beyond the UNDP's standard indices, there is a surfeit of statistical data to which one can turn in order to get a glimpse into the harsh realities of Haitian life and the range of problems and deficiencies which continue to impede the country's progress. 3.8 percent of Haitians between the ages of 15 and 49 are HIV positive. Although low when compared to many African countries, Haiti's rate of HIV infection is the worst in all of Latin America and the Caribbean. Haiti leads the region in a number of other dubious categories as well, including tuberculous infection (405 cases per 100,000 people) and infant mortality (84 per 1,000 live births). Its immunization rates also fall well below the regional average. Such numbers are hardly surprising considering the relative scarcity of both trained medical personnel and dedicated financial support to the health care sector. Haiti's 25 physicians per 100,000 people and US\$82 per capita expenditure on health care are the lowest, by a wide margin, in the entire region. As a point of comparison, the Dominican Republic has 188 physicians per 100,000 people and spends US\$377 per capita.<sup>42</sup>



Figure 6: A family sitting outside their home in Port-au-Prince.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., pp. 326-333 and 338-346.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., pp. 247-250 and 257-264.

<sup>43</sup> Photo courtesy of the United Nations/Eskinder Debebe;  
<http://www.un.org/issues/gallery/family/family12.htm>.

## 4.2 Demography and Environment

Addressing the aforementioned social and economic deficiencies has been a priority for the international community since its return to Haiti en masse in 2004. Among the international development agencies and humanitarian relief organizations working in conjunction with MINUSTAH are Médecins sans frontières, Oxfam, the UNDP, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund), the World Bank, and the World Food Programme. To date, their combined efforts have not met expectations. According to the UN, the recent spike in food and fuel prices more than doubled the number of Haitians facing food insecurity (up from approximately one million people in 2007 to 2.5 million now).<sup>44</sup> In effect, more than four years into the current mission, Haiti remains the object of a vast humanitarian relief operation.

Transforming the mission from its current focus on humanitarian relief to substantive economic development will be difficult, not least because of the serious demographic and environmental pressures working at cross purposes to the development effort. In 2005, Haiti's population stood at 9.3 million people, nearly double what it was thirty years ago (5.1 million). And it is expected to keep growing, reaching 10.8 million by 2015. Perhaps worst of all, as in many of the world's least developed states, Haiti is undergoing a rapid process of urbanization. By 2015 nearly half of Haiti's population (45.5 percent) will reside in its cities.<sup>45</sup>

Haiti's urbanization is intimately linked to its environmental problems, the extent of which it would be difficult to exaggerate. As described by Jared Diamond. "From an airplane flying high overhead, the border [between Haiti and the Dominican Republic] looks like a sharp line with bends, cut arbitrarily across the island by a knife, and abruptly dividing a darker and greener landscape east of the line (the Dominican side) from a paler and browner landscape west of the line (the Haitian side). On the ground, one can stand on the border at many places, face east, and look into pine forest, then turn around, face west, and see nothing except fields almost devoid of trees."<sup>46</sup>

The statistics reinforce the anecdotal evidence. As of 2005, only 3.8 percent of Haiti's total land area was still forested, compared to 28.4 percent in the Dominican Republic.<sup>47</sup> To Haiti's great misfortune, the country has never really engaged in serious agricultural planning. As a result, the country's once extensive forests have been all but decimated in the search for new farmland and the production of charcoal (trees are felled to make charcoal, on which the vast majority of Haitians rely for cooking). Deforestation has, in turn, led to unchecked soil erosion and the slow decline of the agricultural sector. Unable to sustain themselves in the countryside, ever more Haitians have been forced to relocate to the cities. The environmental crisis has reached such proportions that it is difficult to see what can be done to reverse the situation. The few reforestation programs that have been initiated to date have been to little effect.

---

<sup>44</sup> Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, 27 August 2008, p. 11.

<sup>45</sup> UNDP, *Human Development Report 2007/2008*, pp. 243-246.

<sup>46</sup> Jared Diamond, *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed* (New York: Penguin, 2005), p. 329.

<sup>47</sup> UNDP, *Human Development Report 2007/2008*, pp. 302-305.



Figure 7: The border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Haiti is to the left and the Dominican Republic is the greener/darker area to the right.<sup>48</sup>

Adding to Haiti's woes is its susceptibility to tropical storms and torrential rains, the damaging effects of which are often magnified by the denuded terrain. Indeed, mudslides have increasingly become a deadly scourge. The most recent wave of storms to hit the country in August and September left more than 500 people dead and as many as one million homeless.<sup>49</sup> Under such circumstances, development inevitably takes on an entirely different meaning. For the foreseeable future, survival will remain the operative word in Haiti.

---

<sup>48</sup> Photo courtesy of NASA/Goddard Space Flight Center, Scientific Visualization Studio; <http://svs.gsfc.nasa.gov/goto?2640>.

<sup>49</sup> "Haiti 'Overwhelmed' After Storms," *BBC News*, 19 September 2008.



Figure 8: An aerial view of Gonaïves following Tropical Storm Hanna, 3 September 2008.<sup>50</sup>

### 4.3 Doing Business in Haiti

For each of the past five years the World Bank has issued a report on the regulatory regimes governing business activity around the world. The survey examines regulations that affect 10 stages of a business's life: starting a business, dealing with construction permits, employing workers, registering property, getting credit, protecting investors, paying taxes, trading across borders, enforcing contracts, and closing a business. The data in the most recent survey, *Doing Business 2009*, are current as of June 2008.

Overall, Haiti is ranked 154<sup>th</sup> out of the 181 countries surveyed in terms of the ease of doing business, seven places lower than its ranking the previous year.<sup>51</sup> Incredibly, it takes an average of 195 days to start a business in Haiti, more than three times the regional average (64.5 days) and almost fifteen times the OECD average (13.4 days). The length of time required to start a business partly reflects the number of procedures that a standard small to medium-size company must complete in order to operate legally. For Haiti, that number is thirteen, more than double the OECD average.<sup>52</sup> As the previous year's report notes, "Analysis shows that burdensome entry

---

<sup>50</sup> Photo courtesy of the United Nations/Marco Dormino;  
<http://www.unmultimedia.org/photo/detail/191/0191138.html>.

<sup>51</sup> World Bank, *Doing Business 2009: Haiti*;  
<http://www.doingbusiness.org/ExploreEconomies/?economyid=85>.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

regulations do not increase the quality of products, make work safer or reduce pollution. Instead, they constrain private investment; push more people into the informal economy; increase consumer prices; and fuel corruption.”<sup>53</sup>

The barriers to doing business in Haiti are just as extensive in other areas. Building a warehouse in Haiti takes an average of 1,179 days, whereas the regional average is just 229 days. Registering property is equally difficult. The process to secure property rights in Haiti takes 405 days. The regional average is less than a fifth of that number (71.4). More tellingly, the discrepancy cannot be accounted for by any significant difference in the number of procedures that a business enterprise must complete in order to register property. Indeed, the number is actually lower in Haiti (five) than it is throughout the region, on average. And when it comes to protecting the interests of investors, Haiti again finds itself near the bottom of the pack internationally (164<sup>th</sup> overall).<sup>54</sup>

These findings should be of grave concern to both the Haitian government and the international community. If Haiti is ever to develop a self-sustaining economic structure, it will need the private sector to invest at levels far greater than it has to date. That will not happen, however, if Haiti continues to frustrate economic development through its mismanagement of the regulatory environment governing business operations. Foreign aid alone will not be the panacea for Haiti’s problems.

---

<sup>53</sup> World Bank, *Doing Business 2008: Haiti* (Washington: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2007), p. 8.

<sup>54</sup> World Bank, *Doing Business 2009: Haiti*.



## 5 Conclusion

---

While Haiti is certainly more stable today than it was prior to MINUSTAH's deployment in 2004, it is apparent that the peacebuilding campaign has not produced the kind of results that the mission's backers had hoped for when they embarked on this most recent intervention. Politically, Haiti is as dysfunctional as ever. After a brief respite of accommodation, Haiti's lawmakers have returned to their contentious ways, threatening to undo much of the progress that has been achieved in the last four years. Haiti faces enormous challenges on the economic front as well, the social costs of which are simply staggering. The poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, Haiti finds itself at or near the bottom of almost every international quality of life indicator.

For the moment, the international community remains committed to the peacebuilding template that has guided its approach in Haiti for the last four years. In October, the Security Council extended MINUSTAH's mandate for another year (it now runs to 15 October 2009). In all likelihood, additional extensions will follow. That being said, it would be surprising if the global financial crisis and general economic slowdown did not have some impact on Haiti, both in terms of its own economic development and, perhaps more significantly, the willingness of the international community to continue funding the peacebuilding effort. Indeed, donor support appears to have dropped off considerably in the wake of last year's tropical storms and hurricanes.<sup>55</sup> While the international community is unlikely to abandon Haiti altogether, there exists the very real possibility that the level of commitment, both in financial and human terms, will fall below what is necessary for Haiti's long-term development.

Although there is broad agreement on what needs to be done in Haiti, it is becoming increasingly clear that MINUSTAH's current configuration and mandate are no longer suitable to the task at hand. As of 30 November 2008, MINUSTAH was comprised of 9,008 total uniformed personnel. The vast majority of that number are military personnel (7,013), with the remainder divided between police (1,995), international civilian personnel (490), local civilian staff (1,206) and United Nations Volunteers (207).<sup>56</sup> According to the UN, these numbers are unlikely to change over the next year, meaning that the ratio of international troops to police will remain more than 3.5:1. This distribution of personnel and resources might make sense were it not for the fact that the security challenges facing Haiti are primarily non-military in nature. President Préval has repeatedly asked that the mission be reconfigured to have "fewer tanks and more tractors," but to no avail. In the words of UN Special Representative Hedi Annabi, "We try on the margins of the mandate to do what we can, to do simple things for people to meet emergency needs...but we don't have a development mandate and never will."<sup>57</sup> At the very least, such a response raises doubts as to the UN's capacity to oversee a comprehensive peacebuilding mission. What value is MINUSTAH to Haiti if the capabilities it provides are not those deemed most essential to the mission's success?

Haiti would also benefit from a more targeted application of resources. To date, the international community has done a poor job of setting priorities, preferring instead to tackle each and every

---

<sup>55</sup> Jacqueline Charles, "Misery in Haiti is Expected to Worsen," *Miami Herald*, 12 January 2009.

<sup>56</sup> Facts and Figures, United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti;  
<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/minustah/facts.html>.

<sup>57</sup> "UN Force in Haiti Likely to be Renewed," *International Herald Tribune*, 8 October 2008.

institutional and societal deficiency, the results of which have been entirely predictable given the limited amount of resources dedicated to the effort. The international community's first priority must be economic development. Unless the standard of living of the average Haitian is appreciably improved, none of the other initiatives (security sector reform, administrative restructuring, etc.) will be of any consequence.

No matter what approach the international community adopts, the humanitarian and development challenges confronting Haiti are likely to remain severe for many years to come. As such, it is to be expected that the international community will not soon be departing the country. Indeed, considering the extent of the challenges facing Haiti, it is difficult to foresee when that time might come.



# Annex A Map



## Distribution list

---

Document No.: DRDC CORA TM 2009-007

### Information

#### Internal

- 1 DG
- 1 Chief Scientist
- 1 SMO
- 1 Section Head Strategic Analysis
- 2 Library
- 5 Author

#### External

- 1 Comd CEFCOM
- 1 Comd CANSOFCOM
- 1 Comd CANOSCOM
- 1 DGIP
- 1 DG FDA
- 1 DGIS Pol
- 1 DG Pol Plan
- 1 D Strat A
- 1 D Pol Dev
- 1 DPk Pol
- 1 DWH Pol
- 1 DAD
- 1 DAT
- 1 DLSP
- 1 D Air Sp
- 2 DSOA
- 1 DFSA
- 1 DPFL
- 1 CFC Library
- 1 DRDKIM

#### Executive Director

International Assessment Staff  
Privy Council Office  
59 Sparks Street  
Ottawa, ON K1A 0A3

#### Director

Western Hemisphere Division  
International Assessment Staff  
Privy Council Office

59 Sparks Street  
Ottawa, ON K1A 0A3

Director  
Haiti Task Force  
Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada  
125 Sussex Drive  
Ottawa, ON K1A 0G2

Director  
Policy Research Division  
Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada  
125 Sussex Drive  
Ottawa, ON K1A 0G2

Director General  
Haiti and Dominican Republic  
Canadian International Development Agency  
200 Promenade du Portage  
Gatineau, QC K1A 0G4

Chief  
International Affairs and Defence  
Parliamentary Information and Research Service  
Library of Parliament  
50 O'Connor Street  
Ottawa, ON K1A 0A9

The North-South Institute  
55 Murray Street, Suite 200  
Ottawa, ON K1N 5M3

Pearson Peacekeeping Centre  
HCI Building  
1125 Colonel By Drive, Suite 5110  
Ottawa, ON K1S 5B6

Stephen Baranyi  
School of International Development and Global Studies  
University of Ottawa  
550 Cumberland Street  
Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5

Carlo Dade  
Canadian Foundation for the Americas  
1 Nicholas Street, Suite 720  
Ottawa, ON K1N 7B7

Robert Fatton Jr.  
Department of Politics  
University of Virginia  
P.O. Box 400787  
Charlottesville, VA 22904-4787  
United States

François Pierre-Louis  
Department of Political Science  
Queens College, City University of New York  
65-30 Kissena Boulevard  
Flushing, NY 11367  
United States

Dr. Jeremy Littlewood  
Canadian Centre of Intelligence and Security Studies  
The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NPSIA)  
Carleton University DT-1404  
1125 Colonel By Drive  
Ottawa, ON K1S 5B6

Caroline Flintoft  
Director of Research and Publications  
International Crisis Group  
149 Avenue Louise  
Level 24  
B-1050 Brussels  
Belgium

Dr. Robin Niblett  
Director  
Royal Institute of International Affairs  
Chatham House  
10 James's Square  
London SW1Y 4LE  
United Kingdom

Dr. John Chipman  
Director-General and Chief Executive  
The International Institute for Strategic Studies  
Arundel House, 13-15 Arundel Street, Temple Place  
London WC2R 3DX  
United Kingdom

Dr. Jamie MacIntosh  
Advanced Research and Assessment Group (ARAG)  
Defence Academy of the United Kingdom  
Headquarters

Greenhill House  
Shrivenham  
Nr Swindon  
Wiltshire SN6 8LA  
United Kingdom

Robert S. Litwak  
Director, International Security Studies  
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars  
Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center  
One Woodrow Wilson Plaza  
1300 Pennsylvania Ave., NW  
Washington, DC 20004-3027  
United States

Dr. Eric Thompson  
International Affairs Group (IAG)  
The Center for Strategic Studies  
The CNA Corporation  
4825 Mark Center Drive  
Alexandria, VA 22311  
United States

Professor Douglas C. Lovelace, Jr.  
Director  
Strategic Studies Institute (SSI)  
United States Army War College  
122 Forbes Avenue  
Carlisle, Pennsylvania 17013-5244  
United States

Dr. Jacob Kipp  
Deputy Director  
School of Advanced Military Studies (SAMS)  
Eisenhower Hall Rm. 271  
Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027  
United States

Lieutenant General, US Air Force (Ret.) Tad J. Oelstrom  
Director, National Security Program  
John F. Kennedy School of Government  
Harvard University  
79 John F. Kennedy Street  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138  
United States

Dr. James Shear, Director of Research  
Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS)

National Defense University  
Fort Lesley J. McNair  
Washington, DC 20319-5066  
United States

Director, USAF Institute for National Security Studies  
HQ USAFA/DFES  
2354 Fairchild Drive, Suite 5L27  
USAF Academy, CO 80840  
United States

**DOCUMENT CONTROL DATA**

(Security classification of title, body of abstract and indexing annotation must be entered when the overall document is classified)

1. ORIGINATOR (The name and address of the organization preparing the document. Organizations for whom the document was prepared, e.g. Centre sponsoring a contractor's report, or tasking agency, are entered in section 8.)  Centre for Operational Research and Analysis (CORA) Defence R&D Canada 6CBS, Pearkes Building National Defence Headquarters Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0K2		2. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION (Overall security classification of the document including special warning terms if applicable.)  UNCLASSIFIED	
3. TITLE (The complete document title as indicated on the title page. Its classification should be indicated by the appropriate abbreviation (S, C or U) in parentheses after the title.)  Peacebuilding in Haiti: A Progress Report			
4. AUTHORS (last name, followed by initials – ranks, titles, etc. not to be used)  Greene, B.W.			
5. DATE OF PUBLICATION (Month and year of publication of document.)  January 2009		6a. NO. OF PAGES (Total containing information, including Annexes, Appendices, etc.)  39	6b. NO. OF REFS (Total cited in document.)  57
7. DESCRIPTIVE NOTES (The category of the document, e.g. technical report, technical note or memorandum. If appropriate, enter the type of report, e.g. interim, progress, summary, annual or final. Give the inclusive dates when a specific reporting period is covered.)  Technical Memorandum			
8. SPONSORING ACTIVITY (The name of the department project office or laboratory sponsoring the research and development – include address.)			
9a. PROJECT OR GRANT NO. (If appropriate, the applicable research and development project or grant number under which the document was written. Please specify whether project or grant.)  PG0 10aa		9b. CONTRACT NO. (If appropriate, the applicable number under which the document was written.)	
10a. ORIGINATOR'S DOCUMENT NUMBER (The official document number by which the document is identified by the originating activity. This number must be unique to this document.)  DRDC CORA TM 2009-007		10b. OTHER DOCUMENT NO(s). (Any other numbers which may be assigned this document either by the originator or by the sponsor.)	
11. DOCUMENT AVAILABILITY (Any limitations on further dissemination of the document, other than those imposed by security classification.)  Unlimited			
12. DOCUMENT ANNOUNCEMENT (Any limitation to the bibliographic announcement of this document. This will normally correspond to the Document Availability (11). However, where further distribution (beyond the audience specified in (11) is possible, a wider announcement audience may be selected.)  Unlimited			

13. **ABSTRACT** (A brief and factual summary of the document. It may also appear elsewhere in the body of the document itself. It is highly desirable that the abstract of classified documents be unclassified. Each paragraph of the abstract shall begin with an indication of the security classification of the information in the paragraph (unless the document itself is unclassified) represented as (S), (C), (R), or (U). It is not necessary to include here abstracts in both official languages unless the text is bilingual.)

This Technical Memorandum provides an overview of the international community's peacebuilding effort in Haiti since 2004, with a special emphasis on the role of the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). The paper concludes that while some progress has been recorded since MINUSTAH's deployment, Haiti remains incapable of fulfilling essential governance tasks, including the provision of basic services to a largely destitute population. As such, it is expected that Haiti will remain in need of large-scale international assistance for the foreseeable future.

La présente note technique trace les grandes lignes des efforts déployés depuis 2004 par la communauté internationale en matière de consolidation de la paix en Haïti et se penche plus particulièrement sur le rôle de la Mission des Nations Unies pour la stabilisation en Haïti (MINUSTAH). Bien qu'on ait noté certains progrès depuis le déploiement de la MINUSTAH, Haïti demeure incapable de s'acquitter de certaines tâches fondamentales liées à la gouvernance, notamment la prestation de services de base auprès d'une population qui vit en grande partie dans la misère. Aussi, on s'attend à ce qu'Haïti continue à avoir besoin d'une aide internationale à grande échelle pour les années à venir.

14. **KEYWORDS, DESCRIPTORS or IDENTIFIERS** (Technically meaningful terms or short phrases that characterize a document and could be helpful in cataloguing the document. They should be selected so that no security classification is required. Identifiers, such as equipment model designation, trade name, military project code name, geographic location may also be included. If possible keywords should be selected from a published thesaurus, e.g. Thesaurus of Engineering and Scientific Terms (TEST) and that thesaurus identified. If it is not possible to select indexing terms which are Unclassified, the classification of each should be indicated as with the title.)

Haiti; United Nations; United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti; Peacebuilding





[www.drdc-rddc.gc.ca](http://www.drdc-rddc.gc.ca)