

# Haiti

## after the Earthquake

The Challenges of rebuilding a Failed State  
after a Natural Disaster

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Submitted to:  
Professor Ursula C. Tafe Ph.D  
Lecturer, Dept. of Political Science and International Relations

By:  
Kérol Lundy  
Master of Science In International Relations Candidate

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The McCormack Graduate School of Policy Studies  
University of Massachusetts Boston

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## Foreword

Although Haiti is routinely described as the poorest country in the western hemisphere, most descriptions neglect to point out that this poverty is the product of a long a deliberate history<sup>1</sup>. Haiti was the theater of the first and only successful black revolt that led to the second independent country in the western hemisphere after the United States. The road to sovereignty was paved with all sorts of problems that impeded the development of the young nation. Haiti forced its entry into the community of nations in 1804 and was bewildered to find that it was not welcome by the civilized world as a free and independent nation. Haiti dared to put an end to slavery, a system that enriched the great nations of Europe and the powerful neighbor the United States of America.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, the fundamental document that characterized the French revolution in 1789 and was so cherished by the great intellectual of the self-styled civilized world in the eighteenth century and the slogan “all men are created equal” that epitomized the American independence, were not intended for the first black republic. It came as a shock for the young republic that these principles were only empty slogans, this blatant hypocrisy has traumatized the Haitian psyche ever since.

Haiti’s independence was an affront to the world, and a threat to the international order. Therefore everything must be done to prevent it from becoming successful, thus a

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<sup>1</sup> Hallward, Peter. *Damming the Flood, Haiti, Aristide and the politic of containment.* (Verso, 2007), p1

chain of events were taking place one after the other that corroborate the previous assertion. The French held Haiti hostage under the menacing gun of its warships in 1825 to pay 150 million of gold Francs, which is roughly the equivalent of 20 billion US dollars in today value as reparation to the colonists. Again Haiti faced multiple threats and extortions from the German to occupy the country in the nineteenth century, and finally two US occupations in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the first one lasted 19 years from 1915 to 1934 and the second 3 years from 1994 to 1997. These despicable measures were constantly repeated throughout history. Haiti's history is paved with misfortunes.

During the Cold War Haiti was governed by the Duvalier dynasty, one of the most brutal hereditary dictatorships that lasted nearly thirty year, from 1957 to 1986. The political instability that ensue after the fall of the Duvalier in the late eighties, the failed economic policy of subsequent governments and the inheritance of certain colonial practice inter allia domesticity destabilized the country further and put Haiti in the list of failed states. Lastly the earthquake of January 12, 2010 gave the final blow to an already failing country, and that create a humanitarian disaster of unmitigated proportion. The country needs a reconstruction project that is sustainable and feasible, but there are multiple challenges lay ahead for the International Community and the Haitian government.

## **Introduction**

Between 2007 and 2010 Haiti has been hit by a string of natural disasters ranging from hurricanes, to flooding, and finally severe drought; then on January 12, 2010 an earthquake of 7.03 magnitude on the Richter scale shook the country and caused a major ecological and humanitarian crisis that threatened the integrity of the state. Although the country is geographically located in an area prone to natural disaster, the past hurricanes and more recent earthquake and its aftershocks have been the worst natural disasters that the country has ever sustained. As a result of the earthquake, Haiti has suffered serious loss of life. According to government estimates, more than three hundred thousand died, 1.2 million were left homeless, and an insurmountable amount of materiel loss, devastated infrastructure in Port-au-Prince and other cities.<sup>2</sup> While the international Community reacted quickly by mobilizing resources and dispatching relief materials and manpower to help save lives, the challenges they faced were unimaginable. The true face of a country in crisis began to surface, and the realities of a failing state have become more apparent. The international community faced issues of enormous proportion as communication system were shutdown, and no governmental institutions were functioning, leaving the country unable to handle a crisis of this scale. The much-needed

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<sup>2</sup> Aljazeera, Monday, February 22, 2010, accessed May 6, 2010 at 10:12 pm  
<http://english.aljazeera.net/news/americas/2010/02/20102223388794295.html>

help could not be dispatched to the disaster area; people were dying unnecessarily death because of a lack of basic medicine, and no one was in control.

This precarious condition on the ground after the earthquake was a disaster waiting to happen for Haiti has been on the list of failed state since 2005, according to a study conducted by the Fund for Peace<sup>3</sup> a Think Tank based in Washington using a methodology called CAST (Country Assessment System Tool) that displays certain indicators. The International Community mobilized international financial institutions, donors' countries, and Non-Governmental Organizations, along with the Haitian government under the auspices of the UN, to raise funds to help rebuild Haiti and turn it into a viable state.

This gigantic project would face some serious challenges, internal as well as external. Haiti as a failed state already presents serious challenges in the international arena. Haiti has become one of the most difficult conundrums for experts in the International Community. The reconstruction of Haiti will pose some difficult tasks for all the actors involved, and some troubling questions are necessary to ask in order to understand the scope of the project: What kind of rebuilding is right for Haiti? Who will be in charge? What will the challenges be in the reconstruction process?

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<sup>3</sup> Fund For Peace an advocacy group specialized the conflict assessment and early warning field. The FfP focuses on the problems of weak and failing states. They are based in Washington DC. <http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/>

This paper discusses the concept “failed state” by reviewing literature from different schools of thought, then identifying and analyzing key components that led to the failed state status of Haiti, and its impact on the country’s citizens and the consequence in the international arena. In addition this paper will proceed with an in depth background analysis of the situation before and after the disaster, and overview the challenges facing the Haitian government in approaching the crisis, and an outline of the inherent contradictions among the key players, questioning their response to the aftermath and weighing in on their responsibility toward society. The last part will identify the different challenges such as the problem governance and security concern that a failed state represent for the international community and local actors in the reconstruction process and finally policy recommendations will be submitted.

## **Development**

### **Part II: Failed States status**

#### **Section 2.1 Literature review on Failed States**

The changes that occurred in the international arena after the Cold War prompted scholars, academics, journalist and political commentators to redefine certain concepts and conceive new ones to identify certain trends related to states in the International system. Failed States, has been part of the political lexicon over the past two decades; however there is difference of opinion among scholars from different schools of thoughts in regard to the definition of the concept. Gerald B. Helman and Stevens Ratner coined the term, failed state for the first time in an article, “Saving Failed States” in the Foreign Policy magazine (Winter 1992-93) “nation-states that are utterly incapable of sustaining

itself as a member of the international community.” Their definition has gained widespread acceptance.<sup>4</sup> However, the Fund for Peace a Think Tank based in Washington designed a method called Conflict Assessment System Tool (CAST) a model that has the capability to employ a four-step trend-line analysis, consisting of rating twelve indicators of state vulnerability. This literature review will note the different approaches of the concept by scholars and academics, but will focus on the model used by the Fund for Peace organization as it gives a more detailed description of the different indexes and clearly identify the pattern of failed states.

In a article title “The Failed State and international Law” written for the International Committee of the Red Cross, Daniel Thürer professor of International Law, European Law, Constitutional Law and Administrative Law at the University of Zurich, discussed the collapse and internal dissolution of States. He argues that the term "failed State does not denote a precisely defined and classifiable situation but serve rather as a broad label for a phenomenon which can be interpreted in various ways.” Professor Thürer intends to demonstrate that this concept encompasses many aspects from legal, to developmental and sociological. He developed below the different aspect.

### **The political and legal approach**

Three elements can be said to characterize the phenomenon of the "failed State" from the political and legal point of view.

Firstly, there is the geographical and territorial aspect, namely the fact

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<sup>4</sup> Gerald B. Helman, retired from Foreign Service, was U.S. ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva and deputy to the under-secretary of state for political affairs. Stevens Ratner, is an international affairs fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. Foreign Policy Magazine (Winter 1992-1993) 3 <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/>

that "failed States" are essentially associated with internal and endogenous problems, even though these may incidentally have cross-border impacts.

Secondly, there is the political aspect, namely the internal collapse of law and order.

Thirdly, there is the functional aspect, namely the absence of bodies capable, on the one hand, of representing the State at the international level and, on the other, of being influenced by the outside world.

From a legal point of view, it could be said that the "failed State" is one, which, though retaining legal capacity, has for all practical purposes lost the ability to exercise it. A key element in this respect is the fact that there is no body, which can commit the State in an effective and legally binding way, for example, by concluding an agreement.

**The historical and developmental context.**

The "failed States" existing at present are essentially Third World States, Which have been affected by three geopolitical factors:

The end of the Cold War, during which the two superpowers had often kept shallow-rooted regimes artificially in power, preserving them as potential allies through supplies of arms or through ideology-based power structures, which kept the unity of the State intact by force;

The heritage of colonial regimes which had lasted long enough to destroy traditional social structures, but not long enough to replace them with Western constitutional structures and an effective identity as a new State; and lastly General processes of modernizations, which encouraged social and geographical mobility but were not counterbalanced by nation-building processes capable of placing the State on a firm foundation.

### **The sociological perspective.**

The problem of the "failed State" can thus be seen as an elemental phenomenon, which, though currently acute in only a few countries, remains latent throughout the world. Sociologically, it is characterized by two phenomena:

The first of these is the collapse of the core of government, which Max Weber rightly described as "monopoly of power". In such States, the police, judiciary and other bodies serving to maintain law and order have either ceased to exist or are no longer able to operate. In many cases, they are used for purposes other than those for which they were intended.

The second typical feature of a "failed State" is the brutality and intensity of the violence used.<sup>5</sup>

Professor Thürer's approach on the subject is broad and his analysis tends to identify the root cause of this phenomenon and addressed the geopolitical context that gave birth to it. He pointed out the inability of a failed state to function as a unifying body. While his analysis is well-argued and touched some important aspect of this phenomenon, however he failed to mention the security dilemma that a failed state embody in this new era, one of the salient issue that gives Policymakers a lot of difficulty.

The Fund for Peace institute trend-line assessment listed twelve indicators of state

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<sup>5</sup> Daniel Thürer, "The Failed State" and International Law, Global Policy Forum, December 31, 1999

<http://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/173/30464.html#author>

This article is based partly on a previous study by the author, entitled "Der Wegfall effektiver Staatsgewalt: der 'Failed State'", published in *Berichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerrecht*, Vol. 34, Heidelberg, 1995, pp. 9-47. -- ICRC translation of the original German text.

vulnerability: Social Indicators and its 4 subcategories, Economic Indicators with its 2 subcategories and Political Indicators with its 6 subcategories. The FfP indicators are more clearly identifiable and less complicated for the average reader or observer. Their list is divided in four tiers: Alert, Warning, Moderate and Sustainable.

### ***Social Indicators***

1. Mounting Demographic Pressures.
2. Massive Movement of Refugees or Internally Displaced Persons.
3. Legacy of Vengeance-Seeking Group Grievance.
4. Chronic and Sustained Human Flight.

### ***Economic Indicators***

5. Uneven Economic Development along Group Lines.
6. Sharp and/or Severe Economic Decline.

### ***Political Indicators***

7. Criminalization and/or delegitimization of the State.
8. Progressive Deterioration of Public Services.
9. Suspension or Arbitrary Application of the Rule of Law and Widespread Violation of Human Rights.
10. Security Apparatus Operates as a "State Within a State".
11. Rise of Factionalized Elites.
12. Intervention of Other States or External Political Actors.

Based on the aforementioned indexes, states that exhibit some or all of the indicators fully or partially fell under the category of failed states. The Fund for Peace further enumerates five institutions referred to as 'core five' that need special attention in

approaching the problem. “Policymakers also must pay more attention to building state institutions, particularly the ‘core five’ institutions: military, police, civil service, the system of justice and leadership.”<sup>6</sup>

In the essay “Failed States, or the State as Failure?” Published by the *University of Chicago Law Review*, Rosa Ehrenreich Brooks argues that state failure creates numerous challenges for the international system. “Some challenges are humanitarian, as state failure generally is both fueled by and creates overwhelming human need. Some challenges relate to international security: especially since 9/11, failed states have been recognized as breeding grounds for extremism and staging points for organized terrorist groups.”<sup>7</sup>

Brooks asserted further that failed states pose legal challenge; she cited Rotberg’s argument to support her claim. “They cannot enter or abide by treaties; they cannot participate in the increasingly dense network of international trade, environmental, or human rights agreement and institution; they cannot enforce contracts between their citizens and foreigners or protect settle property interests.”<sup>8</sup> In her argument, she stated that the International community has viewed failed state as a cause of concern.

Although Brooks did not clearly define “failed state”, however in her explanation of the concern associated with this phenomenon, she used “state failure” and “failed state”

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<sup>6</sup> Fund for Peace (FfP) FSI Failed State Index  
[http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=107&Itemid=145](http://www.fundforpeace.org/web/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=107&Itemid=145)

<sup>7</sup> Failed States, or the state of failure? by Rosa Ehrenreich Brooks The University of Chicago Law Review Volume 72, Fall 2005 Number 4 (p.1162)

<sup>8</sup> *ibid*

interchangeably. Brooks pointed out the challenges that failed states represent and lay out the problems that they cause. She put emphasis on the security concern in a post 911 world and stress that failed states could be use as a staging ground for non-state actors to destabilize the world. She nailed the security aspect issue with brio.

In a report prepared in December 2003 by: The African Studies Centre, Leiden, The Transnational Institute, Amsterdam, The Center of Social Studies, Coimbra University, and The Peace Research Center-CIP-FUHEM, Madrid these institutions gave the concept another dimension that of relevancy and accountability.

Here it should be realized that failed states do not actually disappear: rather, through the power vacuum that they create, they draw into their ambit various external political and economic forces. They are integrated into regional and international affairs through the flows of refugees they create, their migrants abroad, international crime syndicates and legitimate or illegitimate economic interaction. They provide useful assets for crime groups based in wealthy countries. Even legitimate businesses, including multinational mining and oil companies, may feel obliged to have recourse to illicit methods or circuits. Access to, and the movement, of goods is uneven, both within collapsed states and within well-functioning states... Failed states, then, do not exist in isolation: they are an integral part of the world system of governance.<sup>9</sup>

In the same report they asserted that states could be made to fail by deliberate

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<sup>9</sup> FAILED AND COLLAPSED STATES IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM. Report prepared by: The African Studies Centre, Leiden, The Transnational Institute, Amsterdam, The Center of Social Studies, Coimbra University, and The Peace Research Center-CIP-FUHEM, Madrid, December 2003

intent. Other scholars overlooked this dimension.

The collapse and disappearance of the Soviet Union, and its replacement by a number of successor states, several of which have to be considered in the 'failing' category, may have been to some extent the outcome of policies deliberately intended to prevent the resurrection of a former superpower. In January 2003 a probing BBC television interviewer elicited from the US economist Jeffrey Sachs a statement that the US led aid program for the former Soviet Union in the early 1990s had been driven not by a wish to reconstruct but to destroy. According to Sachs (who, as the leading American architect of reform), the core purpose was to finish off the state socialist system and conclude the Cold War agenda.<sup>10</sup>

With the above statement, these institutes have gone farther than any other scholarly literature written on the subject. They recognized that failed states actually play a role in the international system albeit negatively. They also venture in a territory that other scholars either failed to mention or intentionally left out, that is the deliberate intent by great powers to fail other states. Their example of the Former Soviet Union is convincing; except for Georgia, Kirghizstan and Uzbekistan that are in the alert phase, the rest of the former Soviet republics are on the warning phase on the FSI, which is still a dangerous phase.

However other eminent scholars disagree with the concept of failed states by deconstructing it and proposed their view. Charles T. Call argues that the concept contains culturally specific assumptions about what a 'successful' state should look like and grouped together disparate sorts of states with diverse problems. "The failed state idea also leads to narrow and univalent policy prescriptions that obscure other important

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<sup>10</sup> *ibid*

conceptual issues and practical challenges. The most serious problem with the concept of failed states is the problem of definition, and more specifically of super-aggregation of very diverse sorts of states and their problems.”<sup>11</sup> He pointed out the difficulty that other scholars have to develop indicators that are intuitively logical or widely shared. For instance, when William Zartman and Robert Rotberg two leading scholar in the field provide a list of indicators of a failed state; Charles T. Calls argues that Rotberg’s “list of indicators provides the clearest example of the agglomeration of extremely diverse institutional and social conditions.” The list includes:

- Civil wars characterized by enduring violence;
- Disharmony between communities;
- Loss of control over peripheral regions to out-groups;
- Growth of criminal violence, including gangs, and trafficking of arms and guns;
- Cessation of functioning legislatures and judiciaries;
- Informal privatization of education, health and other social services;
- Corruption;
- Loss of legitimacy;
- Declining per capita GDP, with associated soaring smuggling and the supplanting of the national currency with external money.

If a state exhibits some of the aforementioned indicators, but not all of them, this entity becomes a failed state. However, Charles disagree with this simplistic approach and asserted that Rotberg does not explicitly define what a 'failing state' is. Zartman and Rotberg indicators are too broad and encompass other indicators like corruption, informal

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<sup>11</sup> Charles T. Call an Associate at the School of International Service at the American University in Washington, DC  
Call, Charles T(2008) 'The Fallacy of the 'Failed State'', Third World Quarterly, 29: 8, (p.1492 — 1496) <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01436590802544207>

privatization and disharmony between communities that can be found in successful states.

Professor Calls also criticized the Failed State Index produced by the Fund for Peace. He argues that the Fund for Peace put too much emphasis on solving the failed state problem by addressing the security concern while other indicators are left untouched.

The FSI (Failed States Index) project specifies not only that state strengthening is the medicine for the malady of state failure, but also recommends which parts of the body politic should receive the medicine, without more detailed diagnosis...Although those who advance the failed state concept prescribe diverse and tailored solutions to the problems of failing and failed states, they privilege policies that will reinforce order and stability, even when the prevailing order is unjust. This emphasis on order and stability clearly serves the interests of Western powers concerned about international insecurities stemming from drug trafficking, terrorism, or internal armed conflicts abroad. It also reflects learning from post-conflict societies that, without security, nothing else is possible.<sup>12</sup>

He rejected the whole concept of Failed State as bogus and asserted that the one-size-fits-all 'state building' answer to 'failed states' misses important tensions and trade-offs in pursuing state strength. Calls put together an initial list of four categories he claims that may lay the basis for further experimental work.

### ***Collapsed states***

Countries whose state apparatus ceases to exist for a period of several months. Here citizens do not know where to go to obtain a recognized

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<sup>12</sup> Call, Charles T(2008) 'The Fallacy of the 'Failed State'', Third World Quarterly, 29: 8, 1491 — 1507

passport, and sub-state or non-state actors provide all services normally provided by the state.

***Weak formal institutional capacity (aka 'weak states')***

In many states informal institutions—tribes, patron-client networks, or ethnically based networks—hold as much power as formal state institutions.

***War-torn states***

Conceptually the degree and nature of armed conflict vary across countries. Where warfare is limited to specific areas and specific groups (eg Chechnya in Russia, despite attacks that have occurred in Moscow), the challenges of state building differ from where civil war is territorially extensive and involves most social groups (eg Liberia in 2003).

***Authoritarian states/regimes***

Such regimes often come to power through violence, but establish sufficient coercive control that opposition is curtailed through repression, leading to surprisingly low levels of political or criminal violence.<sup>13</sup>

Although professor Calls rejected the concept and distanced himself from the solutions to this phenomenon proposed by the Fund for Peace, however his four categories do have some resemblance to the other proposed indicators aforementioned. His list clearly delineates the different component of this phenomenon.

The diversity in the point of view in defining this concept is broad and cannot be covered in this literature review; however the two schools of thought that were covered in this review presented convincing argument and solid evidence to support their claim. The first school of thought defined the concept based on scientific research and cogent method of analysis, while the other using similar method but a different approach argues

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<sup>13</sup> Call, Charles T(2008) “The Fallacy of the 'Failed State'”, Third World Quarterly, 29: 8, (p.1501 — 1503)

for a redefinition of the concept and suggests a new approach. It is a reality that this new concept serves as a reference to classify countries in the international system, as the definition by the former school of thought led by the Fund for Peace organization becomes standard. Thus far the Fund for Peace suggestions to Policymakers to address this crisis serves the basis of approach to this phenomenon.

## **Section 2.2 the case of Haiti**

Why using the FSI of the Fund for Peace in the case of Haiti?

The Fund for Peace's FSI model is more elaborate and gives more detail as to how a country becomes a failed state by identifying certain patterns that would otherwise left untouched, and also proposed solution to policymakers on how to address this phenomenon. The CAST (country assessment system tools) methodology the Fund for Peace uses to identify these indicators is based on trend analysis and early warning assessment of societies at risk of state disintegration; it is original and participative. Based on the aforementioned elements, this model will be use as a reference throughout this research paper. According to the FfP Haiti has been on the alert phase since the first report came out in 2005 and still remain to date. This detail graph below explained where Haiti stands on all 12 indicators.

	Total Score	Social			Economic		Political/Military						
		Demographic Pressures	Refugees & Displaced Persons	Group Grievance	Human Flight	Uneven Development	Economy	Legitimacy of the State	Public Services	Human Rights	Security Apparatus	Factionalized Elites	External Intervention
2007	100.9	8.6	4.2	8.0	8.0	8.2	8.4	9.2	9.0	9.1	9.3	9.3	9.6
2008	99.3	8.5	4.2	8.0	8.0	8.2	8.3	9.0	8.8	8.9	8.9	8.9	9.6
2009	101.8	9.3	5.8	7.3	8.6	8.2	8.9	9.2	9.5	8.5	8.4	8.3	9.8
2007 to 2008	▼	▼	↔	↔	↔	↔	▼	▼	▼	▼	▼	▼	↔
2008 to 2009	▲	▲	▲	▼	▲	↔	▲	▲	▲	▼	▼	▼	▲

The alert phase is the most critical category, it represents states that are either completely collapsed or on the verge. Being on that category means that Haiti exhibit the majority of all twelve FSI indicators. As troubling as this statistics look, a good observer would be inclined to ask: How did Haiti get to that point? Does Haiti current status really represent a threat in the international system? A concise overview of the geopolitical context during the Cold War and an analysis the economic and political development over the past decades starting 1980 to present would help elucidate this troubling question and put the puzzled together.

### Part III: Haiti the last three decades

After the Cuban revolution of 1959 the Caribbean became the hotbed of the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. Haiti was caught in the middle of this dangerous game and that somehow affected it. The US supported and maintained Papa Doc and his son Baby Doc in power during the whole era from 1957 through 1986 by giving them military aid, diplomatic support, and encourages foreign direct investment in the manufacturing sector in order to prevent Haiti of becoming another Cuba. Haiti did not take advantage to bargain its loyalty to the US and formulate a cogent economic

development plan that is sustainable, as any effort made in the direction would be curtailed by the army; hence it was extremely difficult to create an endogenous development plan for the country. In the meantime international institutions such the IMF, the World Bank are putting structure to indebted small countries into taking loans to finance infrastructure projects. Usually small countries do not have a say nor can discuss the modality of these loans, for most the time dictators are at the helm and they only focus on getting the loan to later put it in western banks. This was the case for Haiti during the thirty-year reign of the Duvalier (father and son).

After the fall of Baby Doc<sup>14</sup> in 1986, Haiti went through a transformational period where the emergence of a grassroots popular movement for democratic reform took place and demanded real politico-economic reform and participation in the decision-making body of the nation. The first democratic election took place in 1990 and Jean-Bertrand Aristide a priest turned politician was elected democratically on the *Lavalas*<sup>15</sup> platform, nine months later he was ousted by a military coup and sent into exile. The OAS<sup>16</sup> demanded the restoration of the democratically elected government; the military did not yield to pressure, that defiance angered the OAS and prompted them to pass a vote on tightening the existing embargo against Haiti.

The key points in the Haiti resolution were decisions for tighter enforcement of the existing maritime trade embargo and an urgent suggestion that all members keep embargoed goods off commercial airline flights bound for Haiti. Specific measures mentioned in the

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<sup>14</sup> Baby Doc is a nickname given to Jean-Claude Duvalier the son of Papa Doc

<sup>15</sup> Lavalas is a Creole word meaning literally flood; however in this context it means strength.

<sup>16</sup> Organization of the American States: a political organization that regroups most of the country from the western hemisphere.

resolution include a call for members to close their ports to any ship that picks up or unloads cargo in Haiti.<sup>17</sup>

The UN Security Council decided to impose economic sanction against Haiti to punish the military. The catastrophic effects of the embargo on the country resonate to this day, the people that supposedly were the target never really affected. Elizabeth Gibbons a representative of the UN from 1992 to 1996 in Haiti and was in charge of the UNICEF was so appalled by the effect on ordinary people that she made the following recommendations:

- Target sanctions to trade goods used "exclusively by members of the target regime and their supporters in the political or business elite."
  - "Permit exemptions for equipment, financial, and technical assistance that the UN or sanctioning powers can make available to private media."
  - "Avoid imposing a multilateral trade embargo on any imported goods generally consumed by the population at large."
  - "Broaden current exemptions for humanitarian assistance."<sup>18</sup>
- (Gibbons 1999, p108-109)

Although the UN suspended the embargo with the return of Aristide in 1994, the effects were already far reaching and devastating. In essence the country never fully recovered since. Aristide partially implemented the reform that the IMF and the World Bank had wanted; however it was not enough. The country descended into violence once

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<sup>17</sup> Kenneth Freed, OAS tightens Trade Embargo Against Haiti, Los Angeles Times, May 18, 1992 [http://articles.latimes.com/1992-05-18/news/mn-75\\_1\\_trade-embargo](http://articles.latimes.com/1992-05-18/news/mn-75_1_trade-embargo)

<sup>18</sup> Elizabeth D. Gibbons. *SANCTIONS IN HAITI: HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY UNDER ASSAULT* Westport, Ct.: Praeger, 1999. P. 108-109

again in 2004 despite the presence of the UN peacekeeping force MINUSTAH<sup>19</sup> in the country. As the national army was disbanded, the newly formed National Police was not up to the task of maintaining order, the judicial system is corrupted and the little infrastructures left were in horrible conditions. David Rosenblum Felson of Council on Hemispheric Affairs noted,

“In 2001, the Bush administration in Washington enforced an economic assistance embargo on Haiti. This abhorrent measure was largely a response to President Jean-Bertrand Aristide’s refusal to privatize state-owned companies, as well as his recognition of Cuba’s integral role in the region. The ban served to further cripple Haiti’s already downtrodden financial system.”<sup>20</sup>

Stephan Lendman, of the Centre for Research on Globalization, asserts that, “It’s no secret that the real power calling the shots in Haiti is not in Port-au-Prince. It’s in Washington making policy, giving orders and letting its approved proxies do its bidding...”<sup>21</sup> The consequence of the UN sanctions and other imposed but failed economic policies have paved the way for Haiti to become a failed state. “Haitian efforts

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<sup>19</sup> MINUSTAH is the French acronym for United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, it was established in 2004. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/minustah/> “MINUSTAH is charged with, among other things, establishing a secure and stable environment, reforming the Haitian national police, assisting with disarmament, Demobilization, and reintegration (DDR), assisting with the establishment of rule of law, fostering institutional strengthening and the principles of democratic governance, national dialogue and reconciliation, assisting with free and fair elections, and extending state authority throughout Haiti.”>> UN Security Council, *Resolution 1542 (2004)*, S/RES/1542 (2004), 30 April 2004, p. 4.

<sup>20</sup> David Rosenblum Felson, *Aid to Haiti: When and if International Assistance Effort will Succeed*, Council on Hemispheric Affairs (COHA), May 07, 2009.

<http://www.coha.org/aid-to-haiti-when-and-if-international-assistance-efforts-will-succeed/>

<sup>21</sup> <http://www.coha.org/aid-to-haiti-when-and-if-international-assistance-efforts-will-succeed/>

to improve living and working conditions for the Haitian majority have received short thrift, because that have often gone awry after brief periods of success.”<sup>22</sup> (McAnany & Yoffee 2010, p276)

### **Section 3.1 Impacts on Social Structure**

Although Haiti had known an apparent political stability under Jean-Claude Duvalier in the early eighties, however the economic hardships that prevailed had gotten worse and impacted the social fabric of the country; it had deteriorated further with the strings of UN sanctions spanning from 1992 to 2004 and that had a profound effect on the already fragile social fabric. A sudden migratory flux took place inside the country in 1991 to flee Port-au-Prince fearing repression by the coup supporters. “ I have been to many awful places, but have never seen such fear as in the eyes of those who were trying to survive in Haiti’s indescribable slums during the Clinton-backed terror.” (Chomsky, 2006 p.201) However, the trends reverted back couple of years later as the UN sanctions bite the needy “Each year about 75,000 people migrate from rural areas to Port-au-Prince and other urban areas in search of jobs.”<sup>23</sup> Peasants looking for opportunities abandoned their land to live in abject poverty in slums in P-au-P and other cities. These mass internal migrations destabilize even further the country; there was a sharp increase in violent crime, prostitutions, and the use of drug. According to Paul Farmer as much as 40,000 people fled the island in boat to reach the US shore. “In the eight months following the

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<sup>22</sup> McAnany & Yoffee Questioning Collapse  
Human Resilience, Ecological Vulnerability, and the Aftermath of Empire.  
(Cambridge University Press 2010, p.276)

<sup>23</sup> Terry F. Buss & Adam Gardner *Haiti in the Balance, Why Foreign aid has failed and what we can do about it* Brookings Institution Press 2008 P.11 online version.

(1991) coup, 34,000 Haitian were intercepted on the high seas by the U.S Coast Guard; the majority of these refugees were transported to Guantanamo.”<sup>24</sup> These people that were fleeing for political repression and economic duress were later brought back to the country while the military junta was still in power.

As housing was not provided to accommodate this unexpected flux of migrants, people take it upon themselves in building substandard housing with the acquiescence of corrupted authority that often receive kickbacks to look the other way. Young professionals also left the country for better opportunity abroad. This brain drain had a profound effect on a country that is in dire need for skilled labor, the selective migration policy put in place by certain countries in the region exacerbate the problem. “2 million Haitians live in the United States, of whom 60% are now American-born. Four-fifths of Haiti’s college-educated citizens live outside of the country.”<sup>25</sup> As the social structure collapse rapidly the country descended into more violence and become the favorite staging ground for narco-traffickers to use as transit route for illicit activity such as drug trafficking and organized crime. As a result the US requested cooperation from the Haitian government on the War on Drug to allow U.S vessels to monitor illicit activity and stop “boat people”, also US aircrafts and Navy Coast Guard routinely patrol the airspace and the territorial water. “Uncle Sam from Castro’s Cuba but not from Haiti. Who were regarded as the victims of their own failures rather than communism.” (Pearce 2010, 186)

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<sup>24</sup> Paul Farmer, *The Uses of Haiti* (Common Courage Press, Monroe, ME 1994 p. 269)

<sup>25</sup> Terry F. Buss and Adam Gardner *Why Foreign Aid to Haiti Failed* National Academy of Public Administration, February 2006 p.5 [http://www.napawash.org/haiti\\_final.pdf](http://www.napawash.org/haiti_final.pdf)

Another social scar that is corroding the Haitian society is the widespread practice of child domesticity (restavek)<sup>26</sup> and the accepted but repulsive act of domestic violence against women. These two are a combination of colonial practice inheritance and a mixture of traditional perception of women. In a survey conducted in 2004 after the fall of Aristide two researchers from *Wayne University, School of Social Work* found that women and adolescents constitute the biggest victim of violence.

Our findings suggested that 8000 individuals were murdered in the greater Port-au-Prince area during the 22-month period assessed. Almost half of the identified perpetrators were government forces or outside political actors. Sexual assault of women and girls was common, with findings suggesting that 35 000 women were victimized in the area; more than half of all female victims were younger than 18 years. Criminals were the most identified perpetrators, but officers from the Haitian National Police accounted for 13.8% and armed anti-Lavalas groups accounted for 10.6% of identified perpetrators of sexual assault.<sup>27</sup>

Although grassroots women advocacy group have made a lot stride in their fight for gender equality by moving up on the social ladder and in the professional world, however the battle is far from over as the great majority is facing the bulk of the violence. These practices constitute one of the characteristics of a failed state, and big obstacle to progress.

### **Section 3.2 Economic overview.**

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<sup>26</sup> Creole word with a pejorative connotation meaning: adolescent Children mostly female who work as unpaid domestic servant in someone else household.

<sup>27</sup> Royce A Hutson PhD, Athena R Kolbe MSW, Wayne State University, School of Social Work, Published Online August 31, 2006

To understand the current situation in Haiti, it is very important to dig the past and search for clues. Haiti has been the poorest country in the western hemisphere for quite a long time, however, there are events that occurred during the past three decades that accentuate or even worsen the situation. “With over 65 percent of the population living under the poverty line, Haitians (especially those living in rural areas with limited opportunity) are highly dependant on the flow of remittances from abroad. In 2008, these accounted for 30 percent of the country’s gross domestic product (GDP).”<sup>28</sup> The UN Human Development Index (HDI) ranks Haiti as 153rd least developed among the world’s 177 countries. About three-fourths of the population is impoverished—living on less than \$2/day. Half of the population has no access to potable water. One-third has no sanitary facilities. Only 10% have electrical service. Ninety-five percent of employment in Haiti is in the underground economy, while 80% of businesses in urban areas are “off the books.” Official unemployment rates range from 50% to 70%, but no one really knows. Haiti’s private sector is comprised mostly of subsistence farmers and micro-businesses. A small elite organized in family groupings controls all exports and imports, tourism, construction and manufacturing. About 4% of the population owns 66% of the country’s wealth. Some 10% own nothing.<sup>29</sup> (Terry F. Buss and Adam Gardner 2006, p.5) The income distribution is unlevelled and the income gap between rich and poor has destabilizing effect on the economy and the social structure.

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<sup>28</sup>David Rosenblum Felson, *Aid to Haiti: When and if International Assistance Effort will Succeed*, Council on Hemispheric Affairs (COHA), May 07, 2009. <http://www.coha.org/aid-to-haiti-when-and-if-international-assistance-efforts-will-succeed/>

<sup>29</sup>Terry F. Buss and Adam Gardner *Why Foreign Aid to Haiti Failed* National Academy of Public Administration, (February 2006 p.5) [http://www.napawash.org/haiti\\_final.pdf](http://www.napawash.org/haiti_final.pdf)

The coup of 1991, the oil embargo requested by the OAS and the economic sanction later on imposed on the country by the UN were the last nail on the coffin. The consequence of this embargo was catastrophic for all the sectors. The country with an already fragile economy, a decrepit infrastructure saw its revenue plummeted; its healthcare system collapsed and exports halt to a standstill. “By October of that year (1991) 29,780 jobs had disappeared in Haiti’s garment, electronic, sports, and toy assembly industries. Many of the assembly factories, motors of the Haitian modern economy, closed. In the year after the coup d’état, 17,080 workers were dismissed in the garment industry alone. U.S Department of Commerce figures show that between 1990 and 1992, export to the United States of Haitian-manufactured shoes plunged 96 percent, clothing 55 percent. Indeed, by January 1994, only 44 of 145 garment factories operating in 1990 were still in business.”<sup>30</sup> Due to the UN sanction, there was a scarcity of food and other commodities; that in turn induced a price increased of basic survival. These represent the economic impact of the embargo only at the beginning.

The UN sanctions have exacerbated the chronic budget deficit that Haiti always had. Haiti was unable to meet its annual budget and relied on foreign aid and loan to balance its budget. Saskia Sassen of Columbia University noted “Haiti is one of 49 countries that have been subjected over the last 20 or 30 years, depending on the country, to an extreme debt-repayment schedule by the international financial system, particularly the World Bank and the IMF. Generally, the IMF asks these countries to pay 20% to 25%

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<sup>30</sup> Gibbons, Elizabeth D, *Sanctions in Haiti, Human Right and Democracy under Assault* The Washington Paper CSIS 1999 p10-11

of their export earnings toward debt service.”<sup>31</sup> Faced with a dire situation, Haiti was obliged to accept the neo-liberal economic orientation or Structural Adjustment Program (SAP)<sup>32</sup> (Robert and Hire 2008, 404) that the IMF and other International Financial Institutions (IFIs) imposed on poor countries. In this plan governments were asked to impose dramatic cuts in wages and reduced the size of the public sector workforce, the elimination of import tariffs, the privatization (a euphemism for liquidation) of public utilities and state assets and last but not least the reorientation of domestic production in favor of imported highly subsidized food crops from the US. “The asymmetry in liberalization of capital and labor flows lead to a further inequity.” (Stiglitz 2007, 90)

The effects of these policies dealt a blow to the already fragile economy and undermine the country further and destabilize the public sector; and swept away institutions and policies that legitimize the state. “Before the trade liberalization of the early 1980s, Haiti could meet most of its own food needs; today half of the food that Haitians eat is imported, mostly from the US [...] Previously self-sufficient in rice, Haiti is now flooded with subsidized American rice that trade at around 70% of the price of its indigenous competition. From just 7,000 tons in 1985, annual Haitian rice imports from the US rose to 220.000 tons by 2002, out of a total market of around 350.000

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<sup>31</sup>Saskia Sassen, *Haiti and the International System: The Need for New Organizational Lending Formats*, Social Science Research Council (SSRC), Brooklyn NY January 22, 2010 <http://www.ssrc.org/features/pages/haiti-now-and-next/1338/1346/>

<sup>32</sup> The IMF and World Bank first engineered SAP. It requires government to (1) cutbacks in public spending to balance government budget and service debts; (2) monetary policies designed to fight inflation by restricting the money supply (and incomes) (3) the selling of government enterprises (privatization) in an attempt to balance government budgets and improve business production efficiency; and (4) the shift of manufacturing and agricultural sectors toward production for export instead of the domestic market, in order to improve international balances. (Wiergersma 1997, 258)

tons.”<sup>33</sup>(Hallward 2007, 5) The domestic production totally collapsed as a result of these imposed drastic measures, it had gotten worse with the arrival of additional “free” American food aid channeled through NGOs such as the USAID and other religious organization that ironically have multiplied as poverty has risen. According to IMF’s “trade restrictiveness index”, Haiti’s economy is four times more open than that of Canada or the US; Haiti, Oxfam notes, “now has one of the most liberal trade regimes in the world.”<sup>34</sup> This statement substantiate how big financial institutions like the IMF and World Bank influence third world countries in policy making decision and economic orientation, Jeffrey Sachs observed,

“The IMF is insinuated into the inner sanctums of nearly 75 developing-country governments around the world—countries with a combined population of some 1.4 billion. These government rarely move without consulting the IMF staff, and when they do, they risk their lifelines to capital markets, foreign aid, and international respectability.” (McMichael 2008, 143)

### **Section 3.3 Impact on the Healthcare systems**

The healthcare system has always been precarious; according to the World Health Organization Public funds spent on health represent only 0.8% to 1% of the GDP. In 1998, there were 2.4 physicians per 10,000 populations and in 1996 there was 1 nurse per 10,000 and 3.1 auxiliaries per 10,000. Most of the MSPP's allocation (US\$ 57 million in 1999, unchanged since 1996) is spent on salaries. Execution of the investment budget,

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<sup>33</sup> Peter Hallward, *Damming the Flood, Haiti, Aristide and the politic of containment*. (Verso, 2007), p5

<sup>34</sup> Oxfam, *Rigged Rules*, 126; Oxfam, *Rigged Trade and Not Much Aid* (2001), 13

which depends largely on foreign aid, was 49% in 1999. The statistics provided by reputable institutions on Haiti are bleak “Life expectancy at birth m/f (years): 59/63, Probability of dying under five (per 1 000 live births): 80 Probability of dying between 15 and 60 years m/f (per 1 000 population): 329/236.”<sup>35</sup> The policy to prevent or treat major epidemic outbreak is ineffective, according to the UN Human Development Index Haiti has the highest percentage of people living with HIV/AIDS in the western hemisphere (6 percent of the population, with 30,000 Haitians dying from the illness every year). About 5% to 8% of the population has HIV/AIDS, and that percentage is rising. Haiti is the most severely affected by HIV/AIDS outside Sub-Saharan Africa. Only an estimated 5% to 10% of those with HIV/AIDS receive treatment. HIV/AIDS is reducing life expectancy in Haiti by 10 years. In addition, tuberculosis, and recently polio, have emerged as epidemics.<sup>36</sup>

Before the IMF and World Bank imposed the harsh neoliberal programs known as Structural Adjustment Program, healthcare was state controlled and there were a few private medical facilities. The privatization of the health care system mandated by the IMF has destabilized the already fragile and understaffed healthcare facilities of the country. “One of the consequence of privatization of health care in the Third World

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<sup>35</sup> World Health Organization (WHO) is the directing and coordinating authority for health within the United Nations system. It is responsible for providing leadership on global health matters, shaping the health research agenda, setting norms and standards, articulating evidence-based policy options, providing technical support to countries and monitoring and assessing health trends. <http://www.who.int/countries/hti/en/>

<sup>36</sup> Terry F. Buss and Adam Gardner *Why Foreign Aid to Haiti Failed* National Academy of Public Administration, (February 2006 p.5) [http://www.napawash.org/haiti\\_final.pdf](http://www.napawash.org/haiti_final.pdf)

countries has been cut in public health services, particularly primary care, and an increased use of nongovernmental and private voluntary organizations to deliver services” (Turshen 1994).<sup>37</sup> As the health care is privatize, the government no longer fund primary care, thus left poor people without basic healthcare.

The Haitian government made some effort to address the health care issue by signing bilateral cooperation with Cuba, despite the latter does not have diplomatic relation with Haiti for over 36 years. In 1998 Cuba sent medical personal to Haiti and agreed to open its schools to train Haitian doctors free of charge on the condition that they would return to Haiti to replace the Cuban doctors stationed on the island. This program allowed poor disenfranchised Haitian to materialize what they could only dreamed of, the selection criterion was focus on people mainly poor. The Cuban doctors were welcomed and mingled with the population easily. According to Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) significant progress was made within less than 10 years.

Improvement in Public Health in Haiti, 1999-2007<sup>38</sup>

<b>Health Indicators</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2007</b>
Infant Mortality, per 1000 live births	80	33
Child Mortality under 5 per 1000	135	59.4
Maternal Mortality per 10,000 live birth	523	285
Life Expectancy (years)	54	61

***Selected Statistic on Cuban Medical Cooperation***<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> J. Timmons Robert and Amy Bellone Hite *The Globalization and Development Reader* (Blackwell Publishing 2007 p.409)

<sup>38</sup> See entry for "Haiti" on the Pan American Health Organization website, found at [http://www.paho.org/english/dd/ais/cp\\_332.htm](http://www.paho.org/english/dd/ais/cp_332.htm). Accessed April 25, 2010.

<sup>39</sup> Anna Kovac, "Cuba Trains Hundred of Haitian Doctors to Make a Difference" August 6, 2007. <http://www.medic.org>

***Dec. 1998 – May 2007***

Visit to the doctor	10,682,124
Doctors visit to patients	4,150,631
Attended births	86,633
Major and minor surgeries	160,283
Vaccinations	899,829
Lives saved (emergency)	210,852

Despite the above-mentioned statistics, Haiti is still lagging in health care in the western hemisphere. The Cuban efforts could not help tips the balance in Haiti’s favor.

**Section 3.4 Impact on the Education system.**

The political crisis and the economic hardship since the fall of Duvalier in 1986 have a profound effect on the education in Haiti. “More than half of the population is illiterate. Eighty percent of schools are private, and many Haitians cannot afford to attend them—and they are of dismal quality anyway. Less than one-quarter of rural children attend elementary school.”<sup>40</sup> Parents who could afford it sent their kids to colleges in the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Venezuela, Cuba, Canada and the US because the only state university in Haiti lacks the infrastructure to accommodate the demand the few good private ones cannot accommodate the students.

**Section 3.5 Agriculture policy/Environmental**

During the colonial era Haiti was considered the richest of the French colony, it was the food basket of France. Students from prep schools until university learn in school textbook that Haiti is essentially agricultural based country. The agricultural sector

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<sup>40</sup> Terry F. Buss & Adam Gardner, *Haiti in the Balance, Why Foreign aid has failed and what we can do about it* Brookings Institution Press 2008 p.11 Online version

employed approximately 66% of the labor force and accounted for about 35 percent of the GDP and 24 percent of exports in 1987.<sup>41</sup> For year 1989 only 5 percent of the national budget is allocated to the Ministry of Agriculture, Natural Resources and Rural Development (MARNDR)<sup>42</sup>. The traditional configuration of land ownership inherited from the colonial era is an impediment to the development of agriculture; Haiti is a mountainous country and only one third of the land is arable, also the most fertile land is owned by people who live in city and there is no credit line open to farmers to buy machinery in order to increase the productivity. However, over the past decades, the agricultural sector is the hardest hit by the concurrence of imported foodstuffs, “free food” humanitarian aid managed by NGOs and the absence of a sound policy to protect farmers and peasants and to promote this sector. Other factors contributed to the decline of this sector, soil fertility, natural disaster and import from neighboring countries.

The trade liberalization imposed on Haiti in the early eighties by international financial institutions dealt another serious blow to this sector, Bill Clinton the former president of the United States at a hearing in March 2010 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee,

"Since 1981, the United States has followed a policy, until the last year or so when we started rethinking it, that we rich countries that produce a lot of food should sell it to poor countries and relieve them of the burden of producing their own food, so, thank goodness, they can leap directly into

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<sup>41</sup> *U.S. Library of Congress* <http://countrystudies.us/haiti/48.htm>

<sup>42</sup> MARNDR is the French acronym for *Ministere de l’Agriculture, des Ressources Naturelles et du Development Rural*

the industrial era. It has not worked. It may have been good for some of my farmers in Arkansas, but it has not worked. It was a mistake. It was a mistake that I was a party to. I am not pointing the finger at anybody. I did that. I have to live every day with the consequences of the lost capacity to produce a rice crop in Haiti to feed those people, because of what I did. Nobody else."<sup>43</sup>

Haiti had protective tariffs of 50 percent set under the Duvalier regimes, thanks to that Haiti imported only 19 percent of foodstuff and produced enough to export. Coffee used to be main export crop, however the peasants have to sell it to a middleman, which in turn to maximize profits charges exorbitant percentages to sell it on the international market. To avoid this rip off, farmers switched to food crops to consume or sold locally, the agriculture turns into subsistence farming.

### **Section 3.6 Problem of Governance.**

Other Sources of shaping power leadership include the status, skills, popularity, and expertise of particular prime ministers and presidents. The role of a particular leader is particularly important during periods of democratic transition. (Norris 2008, 148)

The problem of governance is one of the biggest challenges that Haiti is facing. After thirty ears of dictatorship and twenty years of political instability, government institutions such as the judicial system, law enforcement, education, Finance and the legislature that constitute the foundation of the state are ineffective and most of the cadres in public function are corrupted. The concentration of all key government institutions in

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<sup>43</sup> Bill Clinton at the United States at a hearing in March 2010 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. <http://foreign.senate.gov/>

the capital city of Port-au-Prince encourages corruption and bribery; it also creates a heavy bureaucracy with multiple layers of authority disconnected from one another. In 1995 there was a vast movement of decentralization of these services in other cities across the country to alleviate the burden in the capital and combat widespread corruption. While this tentative was welcome by the population, however that did not solve the problem; for most the cadres are not qualify for the position, and those who can do the job were not hired. According to the 2006 Transparency International<sup>44</sup> report, when René Préval came to power for the second time, Haiti was only ahead of Burma and Iraq as the countries with the most widespread corruption. Mark P. Jones<sup>45</sup> of Rice University commented in this term in an article he wrote on the Baker Institute blog

“The Haitian government's incompetence and corrupt nature signify that it will be incapable of managing recovery efforts in the short-term (these efforts will be run principally by international organizations). Absent significant political reform, it appears doubtful that the Haitian political class will be capable of designing and implementing those public policies which would help to reduce the negative impact of future natural disasters on the Haitian population.”<sup>46</sup>

It requires a lot of political will to eradicate this scourge. As this problem is

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<sup>44</sup> Transparency International is non-governmental organization that campaigns against corruption globally.

<sup>45</sup> [Mark P. Jones](#) is a *Baker Institute Rice Scholar*, as well as professor and chair of the Department of Political Science at Rice University.

<sup>46</sup> Mark P. Jones *Calamity in Haiti: Consequences of a Failed State* [James A. Baker III Institute For Public Policy Rice University](#) (January 15, 2010)

[http://blogs.chron.com/bakerblog/2010/01/calamity\\_in\\_haiti\\_consequences\\_of\\_a\\_failed\\_state.html](http://blogs.chron.com/bakerblog/2010/01/calamity_in_haiti_consequences_of_a_failed_state.html)

system, it is extremely difficult to address this issue without confronting those who benefited from it.

Corruption seems to be endemic disease in Haiti; as more incompetent people are inside the decision center, corruption became part of the political culture. In May 2007, to widespread surprise, René Prével launched a major offensive against corruption, by labeling all parties who engage in corruption as “traitors to the nation”. “Those who take part in corruption are enemies of the country because they prevent the return of investors”, he declared 2007 the year of the fight against corruption, publicly admitting that state enterprises and institutions were riddled with corruption, from the customs department, the General Directorate of Taxes, the National Police and the judiciary to town halls, the Parliament, ministers and even the National Palace.<sup>47</sup> Despite these apparent efforts by the Prével administration, corruption became a norm for those who benefited from it. Corruption Perception Index again showed that corrupt practices had not been mitigated despite the stated intentions of the Haitian government to combat this scourge... Transparency International underscored that corruption affects both public institutions and the private sector. In 2008, the result was no better: Haiti came 177th out of 180 countries, the only American country among the last 15 in the ranking, ahead of only three countries: Iraq 178th, Burma 179th and Somalia 180th. “The bigger the project, the greater the opportunity.” (Moyo 2009, 51) The catastrophic effect of corruption on the development of Haiti is blatant the consequence is far reaching.

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<sup>47</sup> Radio Métropole, Le chef de l'État lance la guerre contre la corruption, 19 May 2007  
Translated: The head of state launched war against corruption

The irrefutable and depressing facts stated above are the conditions of the country before the earthquake. The earthquake exacerbates an already explosive situation. It opens the wound and let other see its enormity and assess the amount of work that need to be done and what kind of medicine to administer. The solution to the numerous difficulties that the country is currently facing is not around the corner. As this case is unique in and by itself, it requires experience and discipline to tackle it, for there will be overwhelming challenges lay ahead.

#### **Part IV: The Challenges**

The quake of January 12, 2010 compelled the International Community to set its sight on Haiti and focused on devising a plan for helping the reconstruction and laid the foundation of a sustainable development of Haiti. As the situation on the ground worsens the international community and regional countries scheduled many conferences of the donors along other international financial institutions to address the problem. These actors are now debating whether they can work with the government in its actual state and under the current condition. As trust is the basis of cooperation between state actors and non state actors, bad governance and the collapse of the states intuitions worsen an already catastrophic situation, being a failed states makes it difficult for the donors to poured money into the country. According to the *Washington Times* Donor nations have forgiven around 80 percent of Haiti's outstanding debt, which was well over \$1 billion before the quake. Donors led by the United States, Europe and Brazil exceeded the goal of about \$3.9 billion in pledges for reconstruction aid over the next two years. Dominique Strauss-Kahn, the managing director of the International Monetary Fund, said at the

United Nations conference Wednesday: "There will be no medium term if we aren't able to manage the short term, which is mainly a question of budget support."<sup>48</sup> The Haitian authorities and the International community are dealing with a humanitarian catastrophe that needed to be addressed first and foremost. Then they will face serious challenges Internal and external during the rebuilding process.

#### **Section 4.1 Managing the Humanitarian disasters in Haiti**

The situation in Haiti before the earthquake was already depressing, the economy was in shamble, corruption rampant, cost of living unbearable and social structure decaying rapidly and ecological disaster is on the making. However, everybody seems to try to make a living in these horrible conditions with the hope of a better tomorrow. When the earthquake struck, the whole system collapsed and people realized how unstable and hollow the whole edifice was. While census in Haiti is not reliable government estimate claims that three million people had been living in Port-au-Prince before the earthquake. According to government estimate, more than three hundred thousand people died, more than five hundred thousand severely wounded and 1.5 million left homeless and internally displaced person. (See Illustration I in reference pages)

This was the worst humanitarian crisis that Haiti ever face. This was a hecatomb for 3 out of 10 people perished in the quake. The aftermath was even more heart wrenching, with people dying because of lack of medicine and other basic survival kit.

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<sup>48</sup> Editorial, *Donor nations help Haiti with earthquake reconstruction*, Washington Post debt. (April 2, 2010) <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/04/01/AR2010040103363.html>

The international community reacted and helped channeling aid to victims while the US spearheaded the effort in raising fund to rebuild the country. Countless humanitarian organizations and other non-governmental organizations participated in the relief effort. (See Illustration II in reference pages)

#### **Section 4.2 Which path taken?**

For all intent and purposes, Haiti has a government although with a very limited functioning capability, it is however recognized by the international community. However, when the crisis erupted the government was unable to face and handle the situation. Faced with a humanitarian catastrophe of an incommensurable proportion, the government sought help from the international community. The latter response was based on humanitarian ground. Now the dilemma is that the international community is *de facto* in charge of the country. How to manage and rebuild a failed state? This is a feat that has never been done before. Opinions are divided on the approaches that are needed to rebuild the country. The international community itself is divided as to what kind of approach that is best suited the situation.

Rivalries amongst traditional great powers have always affected Haiti in a negative way, now it becomes more complicated as new emerging powers like Brazil, Russia and China openly manifested interest of having a say in the decisions regarding Haiti. Should the country be put under full trusteeship of the UN? Or shared sovereignty? Is limited sovereignty suitable for Haiti? Will the Haitian government or the Haitian people to that effect accept that? Haitians have shown throughout their history their

resoluteness in maintaining their sovereignty at all cost, national sovereignty is a matter of great pride in a country like Haiti. How does the International Community will manage to solve this dilemma? The Haitian crisis encompasses all the theories and concepts develop after the Cold War related to management crisis. This conundrum has been tormenting policy makers, experts and scholars for quite some times, they are struggling to formulate a policy that addresses all the parameters stated above and bring a solution that acceptable to all.

As one of the main actor in this crisis, the international community will have to find a formula to solve this crisis. In 2006 Major Michael T. Ward<sup>49</sup> of the Canadian Army peacekeeping mission force in Haiti penned a lengthy article where he made a case for International trusteeship in Haiti. “The proper solution for the problem of Haiti is creation of an international trusteeship, one that will allow for the institutions of the Haitian state to be rebuilt and to be made effective, prior to transition, under international stewardship, to a fully self-directed democratic state with an effective market economy.”<sup>50</sup> Again historical context need to be taken into consideration as previous attempt has failed.

The idea re-emerge again this time from the center of power in Washington, under the pen of Christopher Dodd<sup>51</sup> (D) of Connecticut a high-ranking Senator who wrote an article in *Miami Herald* on March 29, 2010 where he advocated to place Haiti

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<sup>49</sup> Michael Ward, a tactical helicopter pilot, is currently the Director of Learning Design and Program Support for the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre. He has served in both Somalia and Haiti on peace operations.

<sup>50</sup> Canadian Military Journal. Autumn 2006

<sup>51</sup> Sen. Chris Dodd, D-Conn., is chairman of the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee

under trusteeship by using the Chapter VII clause of the United Nations Charter.

Instead of the ad-hoc system currently in place -- the United States controls the airport, the United Nations controls food distribution, and other responsibilities are divided in a scattershot fashion -- a form of trusteeship would allow the UN to coordinate assistance in an orderly and transparent fashion.

Other international actors could then be tasked with specific roles -- ranging from security and governance to economic development and the coordination of international aid.

The goal is simple: Provide Haitians with a legitimate, functional state -- one capable of managing the day-to-day tasks of government and providing security, economic stability, and social services.

This won't work without the Haitian people and their elected leaders -  
- it must be done with them, not to them.<sup>52</sup>

Although Senator Dodd unequivocally explained the steps that needed to be taken and how to proceed, however his article has caused uproar in Haiti and amongst the Haitian Diaspora. The fact that Senator Dodd suggested to put Haiti under trusteeship entails that the US government may already have contingency plan in this respect. This is one of the biggest challenges the international community will face in dealing with the crisis.

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<sup>52</sup> Chris Dodd *Place Haiti under 'trusteeship'* Miami Herald (March 29, 2010) <http://www.miamiherald.com/2010/03/29/1552739/place-haiti-under-trusteeship.html#ixzz0ltuAXNHw>

### **Section 4.3 Internal Challenges.**

As the country rank among the worst countries in the corruption index, rebuilding would require that this problem needed to be tackled first and foremost. Without a crusade to at least drastically reduce if not eliminate corruption, all the effort toward rebuilding would fail. The problem of governance is another major stumbling block in the reconstruction process. Since bad governance and corruption are the two faces of the same evil, eradicating one will led to the downfall of the other.

Haiti inherited the social structure of the colonial era, the French imposed three-tiered social structure: whites, freedmen and the slaves, which occupied the bottom on the social and economical ladder. The current configuration: upper class, middle class and peasants, accentuate social dissension, as the economic disparity between the privileged and the non-privileged is wide. Social stratification is among the challenges that could derail any meaningful reconstruction project.

Reconstruction is about rebuilding for sustainability; therefore it requires skilled labor and competent technicians in various fields. The waves of migration of the past decades have deprived Haiti of its most needed skilled workers. The deficiency of these valuable resources while planning reconstruction is a major challenge to address.

Law and Order is the necessary ingredient that a country needed to be successful. At the current state of affair, Haiti needs stability to begin the reconstruction. As a failed state Haiti represents an ideal ground for rogue element to conduct business or destabilize other country. Without security reconstruction cannot succeed.

As shown in the previous paragraphs, Haiti is poor and does not have the money to pay for reconstruction. Although the international community and friendly countries have pledged billions for the reconstruction, however having your own money would give you the independence of devising a plan that responds to the country's needs. Again this deficiency in cash is an insurmountable challenge that needs immediate attention.

#### **Section 4.4 External (International Assistance, aid, expert, Diaspora)**

Haiti will face numerous external challenges in the rebuilding process. Among others is the Haitian Diaspora. This group strong of more than 4 millions contributes to 30 percent of the country's annual budget. According to Current Population Survey of the US: nearly one-third of Haitian immigrants in the US belong to households that earned more than \$60,000 in 2009. In comparison, less than 15% of the immigrants from Mexico, Dominican Republic and El Salvador in the US had that level of household income. A quarter of Haitian immigrants, especially women, are reportedly in the relatively higher paying health care and education sectors and only a small number of them are in the construction sector.”<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Dilip Ratha is a Lead Economist in the Development Prospects Group of the World Bank. A recognized expert on migration, remittances, and innovative financing, he is a lead author of the World Bank flagship Global Economic Prospects 2006: Economic Implications of Remittances and Migration. *Mobilize the Diaspora for the Reconstruction of Haiti* (SSRC, February 11, 2010) <http://www.ssrc.org/features/pages/haiti-now-and-next/1338/1438/>

While the Diaspora apparently looks homogenous since it originates in the same country, however it has a heterogeneous frame of mind when it comes to adopting a coherent approach to the rebuilding of Haiti. This group has a strong voice, but not well organized to create the impact necessary to bring tangible results. As this group constitutes a repository of a large pool of educated people, the challenge is how to harness this formidable resource. The Haitian government needs to address certain concerns that this group has for a long time, the dual citizenship law that will allow them to enjoy political and civil rights in Haiti.

The other external challenge that Haiti will be facing is the how to approach the International community. While the international community is willing to assist Haiti in the reconstruction process, they are wary of the current status of the country. Billions of dollars being pledged for the reconstruction, will this money be donated as a gift to a country in distress or a loan? Who will be in charge? How to manage the fund? What will the priority be? Will the experts from the International community take the Haitian government point of view seriously? How will the money be spent? Those are troubling questions that Haiti will have to address before the process begins.

As a stakeholder in the stability of Haiti, the international community will also face challenges in the process. The International Community knows that in a failed state, accountability, transparency and stability are lacking or totally nonexistent. There has to be a paradigm shift to address this conundrum. The case of Haiti will be a litmus test for the IC, for a secure Haiti in the next 10 years would benefit all actors.

Haiti did not deliberately failed on its own; this result is the consequence of a long process of failed economic policy, chronic political instability, and bad governance and impose development model by the international institutions. What is the consequence of a failed state in the Americas? Haiti is located in the Caribbean roughly 700 miles from the coast of the United States. Basically Haiti is the underbelly of the US and a soft target for non-state actors to reach their final destination. Since security is one of the main concerns that the international community is having with failed states, addressing this issue should be a top priority. For instance the concept failed states made its way in the US National Security Guidelines of September 2002, which give this phenomenon a greater importance in their security calculus than regional hegemony that have territorial ambitions.

September 11, 2001 has changed the security architecture in the International system. Non-state actors could upset the balance of power; consequently the danger that a failed state represents is real and frightening. The multitude of problems that a failed state is facing requires collective action in the part of the international community to avoid the spill over effect. It is imperative to address the root cause of failed state and tackle it without prejudice; also it is important for the West to shay away from the “*us versus them*” mindset in approaching the problem. As each failed state has its own characteristic, Haiti situation is troubling and needs immediate attention. Failure to do so would destabilize further the whole region and upset the precarious security architecture on the post 911 world. "Ignoring failed states creates problems that sometimes come back to bite us." Jacques Chirac former French President

### **Section 4.3 Policy recommendations**

The Haitian problem is so complex that proposing a policy recommendation is a challenge in itself; therefore the policy recommendations will be narrowed and focuses on three key aspects that may cover all foundation. The recommendation will be divided into three axes: Social, Economical and Political based on the current conditions. As these three parameters constitute the inner core of any state as suggested by the FSI indicators, the focus will be on the approaches that need to be taken.

#### **Social**

Destroying the last vestige of colonial era is by itself a long term project, however the government should try to remove certain practice: social stratification, put emphasis on gender equality, curb domestic violence, and create a social safety net to decompress social pressure and increase the Human Development Index.

The social structure of Haiti is rooted in the colonial system. This social configuration is partly responsible for the failure of the country, because of a rigid social stratification. There is no opportunity for integration and social upward mobility. Policy recommendation to the government would be the removal social barrier, put an end to child domesticity. This will allow the country to recuperate a lot of talents that would not be available otherwise.

Haiti has made a lot of stride in term of gender equality, for instance women has been president, prime minister; there even a government portfolio on women condition. However the traditional mindset tends to keep women in a lesser position, and women tend to accept this condition. This paper recommends a reinforcement of the gender

equality to create opportunity and exploit the potential. A reform in gender equality would lessen certain social pressure.

”People affected by violent internal tend disproportionately to be among the poorest and the most disadvantage.” (Lomborg 2009, 63)

Domestic violence has been one of the greatest scars in the Haitian society; women are oppressed and would accept all kind of violence because of economic dependency on the opposite sex. Legislation should be enacted to curb violence that will strengthen social structure and family values.

The creation of a social safety net to decompress social pressure, encourage social interaction and create activity to strengthen social bond between groups. A good social environment would pave the way for an increase of Human Development Index. “We need to recover the security and integration of pre-modern societies, in which the unity of work and life, of society and community, of the individual and the collective, of culture and politics, of economy and morality, is re-established.” (Speth 2008, 190)

## **Economic**

Reinsertion of tariffs on certain goods, invest in renewable energy source, diversify food crop production, consolidation of certain government portfolios, investing in infrastructure projects and give incentives to the Haitian Diaspora to invest in the country.

The removal of the tariffs as requested by the IMF under the Structural Adjustment Program causes incommensurable damage on the Haitian economy. In this recommendation the target is economic and fiscal practice that are detrimental to the welfare of the country. This paper highly recommends the reinsertion of tariffs on certain

products, in order to boost the local production. This will create employment and stabilize the nation, for a country cannot fully develop if it depends on import. “Poor health, poor education, and lack of access to water and sanitation, and the other root causes of poverty all have to have address effectively at the same time to have any hope of ending poverty.”(Polak 2009, 53)

Haiti has had serious ecological disaster due to mismanagement or overexploitation of non-renewable natural resources; the country is now on the brink of an unprecedented environmental disaster. In this recommendation this paper is targeting a crucial point as the country does not have fossil fuel, the use of renewable energy such as solar, wind and hydraulic would boost the country’s economy and encourage foreign investors to invest in green energy.

As a country that is essentially agricultural based, Haiti has been importing more 60% of its foodstuff in the past twenty years as a result of failed agricultural policy and imposed condition that are not favorable to the local farmer. The policy recommendation in this respect would be the diversification of crops production, open line of credit to farmers at preferential rate and introduce new technology to boost production. This would allow the country to reach self-sufficiency in food production to feed its population and export.

Heavy bureaucracy as a result of corruption and redundancy in the public service sector has marred Haiti. In this recommendation we target certain government portfolios that are not effective and costly to operate. It is highly recommended that the government consolidate certain ministry portfolios to shorten the process in delivering proficient services. Tax reform and fiscal discipline are also targeted in this recommendation, a

proper reform in this respect would allow the government to raise money to fund endogenous development projects thus reducing the influence of the NGOs. Also decrease the aid dependency to a minimum should be a priority. As donors tend to influence the decision in prioritizing the expenditures.

After the earthquake one of the biggest hurdle that the International community was facing was their inability to deliver aid to distress areas. This is one of the characteristics of a failed state the absence of infrastructure or the collapse thereof. It is highly recommended that the government invest heavily in developing infrastructures to shorten distance and make accessible certain landlocked regions.

Lastly it is recommended that the government to engage the Haitian Diaspora in the process of reconstruction. The integration of the Haitian Diaspora should be made one of the most important priorities, for this group has been exposed to other models of governance that are successful. Also within this group there is a wealth of qualified and highly skilled resources that is needed in the rebuilding process. The passing of the dual citizenship law would help in the integration of the Diaspora in the political, economical and social life of the country. The Haitian Diaspora offers another possible source of revenue, as the remittance from this group amount to almost 35 percent of the GDP. Also it is recommended the Haitian government renegotiates with foreign governments and work out provision to minimize high transaction costs for a certain period of time.

### **Political.**

Rebuild solid institutions to strengthen the state and legitimize the government, encourage participation in the electoral process and improve Human Right, strengthen anti-corruption measures, enacted decree to decentralized government institutions.

The political instability that prevailed in Haiti for the after 1986 has weakened governmental institution and gives NGOs the upper hand. That has a profound effect on the economic development of the nation. In order to put the country back on a development track and foster economic growth, the government should revamp key institutions by hiring more competent technocrats and encourage personal development in those institutions, re-evaluation and training of the cadres is necessary to put them up to par with the technological trend. The legitimization of the government is only possible when these institutions can deliver services and undertake measurable development projects. It is imperative that the state regains control of strategic institutions such as health care system, Education, Judicial system, security and communications that gives legitimacy to the government and regulate the NGOs.

Without people participation in the democratic process the country would be spiraled into a political crisis that threaten the foundation of the country. Although Haiti did not have civil war in the past half century, but security concern remains a major issue that needed to be addressed urgently. The past thirty years political turmoil has affected the country well being and scare off foreign investors. The government should do its utmost effort to encourage the democratic process by enforcing institutions that advocating democratic value and improve Human Right.

Haiti ranks poorly in the Transparency Index, corruption is the scourge that is corroding all layers of government institutions and makes it extremely difficult for

expansion and personal development. Recommendation to the government is to propose legislation to combat corruption. Foreign and local investors would lose confidence in the business environment if corruption prevails. The fight against corruption should be made priority. “Democracy is associated with a particular set of institutions such as free and fair elections, the accountability of politician to the electorate, and free entry into politics.” (Acemoglu and Robinson 2006, 48)

Decentralization is key to development. The inability of the government to react to the repercussion of the earthquake shows the weakness and the impracticability of a highly centralized government. The final recommendation to the government is to enact a decree to spread businesses and other government institutions in other cities across the country. That will lessen the burden on Port-au-Prince and allow the other cities to develop their full potential.

## **Conclusion**

The independence of Haiti challenged the international order of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and was a thorn for the great powers. The country has faced challenges after challenges throughout its long and convoluted history from quarantined to diplomatic isolation, from military threats to occupations. Quarantined after its independence for more than half century for having the audacity to put an end to slavery. Today again the challenges that Haiti is facing are greater, but not insurmountable. Being a failed state in today's world is a form of quarantine that is somewhat acceptable and reinforced by others, for the security risk that a failed state represents is alarming. Haiti's current status poses a threat to neighboring countries and undermines international stability, hence its reconstruction into a viable and sustainable state is an imperative.

However, a whole different approach is needed in rebuilding Haiti, the previous recipe: economic liberalization policy has failed miserably and the consequences are far reaching and affect everybody; hunger, lack of education, chronic political instability, dependence on foreign aid, and no sustainable future. While on one hand the Haitian people may suffer the consequence of bad governance and failed economic policy, on the other hand the boomerang effect of the failed imposed model of development reverberates through the International Financial Institutions corridors and shook the human ethics in the face of this tragedy.

While the reconstruction will pose serious challenges in the implementation phase, it is crucial to tackle the most salient issue first: the strengthening of government institutions, the restoration of the legitimacy of the state and provide temporary shelters to the internally displaced people. The Haitian people should be given the opportunity to conceive and plan a model of development that corresponds with their needs. There is a high probability that Haiti will be aid dependant in the foreseeable future, however laborious effort to increase production, reduce import on certain products should be made to reduce this dependency as much as possible. Dependence on foreign aid is an existential threat to any nations; it destabilized the structure of the country and causes the internal strife and political instability. As a country that has been through all tragedies throughout its history, Haiti would rebirth from its ashes the earthquake has taken away countless souls that wanted to contribute to its development...this quote of Toussaint Louverture summed it all “ You have only cut down the trunk of the tree of liberty of the Blacks in Saint Domingue: it will spring back from the roots, for they are numerous and deep” (Bell 2007, 265)

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- <sup>4</sup> Gerald B. Helman, retired from Foreign Service, was U.S. ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva and deputy to the under-secretary of state for political affairs. Stevens Ratner, is an international affairs fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. Foreign Policy Magazine (Winter 1992-1993) 3 <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/>
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<sup>16</sup> Organization of the American States: a political organization that regroups most of the country from the western hemisphere.

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“MINUSTAH is charged with, among other things, establishing a secure and stable environment, reforming the Haitian national police, assisting with disarmament, Demobilization, and reintegration (DDR), assisting with the establishment of rule of law, fostering institutional strengthening and the principles of democratic governance, national dialogue and reconciliation, assisting with free and fair elections, and extending state authority throughout Haiti.”>> UN Security Council, *Resolution 1542 (2004)*, S/RES/1542 (2004), 30 April 2004, p. 4.

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<sup>26</sup> Creole word with a pejorative connotation meaning: adolescent Children mostly female who work as unpaid domestic servant in someone else household.

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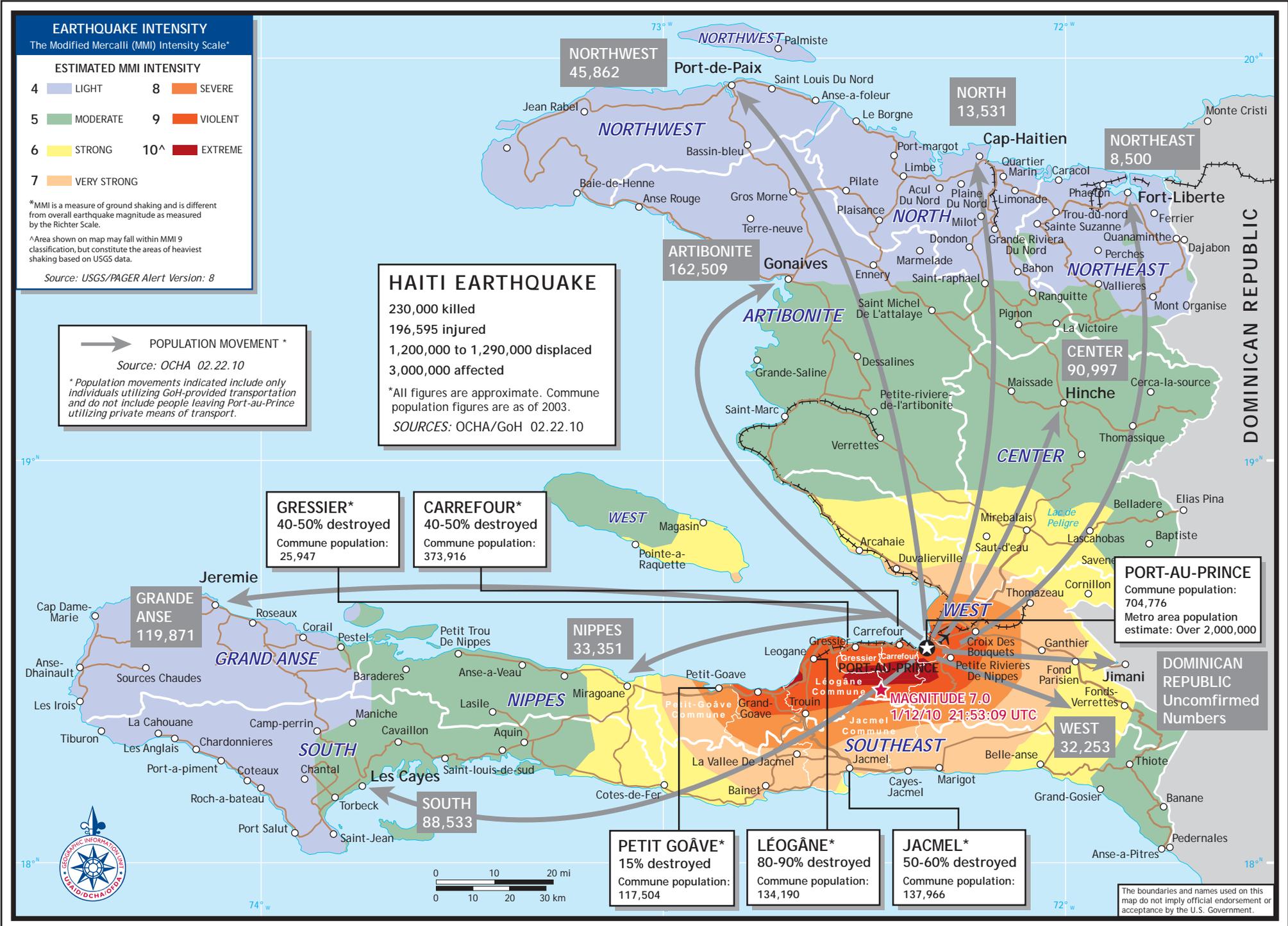
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# EARTHQUAKE-AFFECTED AREAS AND POPULATION MOVEMENT IN HAITI



# USG HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO HAITI FOR THE EARTHQUAKE

