



Framework for Stabilization and Renewal in Haiti

Call to Action

October 2025

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Haiti stands at a critical turning point. The country faces entrenched security challenges, institutional fragility, and deep economic distress that are depriving millions, especially young people, of stability and opportunity. Yet there is also a renewed willingness across society to change course. A constructive opening has emerged to confront the drivers of instability, rebuild public trust, and lay the foundation for a more resilient and inclusive future.

This framework offers a short-to-mid-term plan to stabilize the country, restore the authority and credibility of state institutions, and reactivate the economy. It outlines practical and achievable measures that require coordinated action across government, the private sector, political parties, civil society, and the diaspora. The objective is not simply to respond to the crisis of the moment, but to initiate a sustained transformation that prepares the ground for free and fair elections and long-term economic and social recovery.

This framework is grounded in the conviction that Haiti's renewal can be Haitian-led, focused on practical and scalable reforms that strengthen state institutions, restore public trust, and improve the daily life of all citizens.

It prioritizes job creation and economic reactivation as essential to social stability, supported by modern and transparent public administration, the strategic mobilization of the diaspora's expertise and investment, the full inclusion of youth and women as active contributors at every level of reconstruction, and the support of international partners.

To stabilize the national situation and create the conditions for recovery, three immediate priority areas are essential:

1. Reestablishing Security

Strengthen and operationalize the Gang Suppression Force (GSF) to reclaim territory, secure critical infrastructure and transportation corridors, and dismantle organized crime networks. Security operations must be intelligence-driven, coordinated, and aligned with the Government of Haiti's strategic objectives and measurable indicators of success, ensuring coherence, accountability, and sustained results. Clear communication and structured community engagement are essential to rebuild public confidence and reassert state authority.

2. Addressing Immediate Needs of Displaced Families

As secured areas expand, community reconstruction committees should be established, along with paid public works programs to support participatory rebuilding and assistance for the recovery of small businesses.

Restoring essential services must be a priority in order to stabilize daily life and rebuild trust. The nation's efforts should be mobilized to restore these services through innovative and sustainable solutions in the areas of water, energy, sanitation, education, and health.

These improvements are essential to restore dignity, strengthen community resilience, and prevent new displacements. They should be conceived in two phases: temporary emergency restoration to support return and stabilization, and longer-term investments aimed at sustainable reconstruction.

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3. Enabling Long-Term Conditions for Haiti's Stability and Economic Prosperity

Securing the Path to Elections

In the face of political deadlock and the unrealistic February 6, 2026 deadline, Institut Macaya recommends refocusing national efforts on holding credible elections, by establishing a fixed and transparent electoral calendar accompanied by safeguards for impartiality, security, and civic oversight. Rather than starting with political negotiations over a governance structure that could delay the electoral timeline, it is preferable to first strengthen the process itself to build the trust of political competitors, paving the way for a disciplined, results-driven, and limited technocratic transition whose sole purpose is the swift restoration of constitutional order. *Reinforcing Accountability and Efficiency in Government*

Strengthen and expand digital governance through a secure, inclusive, and interoperable digital identity and civil registry system, which will enable equitable access to services, reinforce electoral integrity, and support social protection. Haiti must rely on new technologies to secure all decision-making chains and put an end to their manipulation, which fuels corruption. This digital framework should modernize public institutions for real-time oversight, improved service delivery, and reinforced interagency coordination, while fostering transparency, integrity, and trust in institutions.

Restoring Confidence in Justice and Rule of Law

Deploy hybrid justice mechanisms and mobile courts to resolve conflicts, to fight corruption, dismantle criminal networks, and guarantee fair and timely access to justice. These efforts should be supported by targeted international technical assistance embedded within Haitian institutions, strengthening prosecutorial and investigative capabilities while ensuring Haitian leadership and sovereignty in judicial decision-making. *Reforming the Security Architecture*

Redesign the Haitian National Police and transition the Armed Forces into a National Guard / Gendarmerie model focused on stabilization, territorial control, border security, and structured youth engagement and insertion through civic service and professional training pathways.

Restarting Economic Activity and Job Creation

The priority will be to deploy quick-impact public works and community initiatives in secured areas in order to generate immediate employment, restore essential services, and signal concrete progress.

In parallel, deep reforms must be undertaken, including coherent economic and fiscal policies aimed at improving the competitiveness of the main sectors of the economy.

This requires effective border management to ensure control over what comes in and out of the country. Stabilizing the economic environment also depends on modernizing the tax system, particularly to guarantee state revenues and contributions to social protection and social security systems.

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To revive the economy, businesses must be recapitalized so they can invest and hire. To this end, financing instruments for entrepreneurs will need to be expanded, with access granted according to transparent criteria.

A national infrastructure program will enable the rehabilitation and modernization of ports, roads, airports, energy and telecommunications networks, drinking water systems, and secondary rural roads.

International partnerships remain essential, but assistance must now strengthen Haitian institutions, expand economic opportunities, especially for youth and women, and enable local actors to lead and sustain implementation, rather than rely on externally driven programs.

This plan is a practical roadmap to restore security, renew hope, and expand opportunity. Its success requires strong political backing, shared national objectives, and coordinated collaboration across public and private sectors.

Haiti can and must lead its own renewal. The time to act is now.

INTRODUCTION

Institut Macaya is a Haitian, non-partisan and private sector-funded think tank that mobilizes expertise from across sectors to conduct evidence-based policy research and develop forwardlooking solutions to Haiti's most pressing challenges. Its work is anchored in two foundational pillars: governance and economic policy, both of which are essential to fostering sustainable stability, restoring citizen trust, and enabling inclusive economic growth.

Institut Macaya believes that the deep crisis shaking the country should be seen as an opportunity for a thorough and unrestrained debate to lead Haiti toward a future that learns from past difficulties so as not to repeat them.

Haiti's current crisis indeed starkly reveals a deep and widespread call, both within the country and among its international partners, for meaningful and lasting change. There is a collective demand for an end to violence, enduring political stability, transparent and effective governance, and genuine economic opportunities for all.

Haiti stands at a crossroads, and the decisions taken today will determine the country's trajectory and the fate of its citizens for decades to come. These challenges arise at a time when technological progress offers new levers for economic growth and operational efficiency in all areas of public and private life.

As the country confronts the most severe socio-economic challenges in its history, the eyes of the international community are once again fixed on its future. This renewed focus presents a critical window of opportunity, one that must be seized to advance the structural reforms and national refoundation efforts essential to lasting stability and progress.

Yet these aspirations seem distressingly out of reach. Armed gangs control vast areas of Port-auPrince and other parts of the country with near impunity, conducting activities and using tactics similar to those of transnational

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organized criminal organizations and insurgent groups. This reality demands new tools that exceed the current containment capacity of the Haitian National Police (PNH) and its partners. Core governing institutions have failed to advance meaningfully toward stability, paralyzed by fragmented politics, entrenched cronyism, and outdated systems. Inflation has surged while economic activity has sharply contracted, driven by the erosion of business capital at every level of the economy and further exacerbated by weak, unenforced regulations that are routinely manipulated. The cost of this dysfunction is borne by the Haitian people, especially the youth, who are being robbed of their future, and in too many cases, their lives.

As hope for short-term peace and security emerges with the passage of resolution 2793 (2025) by the United Nations Security Council, creating a Gang Suppression Force with a clear mandate for proactive engagement against those who have terrorized and harmed to thousands of families, a sense of cautious optimism permeates Haitian society.

Since the start of our journey towards democracy in the 1990s, Haiti has received tremendous support from international partners offering diagnostics, strategies, development plans, and interventions aimed at bringing peace, progress, and prosperity to the country. These wellintentioned efforts have not succeeded in breaking the cycle of instability and underdevelopment that continues to afflict Haitian society.

A significant part of the responsibility lies with us, the Haitian actors. Too often, external partners have stepped in to fill the vacuum created by the absence of a nationally defined vision and strategic priorities. In many cases, international support has been offered without clear guidance from Haitian authorities on where help was most needed, resulting in abstract calls for institutional reform that ignore the country's specific realities and culture. Moreover, the consistent lack of ownership, coordination, and accountability among local institutions, including within the private sector, has severely limited the impact of even the best-designed initiatives that have struggled to find qualified local partners or have been hampered by weak Haitian institutions. Moving forward, it is our responsibility to set a clear course for the country, to ensure disciplined execution, and to hold ourselves and our institutions accountable for results.

Institut Macaya firmly believes that a path forward exists. The core ingredients for national renewal are already present: a young and determined population eager to contribute; the possibility of meaningful reform in governance and security; and a favorable geopolitical environment that could support Haiti's trajectory toward shared prosperity with its neighbors.

It is time to look clearly and honestly at the causes of this chronic situation. We must therefore look inward at our political leadership, public institutions, economic actors, civil society, and diaspora organizations, and confront the systemic dysfunctions that has brought us to this point. The task before us is not simply to navigate out of the current crisis with technical fixes or procedural reforms. This is the moment for collective visionary and servant leadership to emerge, for coalitions to be built that can jumpstart a whole-of-society effort to rebuild the Haitian nation.

We recognize that no single institution can achieve this objective alone. This short-to-mid-term action plan proposes ideas to build upon, for better governance and sustainable outcomes, at a moment when stakeholders must define the structure and agenda of coming months of transitional governance, beyond February 7th, 2026. It is intended as a catalyst for building a broader coalition that includes the Haitian government, the business community, political parties, civil society organizations, and diaspora groups, working together to establish a

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shared understanding of Haiti's urgent needs and marshal a collective commitment to construct a new and modern nation, putting partisan politics aside.

This plan proposes a framework that brings a critical, and often absent, element to the national dialogue: a Haitian-led perspective on what must be done to stabilize and rebuild our nation, one that reflects our conviction that the path to long-term recovery must be charted by Haitians and driven by national priorities.

CORE PRINCIPLES OF A HAITIAN-LED FRAMEWORK FOR ECONOMIC PROSPERITY, STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION AND REFORM

This document is intended as a contribution to the necessary national reflection on Haiti's future. Its authors take a pragmatic view of the limited tools currently available to the nation and, consequently, of the need to think in terms of priorities, identified as those most likely to generate a virtuous leverage effect on the economy and on society.

Five priorities have thus been identified:

1. Haiti's development must be based on clearly defined priorities that generate a virtuous leverage effect. It must be rooted in **practical, scalable, and foundational measures**. These initiatives must address systemic deficits and strengthen institutional capacity and lay the foundation for long-term development. They must move beyond conceptual recommendations toward concrete, results-oriented actions with clear objectives, measurable deliverables, and lasting structural impact.

Institut Macaya believes that a limited number of priorities must be defined to ensure that they are truly carried through to completion and that their multiplier effect on the country's transformation is real.

2. **Governance reform must be guided by a coherent, government-wide framework.** These actions must enable the State to modernize its governance practices, dismantle entrenched bureaucratic barriers, and enhance the quality, transparency, and responsiveness of services delivered to citizens.

3. Economic revitalization must prioritize urgent, tangible improvements to the wellbeing of the population. **Job creation and the revitalization of economic activity must be central priorities.** In a country where most of the population is young and increasingly desperate for opportunities, creating dignified work is not just an economic imperative, it is a matter of national stability and social cohesion.

4. **The contribution of the Haitian diaspora globally must be directed in a more strategic way.** The diaspora is a vital source of technical expertise, leadership, and investment. Tapping into this vast reservoir of talent, by creating pathways for professionals to return, contribute, and thrive can accelerate reconstruction and infuse public and private institutions with much-needed capacity and credibility.

5. **Haiti's reconstruction must include all segments of the population.** All initiatives must incorporate youth and women across organizational or beneficiary roles to foster inclusive development and equitable representation.

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We are mindful that several of the initiatives highlighted in this plan are not entirely new. Some are already underway; others have been proposed in the past but were not implemented or failed to yield results due to lack of follow-through, coordination, or accountability.

This action plan nevertheless seeks to distinguish itself by clearly embracing the need to refocus the country on a set of priorities in order to ensure reconstruction. It aims to highlight and strengthen those initiatives identified as the most urgent and transformative.

At the same time, we also recognize that many other valuable initiatives lie outside the scope of this document. Their omission here does not diminish their relevance. This plan is offered as a contribution to a broader, inclusive national effort, one that must remain focused, adaptive, and rooted in a shared commitment to structural transformation and Haitian leadership. To succeed, however, this effort will require renewed and sustained international support, not in the form of externally imposed solutions, but as strategic accompaniment aligned with Haitian priorities and grounded in mutual accountability.

PRESSING REQUIREMENTS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

1. Reestablishing Security

We strongly welcome the establishment of a Gang Suppression Force (GSF) with enhanced capabilities and a broadened mandate that allows the force to enforce existing weapons bans (including on the high seas), proactively confront criminal gangs, and reclaim gang strongholds through targeted operations.

While recognizing that the authorization of the GSF and a UN Support Office (UNSOH) are key to constituting a force fit for the challenge, we call on our trusted partners in the Hemisphere to proactively join the effort and ensure the GSF is appropriately staffed and funded, a lesson gleaned from analyzing the legacy of the MSS.

To that end, we recommend:

- Consolidating the efforts of the GSF force commander and its Special Representative within a streamlined strategic framework established by the GOH. While the GSF will initially enjoy significant operational autonomy, it will be crucial that it adapts its objectives and indicators of success to those prioritized by its national counterparts.
- Encouraging partner countries to strengthen inspection controls over maritime, land, and air shipments to Haiti, minimizing illegal arms inflows and enabling the GSF to concentrate on internal gang suppression operations.
- Establishing the necessary conditions for free and fair elections as soon as possible as a core objective of the mission, including ensuring unrestricted movement of candidates across the country before and during the electoral period and preventing any form of voter intimidation or coercion.
- Targeting intelligence-led security operations at high-profile actors and areas to send a clear message that gang violence is no longer tolerated, and to provide immediate relief for Haitians, such as:
 - capturing top gang leaders, their lieutenants, associates, and financial backers to neutralize and dismantle gang activities;

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- reclaiming and holding territory once occupied by gangs to restore normal daily life in high-profile markets of Port au Prince and Artibonite and neighboring rural areas affected by gang activity;
 - securing critical logistics infrastructure (ports and airport) and creating extortion-free movement of goods and people on the national roadways.
- Prioritizing the deployment of units specialized in urban warfare while exercising special care when handling minors forcefully recruited into gangs during operations.
- Including troops of Haitian origin with relevant military and police experience in partner country contingents, as this can help build trust with local communities and strengthen the effectiveness of joint operations.
- Calling upon the Haitian private sector to provide, when applicable, local logistics support and services that could accelerate the deployment of the GSF while contributing to stimulating local economic activity and creating job opportunities.
- Envisioning a clear communications and community outreach strategy to inform the Haitian public and potential international contributing partners about the advantages of the new mandate, and the future progress of the force toward its mission objectives.

At the same time, there will be a swell of calls for justice, that if not addressed could lead to a resurgence of violence in new forms. Therefore, we recommend:

- A Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration (DDR) initiative in parallel to kinetic PNH-GSF operations to focus on disarmament through transparent weapons collection, structured demobilization of gang members (including distinguishing between violent actors and coerced participants), and reintegration into society with jobs, training, and psychosocial support.
- Carrying out expedited surveys on liberated areas to measure occupancy, land tenure, and squatting, in order to develop issue-focused dialogue and negotiation processes that clarify ownership and related rights, clearing the way for more ambitious community-led reconstruction projects.
- Protecting grassroots and civil society organizations that attend to survivors of sexual violence and equipping them with the capabilities to keep records that can be used in future justice processes.

2. Addressing the Immediate Needs of the Displaced People as the Situation Evolves

As security conditions begin to improve, Haiti is likely to experience a wave of internal return migration, with tens of thousands of displaced individuals seeking to return to their neighborhoods, often with little more than the clothes on their backs. The communities awaiting them will, in many cases, be hollowed shells of what once existed: homes looted or destroyed, and vital infrastructure (public squares, schools, clinics, markets) damaged or nonfunctional.

In this context, the reduction of violence must be met with visible, tangible improvements in daily life, as a critical and immediate complement to stabilization efforts. Only by linking restored security with real benefits can trust be rebuilt and the authority of the state re-legitimized.

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The recommendations that follow are designed to address urgent early recovery needs while simultaneously opening economic pathways for affected populations. They also prioritize key geographies, such as economic corridors, specific neighborhoods and strategic infrastructure, that can serve as anchors for broader national revitalization.

These quick-impact initiatives are not meant to rebuild communities to their previous dysfunctional state but to improve the pre-existing conditions in terms of access to basic services such as education, health, energy, water and security. They should be community-led and intended to benefit from the insights and knowledge of field agents previously deployed during the 2010 earthquake, while prioritizing local labor.

We recommend:

- Facilitating the creation of community-based rehabilitation committees composed of neighborhood leaders supported by urban planning experts and other skilled volunteers from within the affected communities, operating in a spirit of solidarity. Each neighborhood has its demographic, social and physical characteristics and needs, requiring tailored solutions. No one knows the needs of a community better than its residents who have a vested interest in seeing them addressed.
- Supporting returnees with “starter bundles” (e-wallet/cash grant, basic tool kit, tarps, water filters) and material vouchers redeemable with vetted local suppliers to jump-start home repairs. For entrepreneurs, market reactivation kits (stall rebuild grants, cold boxes, seed capital) could help traders resume commerce.
- Organizing block-by-block cash-for-work crews (hired from the same returning residents) to clear rubble, reopen streets, and sort debris for reuse, while contractors handle heavy removal. Neighborhood rebuild committees could receive small community block grants to prioritize fixes (clinic and school repairs, drainage) monitored by simple public dashboards for transparency.
- Implementing a six-month food bridge (e-vouchers redeemable at local shops) to prevent negative coping while incomes recover or are established anew.
- Deploying portable toilets, washrooms, and street lighting in addition to mobile clinics to rotate through re-opened schools and churches to restart primary care, maternal health, and vaccination.
- At a second stage, deploying renewable energy micro-grids, water storage and distribution systems and sanitation programs managed and maintained by the committees, and educating residents in urban agriculture.

3. Enabling Long-term Conditions for Stability and Economic Prosperity

Haiti’s security crisis is deeply intertwined with its economic breakdown, caused by weak institutions, corruption, and fragmented authority, which have eroded the credibility of the state and fueled recurring cycles of instability. In this environment, the continuity of government operations and the visible restoration of essential services are as critical to stabilization as territorial control and law enforcement.

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While the main objective of the transition is to establish security and lead the country to free and fair elections, a structural reform agenda must remain a priority and set the stage for faster recovery and sustainable stability and progress. As such, without immediate measures to ensure transparency, efficiency and resilience within government institutions, short-term security gains will remain fragile, vulnerable to reversal by the same dynamics of mistrust and state absence that have long undermined national recovery.

To achieve these goals, we recommend immediate attention to the following critical initiatives:

- *Securing the Path to Elections*

- Haiti's current transitional arrangement, rooted in the April 3, 2024 political accord, has encountered serious operational challenges and widespread questions of legitimacy. Although some progress has been made to maintain government continuity and prepare for elections, public confidence in the transitional leadership has eroded, hampered by political fragmentation, growing skepticism, and visible governance shortcomings.

With the February 6, 2026 deadline drawing near, there is increasing concern that prolonged uncertainty around what follows this mandate could deepen the country's political crisis. It is therefore essential to acknowledge the limits of the current framework, not to cast blame, but to foster a constructive and forward-looking national response centered on restoring constitutional order through credible elections.

Rather than reigniting divisive debates over the composition of a new transitional government, an issue that has historically proven contentious and polarizing, Institut Macaya recommends reorienting political dialogue toward securing the institutional and operational conditions required for credible, impartial, and timely elections.

This shift places the electoral calendar, not the architecture of governance, at the center of the national conversation. Under this approach, political actors would be encouraged to coalesce around:

- A fixed and clearly defined electoral timeline, anchored by transparent milestones based on an objective assessment of institutional capacity and readiness;
- Institutional safeguards and legal guarantees to protect the neutrality, integrity, and credibility of the electoral process;
- Security and operational arrangements necessary to ensure the free, inclusive, and safe participation of all voters and candidates.

By focusing first on establishing shared, verifiable conditions for impartiality and feasibility, this approach allows the contours of an acceptable transitional governance structure to emerge over time, guided by practical needs rather than politicized negotiation.

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At the same time, Institut Macaya regrets that the transition has not allowed stakeholders to converge around a nationally owned process of constitutional reform, which we continue to view as a fundamental pillar of long-term political stability. By moving forward under the current constitutional framework, there is a real risk that, even with credible elections, some of the structural drivers of recurring instability will remain unresolved, and will need to be addressed by future authorities through a more inclusive and better-prepared reform process.

To maintain public trust throughout the extended transition period, once the electoral calendar is established, Institut Macaya recommends the establishment of a streamlined, tightly focused transitional framework, characterized by:

- Technocratic leadership of key ministries and agencies involved in the electoral process, including the replacement of political appointees whose conduct or performance undermines institutional credibility;
- Merit-based and budget-constrained administration, prohibiting new political appointments except where operationally necessary and subject to transparent vetting;
- A limited mandate, focused on delivering credible elections and maintaining basic state functions, while preserving space to initiate select, non-partisan reforms-as outlined in this Call to Action-that lay foundations for long-term stability and inclusive growth;
- Enhanced transparency, including regular public reporting on progress against electoral benchmarks, transition expenditures, and implementation milestones;
- Robust oversight, through the creation of an independent electoral observatory with participation from civil society, professional associations, and nonpartisan institutions to monitor the integrity and efficiency of the process.

This is not merely a technical roadmap. It is a political reframing that offers a principled alternative to protracted stalemates, one grounded in civic legitimacy, electoral realism, and public accountability. By recommending placing electoral feasibility at the center of national priorities, Institute Macaya seeks to propose its contribution to reduce political friction, reestablish public confidence, and avert a post-February 6 governance vacuum that would only deepen instability.

- *Reinforcing Accountability and Efficiency in State Institutions*
 - Strengthening and expanding initiatives aimed at enhancing the transparency, accountability, and operational efficiency of public institutions through a comprehensive digital governance framework. This framework will rely on the development of a secure, inclusive, and interoperable digital identity and civil registry system as the cornerstone of a modern digital state. A robust digital identity enables equitable access to public services, reinforces the integrity of electoral processes, and serves as a foundation for social protection systems. The broader digital architecture should modernize government systems to allow for real-time financial oversight, improve service delivery, foster a culture of integrity within the public

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sector, create a level playing field for business, fight corruption, and rebuild trust in public institutions. By embedding digital interconnectivity and data resilience across agencies, this framework will also safeguard institutional continuity and coordination in times of security crises or natural disasters.

- Promoting a culture of transparency and accountability by instituting legally mandated public reporting and regular independent audits across all revenue collection agencies. These measures are essential to rebuilding taxpayer confidence that public funds are being properly managed and reinvested in government services that benefit the population. At the same time, greater fiscal transparency will help level the playing field for businesses by reducing opportunities for corruption, favoritism, and informal practices. This, in turn, will foster a more competitive, innovative, and rules-based economic environment, ultimately delivering better outcomes for consumers and stimulating broader economic participation.
- *Restoring Confidence in the Haitian Justice System*
 - Establishing a strong, hybrid approach where international experts work alongside Haitian justice operators to strengthen national justice institutions (including recently created specialized judicial poles), recommend reforms to current legislation to enhance transparency and accountability mechanisms, and support corruption-related investigations, like the UN and OAS-supported mechanisms established in Guatemala and Honduras to combat corruption. Such a mechanism should include a specific focus on violent actors and their financial backers.
 - Deploying ready-to-operate mobile justice courts to underserved rural regions and targeted neighborhoods, designed to resolve disputes quickly and fairly, reduce violence risks, and ensure government unity of effort by registering outcomes with the tax, land, penitentiary, or other authorities.
- *Reforming the Haitian Security Apparatus*
 - Supporting the GOH to establish and strengthen key security institutions such as the Conseil National de Sécurité et de Défense (CNSD) to develop a near to medium-term coherent National Security Strategy that includes security cooperation efforts with bilateral partners and is adapted to current and future internal and external threats to Haiti's stability. Such initiative is aligned with the mandate set in paragraph 24 of UNSC Resolution 2793 (2025), "requesting the Secretary-General to develop, in coordination with the Haitian authorities, and report to the Security Council, within three months of the adoption of this resolution, on benchmarks, indicators and dates to be met by the Haitian authorities in order to increase the security forces of Haiti and enhance Haiti's management and control of its land, maritime and air borders and ports to combat illicit trafficking of arms, ammunitions and narcotics, with the goal of preparing the transition of tasks and responsibilities to the GOH."

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- Initiating a comprehensive review and redesign of the Haitian National Police, beginning with an updated legal framework, a streamlined chain of command, and a simplified organizational structure focused on two primary functions: civil order and anti-gang operations. Standardizing doctrine, training curricula, equipment, and resource allocation across all units to build cohesion, professionalism, and operational effectiveness. Establishing transparent oversight and performance evaluation mechanisms to ensure accountability and public trust.
 - Engaging in in-depth reflections aimed at enacting reforms to the Haitian Armed Forces (Fad'H) to morph into a Gendarmerie or National Guard-type force that will combine military discipline with policing responsibilities, operating under the authority of civilian institutions. Its primary functions should be internal stabilization, border protection, and disaster response. In addition to establishing a nationwide presence to sustainably maintain peace and stability throughout the territory, the reformed Fad'H will also play an integral part in a social strategy to generate opportunities for young people, giving them a sense of civic duty, national belonging, and discipline; as well as job training and career opportunities.
 - Reducing the influence of Transnational Criminal Organizations (TCOs) by institutionalizing regional alliances (US, Colombia, Brazil, Mexico, CARICOM) to conduct joint maritime and air interdiction operations, jointly develop regional strategies against trafficking, and sever the flow of drugs and arms to Haiti.
- *Restarting Economic Activity and Job Creation*
 - Reinforcing management of Haiti's border with the Dominican Republic to boost much-needed state revenue and contribute to overall security. Effective control over major crossings and informal routes would disrupt arms and narcotics trafficking while reducing the flow of contraband that undermines the competitiveness of local manufacturing and the creation of sustainable jobs. Economic hardship is a key driver of regional migration. At the same time, improved border management would boost customs revenues, currently among the country's most significant untapped resources, while facilitating regulated and efficient trade and commerce, as part of a broader strategic approach to normalizing relations between the two countries.
 - Reinforcing the capacities of Haitian Customs Administration and improving transparency by regularly publishing key trade statistics will help create a levelplaying field for business. Full implementation of the new customs law by the authorities will facilitate trade and improve companies' operational efficiencies.
 - Expanding financing opportunities for reconstruction and labor-intensive infrastructure programs, such as issuing central bonds to the diaspora and pension funds, fintech-enabled microfinance and digital service platforms for low-income entrepreneurs, and international payment-for-ecosystem-services arrangements for rural and remote communities.

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- Creating a reconstruction fund for areas directly impacted by the security crisis, to be funded by the government, the private sector, the diaspora, and international donors, with multi-stakeholder oversight. Such a fund could also be launched by a Haitian-led international reconstruction conference, and supported through tax mechanisms, earmarked customs revenues, and direct supervised contributions. The fund would prioritize reconstruction of critical infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, health clinics, as well as the rehabilitation of the Port-au-Prince government/administrative center.
- Establishing a Metropolitan Reconstruction Committee focused on Port-au-Prince to guide and coordinate community-led reconstruction efforts ensuring adequate urban planning and quality standards are embedded in projects, providing the basis for sustainable future growth of the city, with a mandate for community benefit and participation.
- Creating jobs through a deliberate program of labor-intensive large-scale infrastructure development aimed at rehabilitating and upgrading ports, highways, airports, irrigation systems, energy grids, telecommunication backbone, and rural tertiary roads. This effort should stimulate economic growth, enhance regional connectivity, and serve as both an employment driver and a foundation for long-term economic resilience.
- Establishing a National Competitiveness Working Group, composed of qualified experts from the public administration, the private sector, and, where relevant, academia and the diaspora, with a clear mandate to develop a practical roadmap for improving Haiti's competitiveness in key sectors of the economy. This group would identify priority structural reforms and propose coherent economic, regulatory, and fiscal policies to be implemented both during the remainder of the transition and by the next elected government, with the objective of creating a more predictable, rulesbased environment for investment, local manufacturing development, export growth, and job creation.
- Undertaking a strategic redesign of Haiti's taxation system to better align public revenue generation with the country's economic development, competitiveness, formalization, and social policy objectives. A simplified and streamlined tax code, combined with clear filing procedures, digital payment platforms, and transparent regulatory frameworks, would significantly reduce compliance costs, encourage domestic and foreign investment, and promote the formalization of economic activity. Such reforms are essential not only to broaden the tax base, but also to restore public confidence in the state's ability to collect and redistribute resources fairly and efficiently. A more coherent, inclusive, and technology-enabled tax system is a cornerstone of effective governance and long-term national reconstruction.
- Initiating comprehensive and transparent evaluations of Haiti's natural resource potential as a foundation for future economic growth and sustainable development. Such assessments, covering minerals, energy, marine, and land-based assets, should be guided by principles of

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environmental stewardship, community benefit, and national interest, and serve as a basis for designing long-term strategies to responsibly harness these resources for the public good.

While we recognize that the deployment of the GSF could take some time, and despite the challenges, we call for expedited action on projects that could be implemented in the immediate short-term to drive economic activity in stable areas of the country and give the population a sense of hope, or to prepare for reconstruction projects as geographical areas are reclaimed by security forces, such as:

- Identifying and advancing critical infrastructure projects outside of Port-au-Prince that can be launched in the interim, while security operations continue in the capital. These efforts should include both rapid-impact “quick wins”, such as the rehabilitation of existing energy production units, repairs to community water pumps, the installation of solar-powered public lighting in key squares, and more structured, labor-intensive public works programs. The latter could focus on the rehabilitation and expansion of urban drainage systems, especially in flood-prone secondary cities such as Cap-Haïtien and Les Cayes. These projects will not only generate jobs and improve resilience but also signal that recovery is underway across the national territory, not just in the capital.
- Accelerating the implementation of the government’s business recapitalization program under the RCIA investment framework to help companies restart their activities or quickly scale up their operations to create jobs by utilizing existing capacity.

CONCLUSION

“Only a crisis, actual or perceived, produces real change. When that crisis occurs, the actions that are taken depend on the ideas that are lying around.” - Milton Friedman, the Nobel Prize-winning economist

These recommendations, although non-exhaustive, are presented to the public as part of our commitment to a peaceful, stable, and prosperous Haiti, where citizens can pursue their dreams and ambitions without having to leave the country because of limited opportunities, poverty, or fear of persecution. We are committed to doing our part by channeling opportunities, organizing coalitions, sourcing funding, and highlighting Haiti’s competitive advantages, especially when our resources alone are insufficient.

It can be argued that the proposed initiatives are the responsibility of an elected government and that the transitional government should only focus on establishing security and organizing elections. Given the current transition has extended significantly since the assassination of President Jovenel Moïse in July 2021, we believe that the Haitian people should not be asked to endure further delays in progress due to protracted political disagreements, and that urgent action is needed to restore hope and dignity. Critical structural reforms must be identified, initiated immediately or accelerated if already underway, with a sense of urgency, to prepare the ground for new elected leaders upon assuming office.

The proposed initiatives and reforms agenda must be anchored in strong political leadership and benefit from the explicit backing of Heads of State and Government to ensure their effective implementation, continuity, and Disseminated by Mercury Public Affairs, LLC, a registered foreign agent, on behalf of Institut Macaya. More information is on file with the Department of Justice, Washington, DC.

coherence. We call on the country's political leaders to consistently support, fund, and insulate these initiatives from partisan politics in order to safeguard their sustainability.

The Haitian private sector's fundamental contribution to this action plan and to the broader reconstruction of the country is to do exclusively what it is meant to do: invest, create jobs, and drive sustainable prosperity. To fully play this role, however, key preconditions must be met: longterm security, the effective rule of law and a level playing field for business, public policies that strengthen Haiti's systemic competitiveness, transparent and accountable institutions, reliable basic infrastructure, access to capital, and the strategic use of technological innovation.

The roadmap set out in this document is intended to suggest these structural preconditions while also responding to immediate emergencies, so that private enterprise can operate in a stable, predictable, and rules-based environment. In this spirit, the Haitian business community stands ready to collaborate with public authorities, civil society, the diaspora, and international partners, bringing to the table its organizational discipline, long-term vision, and results-oriented culture to help translate these reforms into tangible opportunities for the population.

Acknowledging the depth of the current crisis, it is also clear that a Haitian private sector severely weakened by years of insecurity will, on its own, never be able to generate enough opportunities for the millions of young people seeking decent work and a future at home. Large-scale, welltargeted public investment, together with sustained foreign and diaspora investment, will be essential complements to private domestic effort if Haiti is to achieve a meaningful economic turnaround. We call on the Haitian Government, private sector, civil society, diaspora, politicians, and other key national stakeholders to put aside historic cleavages and group or personal interests, to contribute meaningfully to this reform agenda that will lay the foundations for Haiti's renewal.

We also call for a shift in the way development assistance is delivered. International partnerships remain essential, but development assistance must evolve, learning from past experiences. To break Haiti's cycle of dependency, international support should focus on strengthening national institutions, driving economic growth, and expanding opportunities for youth and women through entrepreneurship, skills development, and job creation. Assistance must build resilience by investing in economic competitiveness, human capital, and governance systems to achieve long-term sustainability. A renewed partnership should align with a vision for self-reliant development, empowering reliable and accountable local partners to lead and sustain their own transformation.

Haiti's path forward will not be easy, but it is clear. By acting boldly, reducing immediate pressures, coordinating effectively, and rooting all action in Haitian leadership, this plan provides a realistic and urgent roadmap toward stabilization, resilience, and renewal. A commitment to engage in publicprivate partnerships that benefit communities throughout the territory will send a clear signal to those in need that they are not forgotten and that a coalition of committed local actors and international partners stands ready to transform Haiti into a land of opportunities for all.

We hope that future debates around these proposed ideas result in an even better, nationally owned and Haitian-led renewal strategy. This document is not an abstract blueprint for a distant future, nor merely a mid to long-term structural reform agenda. It is a call to action for the present: a framework to restore hope, provide direction, and reclaim sovereignty for a nation that has endured far too long without them.

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