



POLITIK AYITI | ONE-STOP INTELLIGENCE BRIEF

****Week of December 1-7, 2025 | Week 49****

Intelligence for Haiti's Democratic Transition

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The first week of December 2025 marked Haiti's transition from political breakthrough to existential crisis, exposing the fundamental contradiction at the heart of the international community's democratic project: the government can adopt electoral decrees but cannot control the territory needed to implement them. The week began with Prime Minister Alix Didier Fils-Aime and CPT President Laurent Saint-Cyr successfully bypassing obstructionist council members to publish the electoral decree in Le Moniteur, securing immediate US endorsement and empowering the CEP to set February 1, 2026 as election day. However, this political achievement was immediately negated by catastrophic security failure as the Gran Grif gang occupied Port-Sonde for seven consecutive days without any state response, validating the police union's admission that 50 percent of Artibonite has fallen under gang control. The Trump administration compounded the crisis by freezing all pending immigration applications for Haitians on December 2, creating a "double lock" with the February 3 TPS termination that eliminates legal pathways for 200,000 diaspora members. By week's end, US Secretary of State Marco Rubio had launched an urgent diplomatic offensive for the December 9 Gang Suppression Force conference in New York, acknowledging the MSS mission's inadequacy while the candidate registration deadline approaches December 15 with zero major opposition declarations. The central contradiction is now undeniable: Haiti has a legal roadmap to elections but is losing physical control of the national territory, a diaspora ready to participate but facing mass deportation, and international partners demanding democratic progress while providing insufficient security capacity to achieve it.

WEEK IN REVIEW DAILY BREAKDOWN

Monday, December 1, 2025 IMPACT: 10/10 (CRITICAL FAILURE)

Political Developments:

The November 30 electoral decree deadline expired without publication as the fractured CPT failed to sign the document, rendering the August 30, 2026 election timeline mathematically invalid and exposing the "Haitian-led solution" as functionally dead. Prime Minister Fils-Aime's November 28 emergency Council of Government maneuver to accelerate review failed because legal authority rests exclusively with the CPT Presidency, not the Executive. The deadline's expiration without even a public CPT statement confirmed complete institutional collapse. For international partners who invested diplomatic capital in the CPT model since April 2024, this represented the definitive failure of the "Haitian-led transition."

Security Developments:

Gran Grif gang forces launched their second massacre in Port-Sonde (Artibonite) over the weekend of November 29-30, killing approximately 12 civilians and maintaining control of the town for 48-plus hours despite PNH claims of territorial gains. Local official Guerby Simeus confirmed that "no additional police had arrived" despite the attack lasting over 48 hours, leaving residents trapped with no state protection. This attack marked the second time Gran Grif massacred Port-Sonde civilians within 14 months, demonstrating catastrophic failure by both the Haitian National Police and the Multinational Security Support mission. The attack occurred just 48 hours after the PNH's November 29 press conference claiming territorial gains, exposing the fantasy underlying official security

assessments.

****Economic Indicators:****

The US Federal Register officially confirmed that Temporary Protected Status for Haiti will terminate at 11:59 PM on February 3, 2026, creating a mathematically locked four-day convergence with the CPT's constitutional expiration on February 7, 2026. The gourde remained stable at 130.64 HTG/USD, but this reflected paralyzed economic activity rather than confidence. With the February 3 deadline confirmed, diaspora communities entered defensive financial postures, reducing remittance flows, hoarding savings, and liquidating non-essential US assets.

****Impact Assessment:****

Monday, December 1 confirmed the total collapse of Haiti's democratic transition. The missed November 30 deadline proved the CPT cannot perform basic administrative functions. The Port-Sonde massacre with gang forces holding the town 48-plus hours without PNH response exposed catastrophic security failure. The locked February 3-7 dual deadline created a predictable convergence crisis where 350,000 potential deportees face return to a country with no functioning government and gangs controlling 80-90 percent of the capital.

Tuesday, December 2, 2025 IMPACT: 9/10 (GOVERNANCE BREAKTHROUGH NEGATED BY TERRITORIAL COLLAPSE)

****Political Developments:****

The Electoral Decree was officially published in Le Moniteur Special Edition No. 36 on December 1-2, legally validating the August 2026 election timeline and confirming the political isolation of the sanctioned CPT faction (Fritz Jean, Leblanc, Voltaire) who refused to sign. The publication without the signatures of Fritz Alphonse Jean (under US sanctions), Edgard Leblanc Fils, and Leslie Voltaire confirmed that the "Saint-Cyr Maneuver" the Council of Ministers' unilateral adoption on December 1 had achieved constitutional legitimacy despite their opposition. The US State Department's immediate endorsement confirmed Washington's coordination with the Saint-Cyr/Fils-Aime alliance, giving the Core Group the legal foundation to justify continued CPT support through and beyond the February 7, 2026 mandate expiration.

****Security Developments:****

Three days after the Gran Griff assault, Port-Sonde remained largely under gang control with no significant police reinforcements deployed to retake territory. The death toll was revised sharply upward from initial reports of "nearly a dozen" to at least 20 confirmed dead, with over 500 houses burned and hundreds of families displaced toward Saint-Marc and Gonaives. The national police union SPNH-17 issued an extraordinary public statement declaring that "50 percent of the Artibonite region has fallen under gang control" and calling the Port-Sonde response the "greatest security failure in modern Haitian history." The takeover of Saint-Marc City Hall on December 1 evolved into sustained occupation by residents demanding immediate government action, with protesters specifically calling for redeployment of drones and armored vehicles from Port-au-Prince to Artibonite.

****Economic Indicators:****

Haiti's operational center of gravity permanently shifted from Port-au-Prince to Cap-Haitien as the aviation lockdown entered its fourth week with no end in sight. Sunrise Airways confirmed that all Port-au-Prince operations remain indefinitely suspended while focusing exclusively on building Cap-Haitien as its new hub, with international routes to Fort Lauderdale and New York launching December 15. Toussaint Louverture International Airport had been closed to commercial aviation for 22 consecutive days with no timeline for reopening.

****Impact Assessment:****

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The decree publication represented genuine political progress: the legal framework for August 2026 elections now existed, and the obstructionist CPT faction had been successfully marginalized with international backing. However, this governance victory was immediately and catastrophically undermined by the worst security failure in modern Haitian history: the loss of 50 percent of Artibonite to gang control, the 72-hour occupation of Port-Sonde without any state response, and the effective severance of Haiti's food corridor. The government had a legal roadmap to elections but was losing physical control of the territory needed to conduct them.

Wednesday, December 3, 2025 NO DAILY BRIEF AVAILABLE (GAP IN RECORD)

Thursday, December 4, 2025 IMPACT: 10/10 (DIASPORA CATASTROPHE)

Political Developments:

The electoral decree's publication confirmed the sanctioned CPT faction's irrelevance, with Fritz Jean politically isolated and the Saint-Cyr/Fils-Aime alliance consolidating power with US backing. The CEP was now empowered to release the August 2026 calendar without requiring additional CPT approval. However, this political progress was overshadowed by the cascading diaspora crisis.

Security Developments:

Port-Sonde remained under Gran Grif control 96-plus hours after the attack with zero state response, confirming the government's strategic decision to defend Port-au-Prince while abandoning the provinces. The death toll stood at 20-plus with 500-plus houses burned. Saint-Marc protests intensified with demonstrators preparing to blockade National Route 1 if no government action occurred by week's end. The PNH and MSS demonstrated zero capacity for offensive operations outside Port-au-Prince's core diplomatic zone.

Economic Indicators:

The Trump administration delivered a devastating blow to the Haitian diaspora on December 2, suspending ALL pending immigration applications including asylum, green cards, and citizenship for nationals from 19 countries including Haiti, effectively closing every legal pathway to remain in the US after the February 3, 2026 TPS termination. This "collective punishment" policy, justified by a DC security incident involving an Afghan national, created an existential crisis for 200,000-plus Haitians whose applications were now frozen indefinitely. Immigration attorneys described the policy as unprecedented because it penalized entire nationalities for actions of one individual from a completely different country. Early economic impacts appeared in Haitian-American communities: employers terminating TPS holders approaching work authorization expiration, increased real estate listings in Miami and New York Haitian neighborhoods, and 15-20 percent decline in Haiti-bound remittances.

Impact Assessment:

The December 2 immigration freeze created a catastrophic pincer movement with the February 3 TPS termination: 200,000-plus Haitians would lose work authorization and deportation protection with no pathway to adjust status, apply for asylum, or secure green cards. This "double lock" eliminated all legal alternatives, leaving diaspora members facing binary choice: voluntary departure before February 3, remaining unlawfully with deportation risk, or third-country migration. The freeze's timing appeared deliberately punitive, ensuring no Haitian could escape the February 3 deadline through alternative legal mechanisms.

Friday, December 5, 2025 IMPACT: 10/10 (ELECTORAL CALENDAR DISCONNECTED FROM

COLLAPSING REALITY)

****Political Developments:****

The Provisional Electoral Council officially released the electoral calendar setting Sunday, February 1, 2026 as first-round election day just 59 days away with presidential inauguration targeted for May 14, 2026, extending the transition 97 days beyond the February 7 constitutional deadline. CPT member Frisnel Joseph confirmed this represented an "adjustment" for logistical delays, creating a 97-day period where the CPT and PM Fils-Aime would likely govern without clear constitutional authority but with international backing from the Core Group. The 59-day timeline appeared extraordinarily compressed for post-conflict elections, requiring voter registration in gang-controlled zones, party accreditation closing December 15, and campaign period opening December 26 requiring candidate travel in contested territory.

****Security Developments:****

As of Thursday, December 5 120 hours since the Gran Grif assault Port-Sonde remained under gang control with no government counter-offensive deployed. The death toll stood at approximately 20 with 500-plus houses burned and hundreds displaced toward Saint-Marc. The five-day occupation without any counteroffensive was unprecedented. Saint-Marc demonstrations continued with increasingly sophisticated demands for specific military-grade assets visible in Port-au-Prince but absent from Artibonite operations. The operational shift to Cap-Haitien formalized Port-au-Prince's isolation, with the capital's airport entering its 27th consecutive day of closure.

****Economic Indicators:****

The December 2 immigration freeze remained fully operational, with legal challenge prospects appearing unlikely before the February 3 TPS termination given courts' historical deference to executive authority on "national security" immigration matters. Observable economic effects included employers terminating TPS holders, increased real estate listings, 15-20 percent remittance decline, and mixed-status families making custody arrangements for potential parental deportation. The "double lock" mechanism was now clearly operational: TPS termination eliminating work authorization and deportation protection, combined with immigration freeze blocking asylum, green cards, naturalization, and family reunification.

****Impact Assessment:****

The CEP calendar provided essential political clarity but assumed security improvements showing no signs of materializing. The February 1 date required establishing government presence in Port-au-Prince (80-90 percent gang-controlled) and Artibonite (50 percent gang-controlled per police union) within 59 days. Port-Sonde's five-day occupation without response suggested this capacity did not currently exist. The calendar's publication solved only the political problem while the operational problem how to conduct elections when gangs control vast territories remained unaddressed. Combined with the immigration freeze trapping 200,000-plus Haitians, the week exposed fundamental contradictions: legal frameworks advancing while territorial control deteriorates.

Saturday, December 6, 2025 IMPACT: 9/10 (DIPLOMATIC SCRAMBLE CANNOT OFFSET OPERATIONAL COLLAPSE)

****Political Developments:****

US Secretary of State Marco Rubio launched an urgent diplomatic offensive for international military contributions to Haiti's Gang Suppression Force ahead of a critical December 9 conference in New York. This represented the Biden-to-Trump transition administration's acknowledgment that the current Kenya-led Multinational Security Support mission lacked capacity to secure Haiti for the February 1 election deadline just 56 days away. Rubio's statement explicitly linked GSF success to electoral viability, calling enhanced security "essential to advancing

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Haiti's security and stopping the violence perpetrated by criminal and terrorist gangs." The language shift from "gangs" to "criminal and terrorist gangs" represented strategic messaging designed to justify military intervention under counterterrorism frameworks. However, the candidate registration deadline approached December 15 with zero major opposition declarations, suggesting coordinated boycott or behind-scenes coalition negotiations.

Security Developments:

Port-Sonde occupation entered Day 7 (168 hours) without PNH counter-offensive, prompting Haiti's Ombudsman (Protecteur du Citoyen) Renan Hedouville to issue a scathing public letter to Prime Minister Fils-Aime on December 3, declaring the Artibonite region in a state of "profound chaos" and demanding immediate government action. This unprecedented intervention by a constitutional oversight authority represented significant escalation in official criticism of government security failures. The Ombudsman's use of "profound chaos" suggested not tactical security challenges but complete systemic breakdown of state authority. Saint-Marc City Hall occupation by protesters continued through the weekend, with demonstrators preparing to escalate to RN1 highway blockade if December 9 conference produced no commitments.

Economic Indicators:

Symbolic isolation of diaspora deepened with FIFA World Cup 2026 context: Haiti's national team coach publicly noted that Haitian fans would be unable to attend the tournament (hosted in US, Canada, Mexico) due to US immigration freeze and TPS termination, while Haiti had been forced to play "home" World Cup qualifying matches in Nicaragua because security conditions made matches impossible in Haiti. This cultural exclusion highlighted Haiti's complete isolation politically, economically, and now culturally. The immigration freeze continued with no modification, maintaining "double lock" with 57 days remaining until TPS termination.

Impact Assessment:

The December 9 GSF conference represented genuine US diplomatic effort to construct security capacity for Haiti's electoral timeline, but the initiative arrived after elections had been scheduled and as operational conditions deteriorated beyond the point where 56 days of preparation could suffice. Even if the conference produced force commitments, deployment timelines (90-120 days) meant assistance would arrive after the February 1 first round. Meanwhile, the "silent registration" period suggested opposition parties were either organizing boycott or conditioning participation on security improvements showing no signs of occurring. Most critically, the Ombudsman's public declaration of "profound chaos" and demand for action created official constitutional record that the government had failed its citizens.

Sunday, December 7, 2025 IMPACT: 8/10 (SUSTAINED CRISIS BEFORE CRITICAL INFLECTION POINT)

Political Developments:

The weekend period reflected no major new political developments, with focus shifting to Monday's December 9 GSF conference as the critical inflection point. The candidate registration period entered its final week with deadline December 15 (8 days away), but the continued absence of major opposition declarations represented either coordinated boycott strategy or sophisticated last-minute coalition negotiations. The CEP would need to process all registrations and publish final candidate list by December 22 just 7 days after deadline creating compressed timeline that left zero room for disputes or appeals.

Security Developments:

Port-Sonde occupation entered eighth consecutive day as of Sunday, December 7, with no government counter-offensive deployed and gunfire exchanges continuing as recently as Wednesday, December 3. The week-long occupation without military response represented not tactical delay but strategic decision: the government had effectively ceded Artibonite's breadbasket region to criminal control. When gang occupation

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survives seven days without military response, it transitions from "incident requiring police action" to "territorial control requiring military reconquest." Port-Sonde had crossed this threshold. Saint-Marc protests sustained through weekend with demonstrators maintaining City Hall occupation.

****Economic Indicators:****

The weekend lull provided no economic developments, but the structural crises remained at critical levels: immigration freeze active with 57 days to TPS termination, Port-au-Prince airport closed 28 consecutive days, and RN1 highway corridor effectively severed through Port-Sonde. Artibonite's agricultural disruption during December planting season threatened food security crisis in Q2 2026.

****Impact Assessment:****

The weekend period reflected apparent calm before Monday's critical December 9 conference, but this represented normalization of catastrophe rather than improvement. Port-Sonde's eight-day occupation without response validated police union's "50 percent territorial loss" assessment. The absence of candidate registrations 8 days before deadline suggested sophisticated opposition strategy rather than disorganization. Most critically, Monday's December 9 GSF conference represented THE inflection point: if it produced binding force commitments, February 1 timeline gained credibility and opposition likely registered; if it failed, opposition would announce coordinated boycott and electoral process would collapse before voting began.

MAJOR THEMES

THEME 1: The Political-Operational Divergence Governance Breakthroughs Without Territorial Control

****The Strategic Question:****

Can Haiti conduct elections when the government controls legal mechanisms but not physical territory?

****Evidence from the Week:****

The week presented a stark paradox: political institutions functioned while territorial control collapsed. On December 1-2, Prime Minister Fils-Aime and CPT President Saint-Cyr successfully maneuvered around obstructionist council members to publish the electoral decree in Le Moniteur, securing immediate US endorsement. The CEP exercised this newfound authority on December 5 by setting February 1, 2026 as election day. These were genuine governance achievements demonstrating that when political will exists, Haiti's transition government can make critical decisions.

However, these political victories occurred as the government lost physical control of national territory. The Gran Grif gang occupied Port-Sonde for seven consecutive days (November 30-December 7) without any state response. The police union's December 3 admission that "50 percent of Artibonite has fallen under gang control" formalized what was observable: the government governs only a fraction of national territory. Port-au-Prince airport remained closed for 28 consecutive days, Cap-Haitien emerged as the de facto operational capital, and National Route 1 Haiti's primary north-south artery was severed at Port-Sonde.

****Multi-Day Pattern Recognition:****

Monday (Dec 1): Electoral decree deadline missed, exposing CPT dysfunction

Tuesday (Dec 2): Decree published anyway through Council of Ministers maneuver, bypassing CPT

Thursday (Dec 4): Decree's legal authority confirmed; CEP empowered to act

Friday (Dec 5): CEP releases February 1 election calendar using decree authority

Saturday-Sunday (Dec 6-7): Calendar exists but territory to implement it continues deteriorating

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This sequence revealed the pattern: political breakthroughs no longer translate to operational capacity. The government can adopt decrees, publish calendars, and receive international endorsements while simultaneously losing territorial control to gangs. The divergence widened daily rather than narrowed.

****Structural Drivers:****

This divergence stems from fundamental resource allocation: the transition government prioritizes political legitimacy (international backing, constitutional procedures) over operational capacity (security forces, territorial control). The CPT and Prime Minister invest energy in maneuvering around Fritz Jean's obstruction rather than deploying forces to retake Port-Sonde. International partners provide diplomatic support (US State Department endorsements, Core Group backing) but insufficient security assistance (MSS mission remains 400 personnel with defensive mandate).

The structural incentive structure rewards political theater over operational effectiveness. Publishing a decree and receiving US praise requires no military capacity. Retaking territory from gangs requires offensive operations the government cannot execute. Therefore, the government focuses on what it can achieve (political maneuvers) rather than what the situation demands (territorial reconquest).

****Forward-Looking Implications:****

This divergence creates unsustainable contradictions. The February 1 election calendar assumes voters can reach polling stations, candidates can campaign safely, and the CEP can deploy electoral infrastructure. None of these assumptions hold when gangs control 50 percent of Artibonite and 80-90 percent of Port-au-Prince. The government's strategy appears to be: announce elections, secure international legitimacy through political compliance, then hope security improves spontaneously before February 1.

This strategy will fail for three reasons: First, gangs have no incentive to cede territory they profit from controlling commerce and can extort electoral stakeholders. Second, the MSS mission lacks offensive mandate and capacity 400 personnel cannot retake territory from entrenched gangs. Third, even if the December 9 GSF conference produces force commitments, 90-120 day deployment timelines mean assistance arrives after February 1.

The likely outcome: elections occur in government-controlled zones only (Cap-Haitien, parts of Port-au-Prince), creating a geographically limited vote that lacks national legitimacy. International observers will face impossible choice: certify elections that exclude millions in gang-controlled areas, or refuse certification and trigger constitutional crisis. This is the predictable consequence of prioritizing political timelines over operational capacity.

THEME 2: The Diaspora Double Lock Maximum Pressure Through Synchronized Restrictions

****The Strategic Question:****

Is the Trump administration's immigration policy designed to eliminate all diaspora alternatives to forced return?

****Evidence from the Week:****

The December 2 immigration freeze created what legal experts termed a "double lock" with the February 3 TPS termination. The first lock: TPS expires February 3, 2026, eliminating work authorization and deportation protection for 200,000-plus Haitians. The second lock: all pending immigration applications frozen December 2, blocking asylum, green cards, naturalization, and family reunification. Prior to the freeze, TPS holders facing the February 3 deadline had several potential options: apply for asylum based on country conditions, petition for family-based green cards if eligible, seek humanitarian parole or other discretionary relief, or apply for naturalization if married to US citizens with sufficient residency. All pathways closed.

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The timing appeared deliberately coordinated. The TPS termination was announced November 28 (67 days notice). The immigration freeze arrived December 2, just four days later. The administration cited a December 1 DC shooting involving an Afghan national as justification to freeze applications from 19 countries including Haiti, though no connection existed between the incident and Haiti. This transparent pretext suggested the freeze's true purpose: ensuring no Haitian could escape the February 3 deadline through alternative legal mechanisms.

****Multi-Day Pattern Recognition:****

Monday (Dec 1): TPS February 3 termination date confirmed in Federal Register

Tuesday (Dec 2): Immigration freeze announced, suspending all Haitian applications

Wednesday-Thursday (Dec 3-4): Immigration attorneys describe policy as "collective punishment"

Friday-Sunday (Dec 5-7): Early economic impacts observable (employers terminating TPS holders, real estate listings increasing, remittance decline)

This sequence revealed coordinated maximum-pressure strategy. The administration did not simply terminate TPS; it eliminated every alternative pathway simultaneously. This differed from previous TPS terminations where affected individuals could pursue other immigration benefits. The "double lock" was designed to force mass deportations.

****Structural Drivers:****

The Trump administration's stated rational national security concerns following a DC shooting was pretextual for Haiti's inclusion. The structural driver appeared to be migration deterrence through exemplary punishment. By making Haiti's diaspora situation maximally harsh, the administration signals to other countries: TPS termination will be enforced without mercy, alternatives will be foreclosed, and migration to the US carries existential risk.

This strategy assumes deportation threats deter future migration. However, it ignores push factors: Haitians flee because gangs control 80-90 percent of Port-au-Prince, not because US immigration policy is generous. Eliminating legal pathways does not eliminate migration; it redirects it to illegal channels (boat migrations, land routes through Mexico). The structural consequence: the administration's policy creates the migration crisis it claims to prevent.

****Forward-Looking Implications:****

The diaspora faces three options, all catastrophic: First, voluntary departure before February 3 preserves future return options but means abandoning US lives, jobs, and assets. Second, remaining unlawfully after February 3 risks mandatory detention but maintains family unity short-term. Third, third-country migration (Canada, other Latin American nations) requires resources most lack.

The economic cascade will be severe. Haitian-American communities will experience asset fire sales as families facing deportation panic-sell homes, businesses, and vehicles before the February 3 deadline. Haiti's economy will contract sharply as remittances (40 percent of GDP) decline when TPS holders lose work authorization. Food security will deteriorate as families lose diaspora support. Political stability will erode as the government faces simultaneous electoral crisis and returning deportees without reintegration capacity.

The December 9 GSF conference's success or failure may influence congressional action. If the US secures international force commitments for Haiti security, it strengthens arguments for TPS extension (cannot deport to crisis zone while demanding other countries send troops). If the conference fails, TPS termination becomes irreversible; the administration will claim Haiti's problems are not US responsibility.

The most likely outcome: mass voluntary departures December-January as diaspora members recognize no legal alternatives exist, followed by forced deportations beginning February 4 for those who remain. Haiti will receive

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50,000-plus returnees in 90 days with no jobs, housing, or services available. This will compound the electoral crisis, security failure, and economic contraction into comprehensive state collapse by Q2 2026.

THEME 3: The Territorial Abandonment Port-Sonde as Symbol of Strategic Defeat

The Strategic Question:

Has the Haitian government made a strategic decision to defend Port-au-Prince while abandoning the provinces?

Evidence from the Week:

The Port-Sonde occupation provided the week's most damning evidence of state failure. The Gran Grif gang entered Port-Sonde on November 30 and maintained control through December 7 eight consecutive days without any PNH or MSS counter-offensive. The death toll stood at 20-plus with 500-plus houses burned and hundreds displaced. Critically, local official Guerby Simeus confirmed on December 2 that "no additional police had arrived" despite the attack lasting over 48 hours. By December 3, gunfire exchanges continued as Gran Grif attempted to advance from the heights toward the "Pon Fifi" sector, demonstrating they were consolidating territorial control rather than conducting hit-and-run raids.

The police union's December 3 admission that "50 percent of Artibonite has fallen under gang control" was unprecedented. Police unions typically avoid public criticism of operational failures to maintain institutional credibility. The fact that they publicly declared "50 percent territorial loss" and called Port-Sonde response the "greatest security failure in modern Haitian history" indicated internal crisis of confidence. Haiti's national Ombudsman escalated on December 3 by issuing a public letter to Prime Minister Fils-Aime declaring Artibonite in "profound chaos" and demanding immediate action. This constitutional oversight authority's intervention created official record that the government had been warned, demanded action, and failed to respond.

Multi-Day Pattern Recognition:

Saturday-Sunday (Nov 30-Dec 1): Gran Grif attacks Port-Sonde; gang maintains control 48 hours

Monday (Dec 1): No government response; local officials confirm zero police reinforcements

Tuesday (Dec 2): 72 hours without response; Saint-Marc City Hall seized by protesters demanding action

Wednesday (Dec 3): Police union publicly admits 50 percent Artibonite loss; Ombudsman declares "profound chaos"

Thursday-Friday (Dec 4-5): 96-120 hours without response; death toll revised to 20-plus

Saturday-Sunday (Dec 6-7): Seven-eight days without response; occupation normalized

This sequence revealed not tactical delay but strategic abandonment. When gang occupation survives seven days without military response, it transitions from incident to territorial shift. Port-Sonde crossed this threshold. The government's failure to deploy forces within eight days was not due to logistics it was a decision reflecting operational incapacity outside Port-au-Prince's core diplomatic zone.

Structural Drivers:

The PNH lacks capacity to conduct offensive operations while simultaneously defending Port-au-Prince. With approximately 15,000 total personnel (many untrained, poorly equipped), the force must choose: hold the capital or project into provinces. The government has chosen the capital. This is rational given limited resources but means the "national" government governs only a fraction of national territory.

The MSS mission's complete absence from Artibonite exposed its limitations. Kenya deployed 400 personnel under Rules of Engagement limiting operations to defensive patrols in Port-au-Prince. The force lacks mandate, resources, or tactical flexibility to conduct offensive operations against gang strongholds like Savien (Gran Grif's

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base) or protect rural corridors. The MSS is a static force protecting embassy districts, not a territorial control operation.

This creates a security architecture designed to fail. The PNH cannot retake territory from entrenched gangs. The MSS cannot operate beyond Port-au-Prince. International partners provide rhetorical support but insufficient force contributions. Therefore, gangs expand unopposed into provinces while the government maintains fiction of national authority.

****Forward-Looking Implications:****

Port-Sonde's loss has cascading effects: First, food security. Artibonite produces 40 percent of Haiti's rice and staple crops. December is planting season. With farmers unable to access fields, Port-au-Prince faces severe shortages by Q2 2026. Second, National Route 1 severance. RN1 runs through Port-Sonde. With Gran Grif controlling the town, overland commerce between Port-au-Prince and Cap-Haitien is effectively cut. Third, gang emboldening. Gran Grif's ability to occupy a major town for eight days without response signals to other gangs that the government cannot defend areas beyond the capital.

The December 9 GSF conference must address this directly. If it produces binding force commitments with offensive mandates, there is theoretical possibility of reconquest. If it produces only rhetoric, territorial abandonment becomes permanent. Opposition parties are watching: their December 15 registration decision depends partly on whether the government retakes Port-Sonde by December 12 (proving minimal operational capacity). If Port-Sonde remains occupied through December 12, opposition will announce coordinated boycott they cannot campaign in territory the government admits it cannot control.

The most likely outcome: Port-Sonde remains under gang control, becoming the first of many provincial towns to fall permanently. The government will maintain fiction that PNH/MSS will "eventually" retake territory, but no operations will materialize. By February 2026, the geographic scope of elections will be limited to Cap-Haitien and small Port-au-Prince zones under MSS protection. This produces a "capital city election" lacking national legitimacy.

THEME 4: The December 9 Inflection Point Diplomatic Hail Mary or Electoral Postponement

****The Strategic Question:****

Is the December 9 GSF conference designed to secure forces for February 1 elections, or to maintain diplomatic momentum while accepting electoral postponement?

****Evidence from the Week:****

US Secretary of State Marco Rubio's December 5 announcement of the December 9 Gang Suppression Force conference in New York represented a critical shift in US posture. The statement explicitly acknowledged that the current MSS mission lacks capacity to secure Haiti for February 1 elections, just 56 days away. Rubio demanded international partners particularly Latin American nations commit military forces ahead of the Monday conference. The language shift from "gangs" to "criminal and terrorist gangs" represented strategic messaging designed to justify military intervention under counterterrorism frameworks rather than peacekeeping mandates.

The conference targets specific countries with prior Haiti experience: Brazil (MINUSTAH leadership 2004-2017), Argentina (UN peacekeeping experience), Chile (MINUSTAH veteran), Colombia (counterinsurgency expertise), and CARICOM states (regional ownership). However, none showed appetite for Haiti deployment during nine months of consultations in 2024-2025. Brazil explicitly declined leadership in March 2024. The December 9 conference must overcome consistent "no" answers in 72 hours.

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****Multi-Day Pattern Recognition:****

Monday-Thursday (Dec 1-5): Electoral calendar advances (decree published, February 1 date set) without security capacity to implement

Friday (Dec 5): CEP announces February 1 election just 59 days away; security shows no improvement

Saturday (Dec 6): Rubio announces urgent December 9 conference acknowledging MSS inadequacy

Sunday (Dec 7): Port-Sonde occupation enters Day 8; opposition remains silent on registration

Monday (Dec 9): Conference occurs with binding commitments or rhetorical failure determining electoral fate

This sequence revealed the pattern: announce elections first, scramble to build security capacity second. This is reverse of standard post-conflict electoral planning, which establishes security before setting dates. The timing suggests two possible interpretations.

****Structural Drivers:****

Interpretation One: The US genuinely believes it can secure force commitments at December 9 conference despite nine months of "no" answers. This assumes Latin American countries will reverse positions under pressure of imminent electoral collapse. The US would leverage financial commitments (estimated \$600 million annually for 2,500-person GSF) and diplomatic pressure (threatening to blame specific countries if Haiti fails). However, even successful commitments face deployment timelines of 90-120 days for legislative approvals, equipment procurement, personnel training, and operational integration. February 1 arrives before any December 9 commitments operationalize.

Interpretation Two: The US knows February 1 is operationally impossible but uses December 9 conference to maintain diplomatic momentum and avoid political cost of openly acknowledging postponement. By producing "commitments" Monday, the administration claims progress while the actual deployment timeline makes forces irrelevant to February 1 vote. The conference is actually about securing forces for April 2026 second round or post-election stability not the immediate first round 56 days away.

The evidence supports Interpretation Two. Secretary Rubio's own timeline acknowledgment (forces need 90-120 days) combined with February 1 date (56 days) makes clear the conference cannot address immediate electoral security needs. The conference serves diplomatic function: demonstrate international engagement, pressure opposition parties to register by showing "help is coming," and provide cover for post-election violence ("we tried to get forces but deployment takes time").

****Forward-Looking Implications:****

The December 9 conference serves as trigger event for opposition registration decisions. If the conference produces binding commitments from at least two major contributors (Brazil, Argentina, Chile) with specific deployment timelines, opposition parties gain justification to register and participate the security trajectory improves even if February 1 occurs before deployment. If the conference produces only rhetorical support without commitments, opposition will announce coordinated boycott December 10-13, delegitimizing elections before registration period closes.

The conference also determines international observer positioning. UN, OAS, and EU observer missions are awaiting December 9 outcomes before committing to February 1 deployment. If the conference succeeds, they will deploy despite imperfect security. If it fails, they will likely refuse to certify elections occurring in gang-controlled territories.

The most likely outcome: the conference produces conditional commitments ("we will contribute X forces subject to legislative approval and funding guarantees") that sound substantial but lack binding timelines. This allows the US to claim success, opposition parties to register while maintaining "conditional participation," and international

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observers to deploy while reserving judgment. Elections occur February 1 in limited geography (Cap-Haitien, parts of Port-au-Prince), violence disrupts voting in gang-controlled zones, and the international community accepts a flawed process as "best possible under circumstances." The alternative openly acknowledging February 1 is impossible and postponing would require diplomatic courage no stakeholder currently demonstrates.

THEME 5: The Silent Registration Opposition Strategy or Disorganization?

The Strategic Question:

Does the absence of major opposition candidate declarations represent coordinated boycott strategy or last-minute coalition negotiations?

Evidence from the Week:

As the candidate registration period entered its second week with deadline December 15 approaching, the continued absence of major opposition declarations became the week's most significant political development. No announcements came from Claude Joseph (former Prime Minister), traditional party representatives (PHTK, Fanmi Lavalas, Fusion parties), civil society candidates (business, religious, social leaders), or independent candidates (typically numerous in Haitian elections). This silence was unprecedented. In Haiti's 2015-2016 electoral cycle (last completed elections), candidate announcements dominated media coverage throughout registration periods, with major figures announcing early to build momentum and secure coalition partnerships.

The CEP's timeline created compressed decision window: registration closes December 15, candidates must be vetted and final list published December 22 (seven days later), and campaign period opens December 26 (four days after publication). This left zero room for disputes, appeals, or late additions. The CEP explicitly stated it cannot extend registration deadlines without invalidating the February 1 election date.

Multi-Day Pattern Recognition:

Monday-Tuesday (Dec 1-2): Registration period opens; zero major announcements despite decree publication
Wednesday-Friday (Dec 3-5): CEP releases February 1 calendar; opposition silence continues
Saturday-Sunday (Dec 6-7): Nine days remaining until deadline; still zero major declarations
Monday (Dec 9): GSF conference serves as trigger for opposition decision
Tuesday-Friday (Dec 10-15): Five-day window for registration rush or boycott announcements

This sequence revealed intentional silence rather than disorganization. Opposition parties could have announced immediately upon decree publication (December 2) to demonstrate legitimacy and claim momentum. Their refusal to do so suggests strategic coordination. Three scenarios explain the silence.

Structural Drivers:

Scenario One: Coordinated Boycott. Opposition parties concluded that February 1 elections cannot be credible given 80-90 percent Port-au-Prince gang control, 50 percent Artibonite occupied, airport closed 28 days, and campaign infrastructure impossible in contested zones. A coordinated boycott would delegitimize elections before they occur, forcing either postponement or producing a "selection" rather than "election" dominated by pro-government candidates. Opposition learned from 2015-2016: better to boycott before elections than participate and delegitimize them afterward when fraud or violence emerges mid-process.

Scenario Two: Strategic Coalition Negotiations. Major opposition figures are negotiating unified slates to avoid vote-splitting. Haitian politics historically fragments opposition while government-aligned forces coordinate. A December 12-15 "surprise" announcement of united opposition coalition would demonstrate organizational capacity and create campaign momentum. This would also prevent government infiltration of coalition discussions

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during negotiations.

Scenario Three: Conditional Participation Using December 9 as Trigger. Opposition parties explicitly withhold registration as leverage to force government security commitments. They announce conditionally: "We register by December 15 IF: (1) December 9 GSF conference produces binding force commitments with deployment timelines, AND (2) government retakes Port-Sonde by December 12 proving minimal operational capacity." This creates maximum pressure while preserving participation option if conditions improve.

The evidence supports Scenario Three most strongly. The timing waiting until after December 9 conferences suggests opposition is using the conference as decision trigger. If countries commit forces, opposition views this as sufficient security trajectory to justify participation. If conference produces nothing, opposition announces boycott December 10-13.

****Forward-Looking Implications:****

The December 12-15 window will reveal opposition strategy. If December 9 conference succeeds in securing commitments, expect registration surge December 13-15 as major parties file simultaneously to avoid appearing obstructionist. The CEP's seven-day processing window (December 15-22) will become impossible as staff must vet hundreds of candidates, verify documentation, and publish lists while managing disputes. The December 22 publication deadline will slip, potentially delaying December 26 campaign start.

If December 9 conference fails, expect coordinated boycott announcements December 10-12 from multiple opposition parties simultaneously. This creates political crisis: elections without major opposition participation lack legitimacy. International observers will face impossible choice certify elections excluding major parties, or refuse certification triggering constitutional crisis. The Core Group (US, Canada, France, EU, UN, OAS) has consistently demanded "inclusive" elections. A ballot lacking major opposition fails this test categorically.

The government's response to opposition boycott would be critical. It could postpone elections (requiring new decree, new calendar, extending CPT mandate beyond February 7). It could proceed anyway (producing illegitimate "selection" that international community refuses to recognize). Or it could negotiate security guarantees to convince opposition to participate (requiring admitting current security is inadequate, potentially undermining government credibility).

The most likely outcome: December 9 conference produces conditional commitments, opposition registers December 13-15 while maintaining "participation is conditional on security improvements by January 15," and all stakeholders proceed with February 1 elections while preserving options to withdraw if violence escalates. This allows everyone to claim they tried while building excuse structures for inevitable failure. The alternative honest assessment that conditions don't permit credible elections would require courage no stakeholder currently demonstrates.

TREND ANALYSIS

Political Trajectory: Institutional Capacity Achieved, Operational Capacity Absent

The week demonstrated that Haiti's transition government can function institutionally when political will exists. The Saint-Cyr/Fils-Aime alliance successfully bypassed obstructionist CPT members, published the electoral decree, secured immediate US endorsement, and empowered the CEP to set binding electoral calendar. These represent genuine governance achievements. The decree's publication solved a months-long political impasse. The CEP's calendar provided the electoral roadmap international partners demanded.

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However, institutional capacity divorced from operational capacity creates dangerous fiction. The government can adopt decrees but cannot control territory. The CEP can set election dates but cannot deploy infrastructure to implement them. International partners can endorse calendars but cannot provide security to execute them. This divergence between institutional performance and operational reality widened throughout the week rather than narrowed.

The trajectory points toward a February 1 election that occurs on paper but not in practice. The CEP will open polling stations in Cap-Haitien and limited Port-au-Prince zones under MSS protection. Voting will not occur in 50 percent of Artibonite or 80-90 percent of Port-au-Prince under gang control. Turnout will be catastrophically low. Violence will disrupt voting. International observers will document irregularities. The Core Group will face binary choice: certify a flawed process as "best possible under circumstances," or refuse certification triggering constitutional crisis when CPT mandate expires February 7 without elected successor.

The political trajectory suggests all stakeholders will choose certification despite flaws. The US has invested too much diplomatic capital to admit failure. The CPT needs electoral legitimacy to extend mandate beyond February 7. Opposition parties, having registered conditionally, will accept partial elections while protesting inadequacies. Haiti will have elections that produce a president without democratic legitimacy continuation of the transition government by other means.

Security Environment Evolution: From Gang Violence to Territorial Control

The week marked Haiti's security crisis evolution from "gang violence requiring police response" to "territorial control requiring military reconquest." Port-Sonde's eight-day occupation without any state response crossed this threshold definitively. When gang occupation survives one week without military counteroffensive, it ceases to be an incident and becomes territorial shift.

The police union's admission that 50 percent of Artibonite has fallen under gang control represented unprecedented official acknowledgment of state failure. Previous security assessments used euphemisms ("areas of gang influence," "zones requiring enhanced security"). The 50 percent quantification was blunt: gangs govern half of Haiti's breadbasket region. Combined with UN assessments that gangs control 80-90 percent of Port-au-Prince, total gang territorial control may exceed 70 percent of Haiti's land area and 60 percent of population.

The Ombudsman's December 3 intervention declaring Artibonite in "profound chaos" and demanding immediate government action created constitutional record of state failure. When oversight authorities publicly declare governance collapse, it signals institutional recognition that normal responses have failed. The Ombudsman's letter established government accountability: warned, demanded action, and documented non-response.

The security trajectory points toward permanent territorial fragmentation. The government will control Port-au-Prince diplomatic zone (protected by MSS), Cap-Haitien and northern corridor (protected by geography and distance from gang bases), and scattered provincial towns with sufficient PNH presence. Gangs will control Port-au-Prince majority, Artibonite agricultural regions, and strategic transportation corridors. This creates a de facto partition where the "national" government governs only fraction of nation.

Military reconquest would require offensive operations the government cannot execute. The PNH lacks training, equipment, and numerical strength to dislodge entrenched gangs. The MSS has defensive mandate only. Even if December 9 GSF conference produces force commitments, 90-120 day deployment timelines mean assistance arrives too late for February 1 elections. Therefore, elections will occur in partitioned Haiti where the government controls some zones, gangs control others, and international community pretends this is acceptable democracy.

Economic Indicators: Remittance Collapse and Food Security Crisis Converging

The week's economic developments pointed toward Q1-Q2 2026 compound crisis. The diaspora "double lock" (TPS termination plus immigration freeze) will eliminate work authorization for 200,000-plus Haitians on February 3, 2026. Early indicators already appeared: employers terminating TPS holders, real estate listings increasing in Miami and New York Haitian neighborhoods, and 15-20 percent remittance decline December versus November. When TPS holders lose work authorization February 3, remittance flows (40 percent of Haiti's GDP) will contract sharply. Even 10 percent decline represents \$380 million annually, catastrophic for families dependent on diaspora support.

The Port-Sonde occupation's timing December planting season threatens food security. Artibonite produces 40 percent of Haiti's rice and staple crops. Farmers unable to access fields due to gang presence cannot plant. Missed December planting translates to harvest failures March-April 2026. Port-au-Prince will face severe shortages by Q2 2026 precisely when remittances collapse due to TPS termination. The convergence creates humanitarian emergency: families losing diaspora income while food prices spike due to agricultural disruption.

The Cap-Haitien operational shift formalized Port-au-Prince's economic isolation. With the airport closed 28 consecutive days and National Route 1 severed at Port-Sonde, the capital cannot receive international cargo efficiently. Supply chain costs increased 10-15x for air freight from Cap-Haitien to Port-au-Prince via helicopter or small aircraft. These costs pass through to consumers. Food price inflation will accelerate regardless of agricultural production because transportation infrastructure has failed.

The economic trajectory points toward Q1 2026 currency crisis. The gourde remained stable at 130 HTG/USD throughout the week despite catastrophic developments. This reflects paralyzed economic activity rather than confidence. When February 3 TPS termination triggers remittance collapse, when food shortages manifest in March-April, and when electoral violence disrupts commerce in February, the triple shock will overwhelm Haiti's fragile economy. Expect sharp gourde devaluation (180-200 HTG/USD by Q2 2026), inflation surge (30-40 percent food price increases), and humanitarian crisis requiring international emergency assistance.

International Posture: Diplomatic Support Without Operational Commitment

The international community's posture throughout the week revealed structural limitation: willing to provide diplomatic support but unwilling to commit forces sufficient to change security reality. The US State Department immediately endorsed the electoral decree publication, Secretary Rubio announced the December 9 GSF conference with urgency, and the Core Group maintained public backing for the CPT-Prime Minister alliance. These represent genuine diplomatic efforts.

However, diplomatic support divorced from operational commitment creates expectations gap. The electoral decree means nothing if voting cannot occur safely. The December 9 conference means nothing if countries refuse binding force commitments. The Core Group endorsement means nothing if the MSS mission remains limited to 400 personnel with defensive mandate. Throughout the week, international partners demanded Haiti organize elections while providing insufficient security capacity to conduct them.

The MSS mission's complete absence from the Artibonite crisis exposed this gap. Kenya deployed forces in June 2024 with much international fanfare. Nine months later, when gangs occupied a major town for eight days, the MSS did nothing. This was not failure it was mandate. The MSS has defensive Rules of Engagement limiting operations to Port-au-Prince patrols. It cannot conduct offensive operations, cannot operate outside the capital, and lacks resources to project force into provinces. The mission was designed to protect diplomatic zones, not reconquer national territory.

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The December 9 GSF conference will likely perpetuate this pattern. Even if countries commit forces, they will do so conditionally ("subject to legislative approval," "pending funding guarantees," "depending on security improvements"). These conditional commitments sound substantial but lack binding timelines. They allow countries to claim engagement while preserving exit options. The US has used this approach for nine months: repeatedly demanding international force contributions while other countries repeatedly declining then offering conditional future commitments that never materialize.

The international trajectory points toward minimalist approach: provide sufficient diplomatic support to maintain fiction of Haitian-led transition, provide insufficient operational support to actually secure elections, then accept flawed electoral process as "best possible under circumstances." This allows international partners to claim they supported democracy without committing resources necessary to achieve it. Haiti gets elections that produce president without legitimacy, international community declares success and withdraws, and cycle repeats in next crisis.

Governance Legitimacy: Constitutional Authority Purchased Through Deadline Extension

The week exposed the fundamental trade-off Haiti's transition government has made: constitutional authority after February 7, 2026 purchased by accepting 97-day deadline extension through May 14 inauguration. The CEP's December 5 calendar acknowledged this explicitly: presidential inauguration targeted for May 14, extending transition 97 days beyond the February 7 constitutional mandate expiration. CPT member Frisnel Joseph framed this as "adjustment for logistical delays," but it represents more significant acknowledgment: democratic elections cannot be organized within constitutional timeline.

This creates legitimacy paradox. Elections are supposed to restore constitutional governance. But holding elections beyond constitutional deadline means governing without constitutional authority during critical period (February 7 - May 14). The CPT and Prime Minister will likely continue governing with international backing from Core Group, but domestic legitimacy will be contested. Opposition parties, civil society organizations, and legal scholars will challenge the government's authority to act during this 97-day limbo.

The US State Department's endorsement of the electoral decree suggests Core Group acceptance of deadline extension. Washington prioritizes elections occurring over constitutional niceties about when exactly they occur. For the US, legitimacy derives from electoral process itself, not strict adherence to February 7 date. However, this represents external perspective. Domestically, constitutional deadlines matter. The 1987 Constitution specifies February 7 as transition endpoint. Governing beyond this date without amending the Constitution is unconstitutional regardless of international community's acceptance.

The legitimacy trajectory points toward hybrid situation: the government operates with international backing but domestic contestation. The CPT and Prime Minister will continue functioning February 7 - May 14, will conduct February 1 elections, will claim the electoral process itself provides legitimacy even if it occurs beyond constitutional deadline. Opposition parties will accept this if they win, protest if they lose. Civil society will launch legal challenges that go nowhere because courts lack independence to rule against government. International community will ignore domestic constitutional debate and recognize whoever wins February 1 vote regardless of timing.

The fundamental issue: Haiti's democratic transition has become international project rather than domestic process. Legitimacy derives from Core Group endorsement, not constitutional compliance. This inverts proper relationship international community should support Haitian constitutional governance, not substitute for it. The 97-day extension represents this inversion. Elections will occur when international community decides they should occur, on timeline international community accepts, producing president international community recognizes

regardless of domestic constitutional constraints.

STAKEHOLDER IMPLICATIONS

International Community

The week's developments require fundamental reassessment of international community's Haiti strategy. The political-operational divergence demonstrated that Haiti's government can function institutionally (publishing decrees, setting election dates, receiving diplomatic endorsements) but cannot function operationally (controlling territory, providing security, implementing electoral infrastructure). This means international partners face binary choice: commit sufficient force to bridge the operational gap, or accept geographically limited elections lacking full national legitimacy.

The December 9 GSF conference represents the decision point. If countries commit binding forces with deployment timelines, there is theoretical possibility of improving security trajectory even if forces arrive after February 1. This would justify supporting the electoral calendar despite imperfect conditions. However, if the conference produces only conditional commitments without binding timelines, international partners must decide: proceed with February 1 elections knowing gangs control 70-plus percent of national territory and voting will be limited to government-controlled zones, or acknowledge this produces illegitimate election and recommend postponement.

The Core Group has consistently demanded "inclusive" elections with major party participation and national geographic coverage. Both requirements are at risk. The opposition "silent registration" suggests potential boycott if December 9 conference fails. The Port-Sonde occupation demonstrates government cannot project force into provinces. International observers will document these limitations, creating record that elections fall short of credibility standards. The question: will international community certify elections anyway because the alternative (refusing certification, triggering constitutional crisis) is worse?

Immediate priorities should include: demanding concrete security timeline from government showing how PNH/MSS will secure February 1 voting in gang-controlled areas; coordinating emergency humanitarian planning for returnees from US deportations beginning February 4; establishing criteria for what minimum conditions would justify electoral certification versus refusal; and pressuring countries at December 9 conference to make binding commitments rather than conditional pledges.

The fundamental recommendation: the international community must choose between maximalist and minimalist approaches. Maximalist: commit sufficient forces (2,500-plus personnel with offensive mandate) to actually reconquer gang-controlled territory before February 1, enabling credible national elections. Minimalist: accept that current security allows only limited elections in government-controlled zones, certify this as "best possible under circumstances," and acknowledge the resulting president lacks full democratic legitimacy. The middle ground claiming to support credible elections while providing insufficient security to conduct them perpetuates the fiction that has defined Haiti policy for two years. The December 9 conference will reveal which approach prevails.

Private Sector

The week's developments require businesses to implement defensive positioning immediately. The Port-Sonde occupation's eight-day duration without government response proved that operations in Artibonite region are unsustainable. The National Route 1 severance makes overland transportation between Port-au-Prince and Cap-Haitien high-risk or impossible. The airport's 28-day closure shows no signs of ending. The diaspora "double

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lock" threatens customer base as 200,000-plus TPS holders lose work authorization February 3, eliminating purchasing power in key markets.

Businesses should execute three-phase operational adjustment: Phase One (immediate through December 15): Terminate all Artibonite operations; redirect supply chains exclusively through Cap-Haitien; build 90-120 day cash reserves to absorb Q1 2026 revenue decline. Phase Two (December 15 - February 1): Minimal staffing in Port-au-Prince with skeleton operations only; full emergency protocols for election day (February 1) anticipating violence and transportation shutdown; model 40-60 percent revenue decline in Haitian-American markets as TPS holders lose work authorization. Phase Three (February 1 - May 14): Reassess post-election security environment; maintain Cap-Haitien as primary operational hub; prepare for Q2 2026 food security crisis and currency devaluation as remittance collapse and agricultural disruption converge.

The December 9 GSF conference should be treated as intelligence indicator, not operational trigger. If conference produces binding force commitments from major contributors with deployment timelines, maintain current defensive posture but begin medium-term planning for improved Q2-Q3 2026 security environment. If conference produces only rhetoric, accelerate exit from Port-au-Prince-dependent operations entirely and concentrate exclusively in Cap-Haitien corridor.

Critical planning assumptions should include: RN1 highway impassable by December 20 regardless of December 9 outcomes; Port-au-Prince airport closed through Q1 2026 minimum; food price inflation 20-30 percent by February due to supply chain failures; gourde devaluation to 180-200 HTG/USD by Q2 2026; and remittance flows declining 30-50 percent post-February 3 as diaspora loses work authorization.

The fundamental recommendation: treat the Cap-Haitien operational shift as permanent rather than temporary. Establish formal dual-headquarters structure with Cap-Haitien serving as primary operational center and Port-au-Prince maintained only for government relations and legal compliance. This is not contingency planning it represents structural adaptation to Haiti's new geographic reality where the government controls north and scattered zones but gangs control capital majority and central agricultural regions. Companies that wait for "normalization" in Port-au-Prince will find themselves uncompetitive against those who have already adapted.

Political Actors

The week's developments require opposition parties to finalize registration decision by December 12 three days after December 9 GSF conference to preserve all strategic options. The binary choice: register by December 15 demonstrating commitment to democratic process, or announce coordinated boycott December 10-13 delegitimizing elections before campaign begins. Both strategies have merit depending on December 9 conference outcomes.

If December 9 conference produces binding force commitments from at least two major contributors (Brazil, Argentina, Chile) with specific deployment timelines, opposition should register immediately (December 12-15) and participate fully. This signals democratic commitment while force commitments indicate improving security trajectory. Opposition would maintain "conditional participation" messaging willing to compete if security permits while preserving option to withdraw if violence escalates pre-February 1.

If December 9 conference produces only conditional commitments or rhetoric without binding timelines, opposition should announce coordinated boycott December 10-12. This creates maximum political impact: refusal occurs before registration deadline (not mid-campaign withdrawal suggesting weakness), coordination demonstrates organizational capacity, and timing prevents government blame-shifting to opposition obstruction. Boycott statement should explicitly link decision to security failures: "We cannot ask candidates to campaign in territory where the Ombudsman officially declares 'profound chaos,' where Port-Sonde remains occupied 12 days without

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response, and where international community admits current forces are inadequate."

The Port-Sonde occupation provides critical accountability tool. Opposition should demand government demonstrate minimal operational capacity by retaking Port-Sonde by December 12. If government cannot retake one town in 12 days, it cannot secure national elections in 56 days. This establishes clear benchmark: oppose based on objective security conditions, not political obstruction.

The Ombudsman's December 3 letter provides constitutional legitimacy for boycott. Haiti's constitutional oversight authority has officially declared Artibonite in "profound chaos" and demanded government action. Opposition can cite this: "Haiti's own constitutional watchdog says conditions don't permit elections. We cannot ignore this institutional assessment."

The fundamental recommendation: form unified opposition coalition by December 10 to deliver joint statement establishing conditional participation framework: "We commit to registering candidates by December 15 contingent on: (1) at least two countries making binding troop commitments at December 9 conference with specific deployment timelines, AND (2) government launching visible Port-Sonde retaking operation by December 12. If neither condition is met, we announce coordinated boycott December 13." This maximizes pressure while preserving participation option if improvements occur. Most critically, it ensures opposition cannot be blamed for electoral failure caused by government security incompetence.

Diaspora

The week's developments require diaspora communities to implement immediate crisis planning acknowledging that TPS termination February 3 is irreversible and all legal alternatives have been eliminated. The December 2 immigration freeze created "double lock" removing every pathway: asylum applications frozen, green card petitions suspended, naturalization halted, and family reunification blocked. With 57 days remaining until TPS expires, diaspora members face binary choice requiring decision within two weeks: voluntary departure before February 3 preserving future return options, or remaining unlawfully after February 3 accepting deportation risk.

Immediate priorities should include three-track strategy implemented within seven days: Track One (Legal): Coordinate mass asylum filing campaign despite freeze to establish administrative record for future relief; federal courts may eventually overturn freeze, and having filed applications strengthens legal position even if currently frozen. Track Two (Political): Congressional lobbying blitz targeting key Democratic senators and representatives for TPS extension legislation or immigration freeze exemption; focus argument on December 9 GSF conference US cannot demand other countries send troops to Haiti while simultaneously deporting 200,000 Haitians to crisis zone. Track Three (Financial): Establish diaspora emergency fund targeting \$50-100 million to support deportees, maintain remittance flows through alternative channels, and fund security initiatives proving diaspora commitment to Haiti stability.

Asset management requires careful timing. Families should avoid panic selling homes, businesses, or vehicles before December 20 legal challenges to immigration freeze may delay deportations 3-6 months, and premature sales lock in losses. However, after December 20, if no congressional relief or legal victories emerge, begin strategic asset liquidation to preserve capital. Send 6-12 months family support to Haiti immediately earning capacity terminates February 3, and remittance channels may face disruption.

The December 9 GSF conference provides potential leverage point. If conference produces binding force commitments, coordinate with congressional allies to introduce amendment tying TPS extension to electoral progress: "TPS extended through August 2026 to align with Haiti second round elections, contingent on international force deployment from December 9 conference." Frame as "supporting democratic transition" rather than opposing deportation. This creates argument US cannot make to other countries: send your troops to

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stabilize Haiti for elections, while we simultaneously deport Haitians and defund remittance flows representing 40 percent of GDP.

Voluntary departure decisions require weighing three factors: First, timing departure before February 3 preserves legal status for future return under different administration; remaining unlawfully eliminates this option permanently. Second, family unity mixed-status families must decide between parental deportation versus family separation. Third, third-country migration Canada, other Latin American nations may accept Haitian migrants, but this requires resources most lack and separates from US-based family networks.

The fundamental recommendation: recognize the immigration freeze and TPS termination represent coordinated maximum-pressure strategy designed to force mass deportations. No legal remedy will emerge before February 3 deadline. Congressional intervention is theoretically possible but politically unlikely given Republican control. Therefore, treat voluntary departure as preserving future options versus elimination of all options by remaining unlawfully. Families with strong legal cases should file asylum applications despite freeze. Families with weak cases should prepare for departure. All should front-load remittances to Haiti families immediately before work authorization loss February 3.

WEEK-AHEAD OUTLOOK

Critical Events in Next 7 Days

Monday, December 9, 2025 Gang Suppression Force Conference (New York)

This represents the most critical event of the transition period. US Secretary of State Marco Rubio will convene international partners to secure military force contributions for Haiti security. The conference's success or failure determines whether February 1 electoral timeline maintains credibility or collapses. Countries must produce binding commitments with deployment timelines not conditional pledges subject to legislative approval or funding guarantees. Target: 2,500-plus additional personnel beyond current 400-person MSS mission, with offensive operational mandate to reconquer gang-controlled territory, and deployment timeline showing forces arrive before April 2026 second round.

If conference succeeds (binding commitments from Brazil, Argentina, Chile, or Colombia): Opposition parties will likely register candidates December 12-15, electoral timeline gains credibility despite imperfect security, international observers commit to February 1 deployment, and medium-term security trajectory improves even if forces arrive after first round. If conference fails (only rhetoric or conditional commitments): Opposition announces coordinated boycott December 10-13, electoral timeline exposed as operationally impossible, international observers likely refuse certification, and pressure mounts for postponement.

Port-Sonde occupation will reach Day 10 on December 9, providing vivid illustration of why force contributions are urgently needed. The Ombudsman's December 3 letter demanding government action by December 5 will be ignored for five days by conference date, validating constitutional oversight authority's assessment of government failure.

Sunday, December 15, 2025 Candidate Registration Deadline

The registration period closes at midnight December 15. The CEP must process all applications and publish final candidate list by December 22 (seven-day window). This compressed timeline leaves zero room for disputes or appeals. Registration outcomes determine electoral legitimacy: if major opposition parties register, elections gain credibility as competitive process; if major parties boycott, elections lose legitimacy as pro-government formality.

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The December 12-15 period will reveal opposition strategy shaped by December 9 conference outcomes. If conference produced commitments, expect registration surge December 13-15 as major parties file simultaneously. The CEP's processing capacity will be overwhelmed staff must vet hundreds of candidates, verify documentation, manage coalition filings, and resolve disputes in seven days. The December 22 publication deadline will likely slip, potentially delaying December 26 campaign start. If conference failed, expect coordinated boycott announcements December 10-12 from multiple opposition parties, triggering political crisis and forcing Core Group emergency session to address legitimacy gap.

Deadlines to Monitor

December 10-13: Opposition Coalition Decision Window

Three days after December 9 conference, opposition parties must announce registration intentions or boycott. Coordination is critical fragmented boycott (some parties participate, others don't) weakens opposition leverage and produces muddled electoral legitimacy. Unified boycott (all major parties refuse participation simultaneously) creates maximum political impact and forces international community to address security inadequacy.

December 12: Port-Sonde Retaking Deadline

If government cannot retake Port-Sonde within 12 days of occupation (November 30 - December 12), it proves incapable of basic territorial control. Opposition parties should use this as registration conditionality: participate if government demonstrates operational capacity by December 12, boycott if Port-Sonde remains under gang control. This establishes objective security benchmark rather than subjective political assessment.

December 22: Final Candidate List Publication

The CEP must publish complete candidate lists by December 22 to enable December 26 campaign start. This seven-day processing window (December 15-22) assumes smooth registration flow and zero disputes. Reality will be messier: coalition formations filed at last minute, documentation problems requiring clarification, mandated 30 percent women quota compliance disputes, and potential legal challenges to specific candidates. Expect publication deadline to slip to December 24-26, shortening campaign period or delaying campaign start.

December 26: Electoral Campaign Period Opens

The official campaign period opens December 26, running through January 31 (36 days). Candidates must travel to campaign in gang-controlled zones, hold rallies in territories where government cannot provide security, and establish volunteer networks in areas under criminal control. The campaign period's viability depends entirely on security conditions December 26. If Port-Sonde remains occupied, if National Route 1 remains severed, if airport remains closed, campaign activity will be limited to Cap-Haitien and small Port-au-Prince zones, producing campaign without national reach.

Indicators to Watch

Port-Sonde Occupation Duration

Each additional day Port-Sonde remains under gang control strengthens opposition boycott argument and weakens government claims of security competence. Day 10 (December 9) provides symbolic threshold during GSF conference. Day 12 (December 12) marks opposition's conditionality deadline. Day 15 (December 15) coincides with registration deadline. If occupation reaches Day 15 without government response, it proves permanent territorial loss and makes credible case that government cannot secure elections.

Candidate Registration Pace

Monitor CEP registration announcements daily December 10-15. If no major party registrations appear by December 12 (three days after GSF conference), coordinated boycott is likely. If registrations surge December 13-15, conference produced sufficient commitments to justify opposition participation. The quantity and quality of

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registrations matter: 50-plus candidates from multiple parties indicates competitive election; fewer than 20 candidates suggests weak field lacking major opposition.

Remittance Flow Data

December remittance transfers to Haiti provide early indicator of diaspora crisis severity. November-to-December comparison showed 15-20 percent decline. December-to-January comparison will reveal whether decline accelerates as February 3 TPS termination approaches. If decline reaches 30-40 percent by mid-January, Haiti's economy will contract sharply Q1 2026 as families lose diaspora support. This compounds food security crisis from Artibonite agricultural disruption.

International Observer Mission Commitments

UN, OAS, and EU observer missions are awaiting December 9 GSF conference outcomes before committing to February 1 deployment. If they announce deployment plans December 10-12, it signals confidence in electoral viability despite security challenges. If they delay commitment or announce limited observation (Cap-Haitien only, not nationwide), it signals concern about electoral credibility. If they refuse deployment, it forces Core Group to address legitimacy gap.

Best-Case Scenario

December 9 GSF conference produces binding commitments from Brazil (500 personnel), Argentina (300 personnel), and Chile (200 personnel) with deployment timelines showing forces begin arriving January 2026 and reach full strength by March 2026. Colombia commits rapid reaction force (100 personnel) deployable by late December. Funding secured through expanded UN trust fund with US contributing \$200 million, European donors \$150 million, and regional partners \$50 million. Forces receive offensive operational mandate to reconquer gang-controlled territory.

Government launches Port-Sonde retaking operation December 10-11, deploying 200 PNH officers with MSS armored vehicle support. Gran Grif withdraws after brief firefight. Government establishes security perimeter and begins returns for displaced residents. This demonstrates minimal operational capacity and provides opposition justification to register.

Major opposition parties announce December 12-13 they will register candidates by December 15 contingent on continued security improvements. Registration surge December 13-15 overwhelms CEP processing capacity but demonstrates competitive electoral field. CEP publishes candidate lists December 24 with 60-plus presidential candidates and full legislative slates. Campaign period opens December 26 with major parties conducting rallies in Cap-Haitien, Port-au-Prince zones, and provincial centers with PNH/MSS security.

US Congress introduces bipartisan TPS extension amendment tying humanitarian protection to electoral progress: "TPS extended through August 2026 to align with Haiti second round elections, contingent on international force deployment and credible first round February 1." This provides diaspora relief while creating incentive structure linking migration policy to democratic transition support.

February 1 first round proceeds with violence limited to gang-controlled zones that lack polling stations anyway. Turnout reaches 40-45 percent in accessible areas. International observers document irregularities but certify process as "credible given circumstances." Second round April 2026 occurs with improved security as GSF forces deployed. Presidential inauguration May 14 provides democratic legitimacy even though beyond constitutional deadline. International community declares success.

Worst-Case Scenario

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December 9 GSF conference produces only conditional commitments: Brazil "will consider contributing forces subject to legislative approval"; Argentina "supports concept but requires funding guarantees"; Chile "awaits regional consensus"; Colombia declines. No binding commitments, no deployment timelines, no additional forces beyond current 400-person MSS. Secretary Rubio claims success anyway, pointing to "strong international engagement" and "commitment to Haiti's democratic future."

Port-Sonde remains under Gran Grif control through December 15. No government operation materializes. Occupation reaches 15 days proving permanent territorial loss. National Route 1 remains severed. Saint-Marc protesters escalate to full RN1 blockade December 12, cutting Port-au-Prince from northern food supplies. Food prices spike 30-plus percent by Christmas week.

Major opposition parties announce coordinated boycott December 10-12: "We cannot campaign in territory Haiti's own Ombudsman officially declares 'profoundly chaotic.' We cannot ask candidates to risk lives when government admits it cannot secure provinces. We will not participate in elections that exclude millions of Haitians living in gang-controlled zones." Only pro-government candidates and unknown independents register by December 15. CEP publishes candidate list December 22 with fewer than 20 presidential candidates, none from major opposition parties.

International observers refuse February 1 deployment, citing lack of opposition participation and geographic limitations. UN issues statement: "Elections lacking major party participation and excluding populations in insecure zones do not meet credibility standards." Core Group convenes emergency session but cannot agree on response US pushes for proceeding anyway, European partners demand postponement, regional actors split.

February 1 elections proceed in Cap-Haitien and limited Port-au-Prince zones only. Turnout catastrophic (under 20 percent). Violence disrupts voting in multiple locations. Results disputed immediately. CPT mandate expires February 7 with no elected successor in place because results require weeks to tabulate and certify. Constitutional crisis: no legitimate government after February 7. International community refuses to recognize February 1 results given opposition boycott and low turnout. Haiti enters governance vacuum with gangs expanding into remaining government-controlled zones.

US begins mass deportations February 4 as TPS expires. Twenty-thousand-plus Haitians deported February-March to country with no functioning government, no jobs, no reintegration capacity. Returnees overwhelm Cap-Haitien and Port-au-Prince, creating humanitarian emergency. Remittance flows collapse, currency crashes to 200-plus HTG/USD, food security crisis intensifies, violence escalates as returnees compete for limited resources. Haiti enters comprehensive state failure Q2 2026.

STRATEGIC HORIZON

30-Day Outlook (December 8 - January 7, 2026)

The 30-day period contains two make-or-break moments determining Haiti's trajectory through Q1 2026: the December 9 GSF conference and December 15 candidate registration deadline. These events create branching scenarios with fundamentally different implications.

If December 9 produces binding force commitments and opposition registers by December 15, the 30-day period will focus on campaign preparation and security improvement. The CEP must process registrations, publish candidate lists, and enable campaign infrastructure deployment by December 26. Political parties must form coalitions, select candidates, and build volunteer networks in compressed timeframe. The government must

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demonstrate minimal security capacity by retaking Port-Sonde and securing campaign corridors between major cities. International partners must begin pre-positioning GSF forces for January-February deployment even if they arrive after first round.

If December 9 fails and opposition boycotts, the 30-day period will be crisis management. The Core Group must convene emergency sessions addressing electoral legitimacy gap. The CPT must decide whether to postpone elections (requiring new decree, new calendar, extending mandate beyond February 7) or proceed anyway (producing illegitimate selection). International observers must clarify whether they will certify elections lacking major opposition. Diaspora communities must accelerate crisis planning as 30 days marks halfway point to February 3 TPS termination with no legal relief emerging.

Regardless of scenario, the 30-day period will see escalating food security pressure. The December planting season disruption in Artibonite will not manifest as harvest failures until March-April, but food supply chains already disrupted by Port-Sonde occupation and RN1 severance will produce January price spikes. Port-au-Prince residents will face 20-30 percent food inflation by early January, creating political pressure on government to demonstrate agricultural corridor security or accept humanitarian food imports.

The diaspora situation will deteriorate throughout the 30-day period regardless of electoral developments. With 30 days marking 27 days remaining until TPS termination, panic will set in among Haitian-American communities. Asset liquidation will accelerate (home sales, business closures), remittance flows will decline further (from 15-20 percent November-December to 25-35 percent December-January), and voluntary departure bookings will surge as families recognize no legal alternatives exist. This creates economic feedback loop: declining remittances contract Haiti economy, worsening security and food access, which strengthens argument against TPS extension, perpetuating crisis.

60-Day Outlook (December 8 - February 6, 2026)

The 60-day period encompasses the February 1 election and February 3 TPS terminationthe dual deadline convergence that has defined Haiti's crisis since the November 28 TPS announcement. This period will determine whether Haiti's transition produces elected government or governance vacuum, and whether diaspora deportations proceed or are delayed through legal intervention.

Electoral Timeline Within 60 Days:

December 9: GSF conference determining security trajectory
December 15: Candidate registration deadline
December 22: Final candidate lists published
December 26: Campaign period opens (36 days)
January 31: Campaign period closes
February 1: First round voting (presidential and legislative)
February 2-7: Result tabulation and preliminary certification
February 7: CPT constitutional mandate expires

This sequence reveals the compression: 60 days to conduct entire electoral process from force commitment conference through voting to preliminary results, while simultaneously managing security crisis, diaspora deportation, and food insecurity. The likelihood that all elements execute successfully is extremely low. More probable: partial implementation where some elements advance (candidate registration occurs, campaign period opens) while others fail (security does not improve, voting limited geographically, results disputed).

The TPS timeline creates parallel crisis:

December 8-January 7: Final 30-day legal challenge window

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January 7-February 3: Final 27-day countdown triggering panic
February 3: TPS expires, work authorization terminates
February 4: Deportation proceedings begin
February 4-28: First wave of deportations (estimated 10,000-20,000)

The convergence is deliberate. Elections scheduled February 1 produce government claiming democratic mandate but lacking territorial control. TPS termination February 3 sends returnees to this unstable situation. The new government's first major challenge will be reintegrating deportees without jobs, housing, or services while facing electoral legitimacy disputes and ongoing security failures.

Food security will reach crisis level within 60 days. The December planting disruption becomes evident in late January when agricultural production reports show missed targets. February food supplies will be constrained both by agricultural failures and transportation disruptions (RN1 severed, Port-au-Prince airport closed). Food price inflation will reach 30-40 percent by early February, creating humanitarian emergency requiring World Food Programme intervention. The government will face binary choice: accept international humanitarian food distributions (admitting state failure), or allow food crisis to intensify (triggering unrest).

The most likely 60-day scenario combines partial electoral implementation with diaspora crisis and food emergency: Elections occur February 1 in limited geography (Cap-Haitien and Port-au-Prince zones), turnout low (30-35 percent), opposition participation minimal if December 9 conference failed, results disputed. TPS terminations proceed February 3-4 despite legal challenges, beginning deportation flow. First deportees arrive Cap-Haitien mid-February, creating immediate reintegration crisis. Food prices spike February triggering small protests. CPT mandate expires February 7 with election results not yet certified. Brief governance vacuum resolved by international pressure to accept preliminary results despite irregularities. New president claims victory but lacks legitimacy. Cycle continues.

90-Day Outlook (December 8 - March 8, 2026)

The 90-day horizon extends through the expected April 2026 presidential second round, assuming February 1 first round did not produce outright winner. This period will reveal whether Haiti's transition produces stable democratic governance or descends into renewed crisis.

If the electoral process succeeds (February 1 first round competitive, April second round determines winner, May 14 inauguration transfers power to elected president), the 90-day period will focus on governance transition challenges. The new president will inherit catastrophic situation: gangs controlling 70-plus percent of national territory, diaspora deportations adding 30,000-50,000 returnees March-April, food security crisis requiring humanitarian intervention, economy contracting 10-15 percent Q1, and currency weakening 30-40 percent to 180-200 HTG/USD. Even successful transition produces weak government facing overwhelming challenges.

If the electoral process fails (February 1 first round geographically limited and disputed, opposition boycotted, international observers refused certification, April second round cancelled), the 90-day period will be governance crisis management. The CPT's extension beyond February 7 will be challenged domestically even if internationally supported. Civil society will protest illegitimate government. Gangs will expand into remaining government-controlled zones sensing state weakness. The Core Group will pressure for new electoral timeline but countries will be unwilling to commit additional resources after first attempt failed. Haiti will be ungovernable Q2 2026.

The diaspora situation within 90 days will be mass deportation implementation. With TPS terminated February 3, US Immigration and Customs Enforcement will process removal orders for 200,000-plus Haitians throughout February-March-April. Realistic deportation capacity: 10,000-15,000 per month. By March 8 (90 days), cumulative

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deportations will reach 30,000-40,000. These returnees will arrive in Cap-Haitien (Port-au-Prince airport still closed) with no reintegration support, no jobs, no housing. Many will attempt re-migration immediately, creating boat migration surge March-April. US Coast Guard will interdict, creating humanitarian crisis in international waters.

Food security will be comprehensive emergency by 90-day mark. The December planting disruption manifests as harvest failures in March-April. Artibonite agricultural production will be down 40-50 percent compared to normal years. Port-au-Prince food prices will have increased 40-60 percent from December baseline. Haiti will require 100,000-plus metric tons of emergency food imports to prevent widespread malnutrition. International humanitarian system will provide this, but it represents state failure. Haiti cannot feed its population from domestic agricultural production because gangs control breadbasket region.

The security situation within 90 days depends entirely on whether December 9 GSF conference produced binding force commitments with deployment occurring January-March. If yes: by March 8, international forces (Kenya MSS plus GSF contributions) will total 1,500-2,000 personnel conducting joint operations with PNH to reconquer gang-controlled zones. Progress will be slow (gangs entrenched, urban combat difficult), but trajectory will be positive. If no: by March 8, security will have deteriorated further as gangs recognize government cannot challenge their control. Port-au-Prince zones currently contested will fall to gangs. Cap-Haitien will remain secure only because of geographic isolation. Haiti will be effectively partitioned between government-controlled north and gang-controlled center-south.

The most likely 90-day scenario is muddle-through crisis management: Elections produce disputed president claiming victory but lacking full legitimacy. Deportations proceed adding 30,000-plus returnees overwhelming limited reintegration capacity. Food crisis requires humanitarian intervention validating state failure. Security partially improves in some zones but worsens in others. Currency crashes to 180-plus HTG/USD creating import inflation. Government survives but does not govern effectively. International community maintains diplomatic recognition while acknowledging transition failed to produce stable democracy. Haiti remains failed state requiring perpetual international assistance with no clear path toward functional governance. This has been Haiti's reality for five years. The 90-day period will extend it for five more.

KEY INFLECTION POINT

****Monday, December 9, 2025 Gang Suppression Force Conference Determines Electoral Viability****

The Gang Suppression Force conference in New York represents the single most critical decision point in Haiti's transition. This is not hyperbole. The conference's outcomes—binding force commitments versus conditional pledges, concrete deployment timelines versus aspirational support—will determine every subsequent development: opposition registration decisions (December 12-15), international observer positioning (late December), electoral legitimacy (February 1), and Haiti's governance trajectory through 2026.

****Binary Outcomes with Dramatically Different Trajectories:****

****OUTCOME ONE: Conference Succeeds****

Success Defined As: At least two major countries (Brazil, Argentina, Chile, or Colombia) make binding commitments to deploy specified forces (500-plus personnel each) with concrete timelines (forces begin arriving January 2026, reach operational capacity by March 2026). Funding secured through expanded UN trust fund with commitments totaling \$300-400 million. Forces receive offensive operational mandate to reconquer

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gang-controlled territory, not just defensive patrols. US commits to serve as force enabler providing logistics, intelligence, and armored vehicles.

Immediate Consequences (December 10-15): Opposition parties register candidates by December 15, citing international force commitments as evidence of improving security trajectory. CEP processes surge of registrations, publishes candidate lists December 22-24. Government launches Port-Sonde retaking operation December 10-12 to demonstrate operational capacity. International observers commit to February 1 deployment. Campaign period opens December 26 with major parties conducting rallies.

Medium-Term Consequences (January-February): GSF forces begin arriving January 2026. Initial deployments focus on securing Port-au-Prince airport reopening and National Route 1 corridor protection. February 1 elections proceed in expanded geography not just Cap-Haitien but Port-au-Prince zones and some Artibonite centers. Turnout reaches 40-45 percent. Violence limited to gang-controlled zones lacking polling stations. International observers certify process as "credible given circumstances despite imperfections."

Long-Term Consequences (Q2-Q4 2026): Second round April 2026 with improved security. Presidential inauguration May 14 provides democratic legitimacy despite constitutional deadline overrun. GSF forces reach 2,000-plus personnel by Q2, conduct systematic operations to reconquer Port-au-Prince neighborhoods and Artibonite towns. Progress slow but trajectory positive. New president governs with international backing and growing territorial control. Haiti begins tentative recovery Q3-Q4 2026.

OUTCOME TWO: Conference Fails

Failure Defined As: Countries offer only conditional commitments ("subject to legislative approval," "pending funding guarantees," "depending on security conditions"). No binding force deployments with concrete timelines. No additional funding secured beyond current inadequate levels. No offensive operational mandate. Conference produces lengthy communique expressing "strong international support" and "commitment to Haiti's democratic future" but zero actionable commitments.

Immediate Consequences (December 10-15): Opposition parties announce coordinated boycott December 10-12, refusing to register candidates. Statement cites conference failure as proof security cannot improve. Only pro-government candidates and unknowns register by December 15. CEP publishes candidate list December 22 with fewer than 20 presidential candidates. International observers delay or refuse February 1 deployment commitments, citing lack of opposition participation.

Medium-Term Consequences (January-February): Campaign period opens December 26 but consists of government-aligned candidates holding small rallies in Cap-Haitien only. Port-au-Prince remains too insecure for campaigning. No major opposition participation means limited public interest. Port-Sonde remains under gang control (Day 40-plus), validating territorial abandonment. February 1 elections produce turnout under 25 percent. Violence disrupts voting in multiple locations. Results immediately disputed.

Long-Term Consequences (Q2-Q4 2026): International community refuses to certify February 1 results given opposition boycott and low turnout. CPT mandate expires February 7 with no legitimate successor. Constitutional crisis. Governance vacuum. Gangs expand into remaining government-controlled zones. US begins mass deportations February 4, sending 30,000-plus returnees to country without functioning government. Humanitarian catastrophe as food security collapses, remittances decline, currency crashes. Haiti enters comprehensive state failure Q2 2026. International community disengages, declaring Haiti "ungovernable." Crisis continues indefinitely.

Why December 9 Matters More Than Any Other Date:

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This is not the first conference, decree deadline, or electoral announcement. Haiti has experienced dozens of such moments in five years. The December 9 conference differs because it converges multiple critical timelines:

Candidate Registration Deadline: December 15 is six days after conference. Opposition decisions depend directly on December 9 outcomes.

Electoral Calendar: February 1 is 54 days after conference. Even successful commitments mean forces deploy mostly post-election, but commitments create security trajectory justifying electoral participation.

TPS Termination: February 3 is 56 days after conference. Conference success strengthens congressional TPS extension arguments ("US cannot deport while demanding other countries send troops"). Conference failure makes extension impossible.

CPT Mandate Expiration: February 7 is 60 days after conference. Elections must occur before this to provide democratic legitimacy for mandate extension. Conference failure makes legitimate elections impossible, creating governance vacuum.

****The Fundamental Choice:****

The December 9 conference forces the international community to make the choice it has avoided for two years: commit sufficient resources to actually achieve stated objectives (credible elections, security improvement, democratic transition), or admit these objectives are unachievable with current resource commitments and adjust expectations accordingly.

For two years, international partners have maintained fiction that Haiti can achieve democratic transition with minimal security support (400-person MSS with defensive mandate). The December 9 conference will reveal whether this fiction continues (countries offer conditional commitments allowing them to claim engagement without deploying forces) or reality intrudes (countries either commit binding forces acknowledging the scale of challenge, or refuse commitments acknowledging Haiti requires intervention they're unwilling to provide).

Haiti's fate hinges on which answer prevails Monday, December 9, 2025.

****END OF WEEKLY INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY****

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