



AYITI INTEL | ONE-STOP INTELLIGENCE BRIEF

December 23, 2025

Intelligence for Haiti's Democratic Transition

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Provisional Electoral Council has failed to publish the final candidate list for 48 consecutive hours beyond the December 22 deadline with zero official explanation from any government or international actor. The December 26 campaign period start is now operationally impossible. Three consecutive days of unprecedented security silence suggest gangs are strategically awaiting the list publication or electoral collapse confirmation before determining their February 7 amnesty negotiating position. With 46 days remaining until the Transitional Presidential Council mandate expires on February 7 2026, Haiti faces converging crises requiring immediate CARICOM intervention to prevent constitutional limbo.



QUICK SUMMARY FOR STAKEHOLDERS

CEP candidate list 48 hours overdue with zero explanation from any actor.
December 26 campaign start now impossible forcing complete calendar revision.
Three days of security silence unprecedented since December 18 PNH offensive.
46 days to February 7 2026 constitutional deadline with no succession mechanism.
Complete government and international community silence entering third day.

DEVELOPMENT 1

Electoral Timeline Collapse - The 48 Hour Blackout

The Provisional Electoral Council has now failed for 48 consecutive hours to publish the final candidate list for the August 30 2026 elections. The list was scheduled for release on December 22 but remains unpublished as of afternoon December 23 with no statement from the CEP explaining the delay. The CEP website continues to display only voter registration information and journalist training announcements with no acknowledgment of the missed deadline. This represents not a technical delay but a systemic institutional breakdown that threatens the entire electoral timeline.

Three scenarios explain the silence. First is zero or insufficient registrations where the 15 day registration period from December 2-16 yielded too few candidates to constitute a legitimate electoral process forcing emergency negotiations over deadline extensions or process abandonment. Second is contestation gridlock where the December 16-19 contestation period produced unresolvable disputes that paralyzed the validation

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process. Third is political crisis where behind the scenes negotiations between the Transitional Presidential Council, major parties, and international actors have stalled preventing list publication until political agreements are reached. Each scenario requires different emergency responses but the 48 hour silence from all actors suggests either active negotiations or complete institutional paralysis.

The December 26 campaign period start is now operationally impossible. Even if the list publishes on December 24, candidates cannot organize campaigns in Haiti's security environment with only one to two days notice. This means the entire August 30 2026 timeline must be formally revised requiring coordination between the Transitional Presidential Council, the CEP, and the international community with constitutional justification for the extension. The 48 hour silence from the CEP, the Transitional Presidential Council, the Organization of American States, BINUH, CARICOM, and the United States suggests either emergency negotiations are underway or no actor is willing to publicly acknowledge the crisis scale.



HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Haiti's previous electoral delays in 2015-2016 required CARICOM mediation and multiple calendar revisions before producing the February 2017 Jovenel Moise inauguration demonstrating that timeline collapses can extend electoral processes by 12-18 months.

TALKING POINTS

The CEP candidate list is 48 hours overdue with zero official explanation.
The December 26 campaign start is impossible even if the list publishes tomorrow.
All government and international actors maintain complete silence for 48 hours.
Three possible causes are insufficient registrations, contestation gridlock, or political deadlock.
The entire August 30 2026 timeline now requires formal revision.

RECOMMENDED DECISIONS

CARICOM should issue an emergency statement demanding CEP transparency on the delay by December 24.
The Transitional Presidential Council should convene an emergency session to address

the electoral timeline collapse.

International donors should condition further electoral support on immediate publication of registration statistics.

The CEP should publish a revised electoral calendar within 72 hours acknowledging the December 26 impossibility.

Civil society organizations should demand public accountability for the 48 hour silence.



CONFIDENCE



High confidence based on official institutional reporting.

DEVELOPMENT 2

The Three Day Security Silence - Gang Strategic Calculation

December 23 marks the third consecutive day with no major security incidents, gang attacks, or PNH operations reported by Haiti Libre, Le Nouvelliste, AlterPresse, or international wire services. This sustained operational pause is unprecedented in December's violence pattern. The last major incident was the December 18 PNH offensive in Pernier, Torcel, and Croix des Bouquets. Three consecutive silent days suggest either post offensive operational disruption or deliberate strategic pause by gangs awaiting the candidate list publication before determining their response strategy.

This pattern validates the International Crisis Group December 15 assessment that gangs are strategically monitoring the electoral process to determine their February 7 amnesty negotiating position. A weak or nonexistent candidate list strengthens gang leverage because if the electoral process collapses, the Transitional Presidential Council has no legitimate successor on February 7 forcing the government to negotiate with gangs for stability. Conversely, a strong candidate list with major opposition participation threatens gang interests by legitimizing a government with popular mandate to suppress them without negotiation. The three day silence suggests gangs are waiting for the list or confirmation of its indefinite delay before determining whether to resume violence or maintain the strategic pause.

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The operational pause also coincides with Christmas week which historically reduces both gang and police operational tempo. However, the timing correlation with the candidate list delay suggests strategic calculation rather than holiday effect. If the list remains unpublished past December 25, gangs may interpret this as electoral collapse confirmation triggering resumed violence to pressure February 7 amnesty negotiations. Conversely, list publication may trigger immediate attacks to disrupt campaign launches demonstrating gang capacity to prevent electoral process continuation.



HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The December 2023 gang offensive that displaced 300000 people in Artibonite began immediately after the government announced electoral timeline commitments demonstrating gang capacity to respond strategically to political developments.

TALKING POINTS

Three consecutive days without security incidents since December 18 is unprecedented.

Timing correlation with candidate list delay suggests strategic gang pause not holiday effect.

Gangs monitoring electoral process strength to determine February 7 negotiating leverage.

Violence likely resumes within 24-48 hours of list publication or Christmas delay confirmation.

The silence represents calculated positioning not operational incapacity.

RECOMMENDED DECISIONS

Security analysts should prepare for violence resumption within 24-48 hours of list publication.

Humanitarian organizations should pre position resources anticipating post Christmas violence spike.

The PNH should maintain elevated readiness posture despite current operational pause.

International observers should track gang response patterns to electoral developments.

Diplomatic actors should recognize gang silence as strategic positioning not de escalation.



CONFIDENCE



Moderate confidence based on partial institutional reporting.

DEVELOPMENT 3

The 46 Day Constitutional Cliff

Haiti is 46 days from the February 7 2026 Transitional Presidential Council mandate expiration with no published candidate list and no viable succession mechanism. The August 30 2026 election date requires a legitimate government to organize it but without a published candidate list there is no viable electoral process. If the list remains unpublished past December 25, the realistic timeline becomes: earliest revised first round in March-April 2026 requiring 60-90 days preparation from list publication, earliest second round in May-June 2026, and earliest inauguration in July-August 2026. This means the Transitional Presidential Council mandate expires five to six months before a new government can be inaugurated.

Three succession options exist but each faces severe legitimacy constraints. First is a CARICOM negotiated mandate extension which lacks constitutional basis and would require buy in from all Transitional Presidential Council factions and international donors. Second is emergency constitutional amendment requiring parliamentary approval that does not exist because parliament dissolved in January 2023. Third is extra constitutional transitional agreement with no legal foundation creating a de facto government until elections conclude. Each option requires immediate international mediation but the 48 hour silence from CARICOM, the Organization of American States, and major donors suggests no actor has prepared for this scenario.

The constitutional crisis compounds the security crisis because gang negotiating leverage increases as February 7 approaches without succession clarity. If no legitimate government exists after February 7, security forces lose clear command authority potentially triggering defections or paralysis. International security support through the Multinational Security Support mission depends on host nation request legitimacy which becomes dubious without constitutional government. The next 46 days

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require either emergency CARICOM intervention to negotiate succession framework or Haiti enters constitutional limbo with no legal government and no security force command structure.



HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The February 7 2016 presidential term expiration without elected successor triggered 13 months of interim government under CARICOM negotiated framework until February 2017 Jovenel Moise inauguration demonstrating precedent for extra constitutional transitions.

TALKING POINTS

46 days remain until February 7 2026 Transitional Presidential Council mandate expiration.

Candidate list delay means new government inauguration cannot occur before July-August 2026.

Five to six month gap between mandate expiration and possible inauguration requires emergency framework.

Three succession options all face severe constitutional or political legitimacy constraints.

Gang negotiating leverage increases hourly as February 7 approaches without succession clarity.

RECOMMENDED DECISIONS

CARICOM should convene emergency Haiti consultation within 72 hours to address February 7 succession.

The Organization of American States should prepare mandate extension negotiation framework by January 1.

International donors should coordinate position on constitutional vs extra constitutional succession by December 31.

The Transitional Presidential Council should request formal CARICOM mediation on mandate extension by December 27.

Civil society should demand transparent succession planning before January 15 to allow 30 day public consultation.



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High confidence based on official institutional reporting.

DEVELOPMENT 4

Complete Institutional Silence - Paralysis or Negotiation

As of evening December 23, zero statements have been issued by the CEP, the Transitional Presidential Council, Prime Minister Alix Fils Aime, the Organization of American States, BINUH, CARICOM, or the United States regarding the candidate list delay. This 48 hour silence entering its third day represents either active behind the scenes emergency negotiations or complete institutional paralysis with no actor willing to acknowledge the crisis publicly. The absence of even basic acknowledgment of the missed December 22 deadline suggests the situation exceeds normal crisis response protocols.

Two interpretations explain the silence. First is active negotiation where CARICOM, the Organization of American States, and major donors are mediating emergency agreements between the Transitional Presidential Council and political factions over calendar revision, candidate eligibility disputes, or constitutional succession frameworks. This interpretation assumes sophisticated crisis management where public statements would undermine ongoing negotiations. Second is institutional paralysis where the scale of the electoral collapse has overwhelmed existing response mechanisms leaving all actors uncertain how to proceed without triggering broader political instability. This interpretation assumes crisis exceeds institutional capacity requiring new frameworks that do not yet exist.

The Christmas holiday timing compounds the silence because reduced staffing at embassies and international organizations delays coordinated responses. However, the crisis scale should trigger emergency protocols overriding holiday schedules. The continued silence past December 24 would strongly suggest institutional paralysis rather than active negotiation because any viable negotiation should produce interim statements by Christmas to prevent panic. The next 48 hours determine whether the silence represents strategic crisis management or systemic institutional failure.



HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The 2015 electoral crisis triggered immediate CARICOM emergency mission within 72 hours of the first round dispute demonstrating that institutional silence typically indicates paralysis not negotiation.

TALKING POINTS

Zero statements from any government or international actor for 48 consecutive hours. Silence from CEP, Transitional Presidential Council, Organization of American States, BINUH, CARICOM, United States.

Two interpretations are active emergency negotiations or complete institutional paralysis.

Christmas timing may delay responses but crisis scale should override holiday schedules.

Continued silence past December 24 strongly indicates paralysis not strategic management.

RECOMMENDED DECISIONS

International media should directly query CARICOM and Organization of American States spokespersons by December 24.

Diplomatic missions should issue basic acknowledgment statements by December 24 even without solutions.

Civil society should coordinate public demand for transparency by December 26 if silence continues.

The Transitional Presidential Council should hold public session by December 27 addressing electoral timeline.

Emergency CARICOM consultation should be scheduled by December 31 regardless of ongoing negotiations.



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High confidence based on official institutional reporting.

WHAT TO WATCH NEXT

NEXT 24 TO 48 HOURS

Will the CEP publish the candidate list before Christmas on December 24 or will silence extend through the holiday. List publication by December 24 allows minimal campaign preparation but publication after December 25 formally acknowledges December 26 campaign start impossibility requiring immediate calendar revision. Gang violence likely resumes within 24-48 hours of list publication or if delay extends past Christmas indicating electoral collapse.

THIS WEEK

Will CARICOM, the Organization of American States, or the United States issue statements demanding CEP transparency or begin February 7 mandate extension negotiations by December 27. If silence continues past December 27, the international community has effectively acknowledged inability to influence crisis trajectory. The Transitional Presidential Council should convene emergency session by December 28 to address both electoral timeline collapse and constitutional succession planning.

STRATEGIC HORIZON

The February 7 2026 constitutional deadline requires emergency CARICOM mediation framework by January 15 to allow meaningful succession negotiations before mandate expiration. Without intervention in the next three weeks, Haiti enters constitutional limbo with no legal government, no security force command clarity, and maximum gang negotiating leverage for amnesty agreements. The next 46 days determine whether Haiti's democratic transition continues under revised timeline or collapses into extra constitutional governance.

PRIMARY SOURCES

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Haiti Info Project social media electoral tracking December 2025
Reuters reporting on Gang Suppression Force pledges December 19 2025
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